Jack Mathias,
U.C.N.W.,
Bangor.

fer. gwr. or. gwyr

Mary Middleton.

J. Mathias.
44 Pretoria Rd.
Penyrefail.

Look up names in Tal. [illegible] Alchen
Endyw etc

Arthurian Legend
& Ifor's notes.

Carys Jones

Page 8. [illegible], llyad
Page 60. Sunnum bonum
per-llead

A
WELSH GRAMMAR

HISTORICAL AND COMPARATIVE

BY

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PREFACE

"THIS book", as V. Henry says of his Breton Lexique, "has the misfortune to have a history." It would be tedious, even if it were possible, to relate it in detail; but the long delay in the appearance of the work calls for a brief account of the facts by way of explanation and apology.

In the early nineties I contributed to the new edition of the Welsh encyclopaedia *Y Gwyddoniadur* an article on the Welsh language, which contained a sketch of Welsh grammar. This sketch was expanded in a course of lectures delivered to the Junior and Intermediate classes at Bangor after the foundation of the University of Wales. The idea occurred to me of preparing the substance of the lectures for publication as a textbook of Welsh grammar; but I was unable at the time to carry out the investigation which seemed to me necessary before such a book could be properly written.

The work was intended to be a descriptive grammar of Modern Welsh with special reference to the earlier period. Late Modern Welsh is more artificial, and in some respects further removed from the spoken language, than Early Modern Welsh, owing largely to the influence of false etymological theories; and the object which I had in view was the practical one of determining the traditional forms of the literary language. Even scholars have been deceived by the fictitious forms found in dictionaries; thus "*dagr*" given by Silvan Evans, after Pughe, as the sg. of *dagrau*, is quoted as a genuine form even by Strachan, Intr. 23; see below p. 212 Note. I had however chiefly in mind the ordinary writer of the language, to whom a clear idea of the literary tradition is at least equally important. The first draft of the

book was begun in 1899; but I was dissatisfied with it, and made a fresh start a year or two later. The progress of the second draft was much hindered by examination work which took up the greater part of my long vacation for some years. In 1907 I had finished the accidence and written more than half of the syntax. As Early Modern literature consists almost wholly of verse in the strict metres, I found myself in the syntax quoting more and more from Medieval prose. At last I was forced to the conclusion that the Medieval period would have to be dealt with in the earlier portion, which would therefore have to be entirely re-written. Many Medieval forms had already been quoted in it, in order to show that the Early Modern forms followed the old tradition, especially where the late written form is artificial; in some cases the etymology also was given, in order to show further that the traditional form had developed regularly. In re-casting the first portion I thought it would be well to bring together the laws by which Welsh sounds are derived from Keltic and Primitive Aryan, so that by reference to them any formation or word might be compared with its cognates, and traced to its origin. Thus from a descriptive grammar of Modern Welsh the book grew into a Welsh Grammar Historical and Comparative.

In its present form the work was commenced early in 1908; and the Phonology and Accidence now published were completed in the Spring of 1912. The volume has taken a year to print; and I have not found the time too long for the final revision of the copy and the correction of proofs.

A few words may here be said of the most important previous works on the subject. The earliest known Welsh grammar is that preserved in the Red Book of Hergest (R.G.), and printed from a late copy as *Dosparth Edeyrn Dafod Aur* by Ab Ithel; apart from the treatment of sounds and metres this is little more than a definition of the parts of speech. Simwnt Vychan's grammar (P.H.) is also of value only for its prosody. The first printed

Welsh grammar was written by Dr. Griffith Roberts, and appeared at Milan in 1567. It gives an interesting account of the language as it was written before the influence of Salesbury made itself felt; but the most remarkable feature of the book is the section on etymology, which records the discovery by the author of the fact that the sound-changes which take place in Latin loan-words were capable of being stated as laws. Dr. J. D. Rhys's grammar appeared in 1592. The author wrote excellent Welsh, though his peculiar alphabet makes it appear uncouth; and his grammar is an attempt to describe the language as he wrote it. It is cast almost wholly in the form of tables, and is less systematic in reality than in appearance. The prosody, which is valuable, was contributed by contemporary bards. In 1593 a small grammar was published by Henry Salesbury, in which literary and dialectal forms are given, but are not distinguished.

Dr. John Davies published his grammar in 1621, the year after the appearance of the revised Bible, which is believed to be chiefly his work. The grammar represents the result of a careful study of the works of the bards. It was the first Welsh grammar to be based on an examination of the actual facts of the language of standard authors. Medieval bards are quoted in modernized spelling; in that respect, therefore, the work is not in the strict sense historical. But the author's analysis of the Modern literary language is final; he has left to his successors only the correction and amplification of detail.

The grammar of William Owen (later W. O. Pughe) prefixed to his Dictionary, 1803, stands at the opposite pole. It is written on the same principle as the dictionary, and represents the language not as it is, or ever was, but as it might be if any suffix could be attached mechanically to any stem. The author's method can best be realized by imagining a Latin grammarian evolving out of the stems of *volo* the presents ind. *volo, volis, volit*; *vīo, vīs, vīt*; *vulo, vuls, vult*; *velo, vels, velt*; *vello, vellis, vellit,*

and the infinitives *volere, vĭere, vulere, velere, vellere,* with perhaps a note stating that these infinitives are "seldom used" (see his Gr.[2] 66, 68), or alternatively a footnote to the effect that *velle* "is as often used" (do. 67). Examples are quoted of such forms as are genuine; and the impression is conveyed by the suggestio falsi of "seldom", "as often", and the like, that the others also occur. To the author truth meant conformity with his theory; facts, perverse enough to disagree, were glossed over to save their character.

In 1853 appeared the first edition of Rowland's work, which was regarded for more than a generation as the standard grammar of Modern Welsh. It is for the most part a description of the written Welsh of the 19th century; but the paradigms contain many of Pughe's spurious forms. The author had practically no knowledge of any Welsh older than that of the Bible translation; he records recent usages, but is unable to throw any light on them, or to decide between genuine and counterfeit forms. The use which he makes of Dr. Davies often shows that he was incapable of understanding him; e.g. in professing to give Davies's table of diphthongs, after including *iw wy* among the falling diphthongs he imagines that he has done with those combinations, and omits them from the rising class, without perceiving that the very object of the classification is to distinguish between falling *i͡w w͡y* and rising *i̯w w̯y*. But his book contains a quantity of sound, if ill-digested, information about Late Welsh; and marks the return to common sense after the domination of Pughe.

The foundations of modern Keltic philology were laid by I. C. Zeuss in his great *Grammatica Celtica*, which was published in 1853. The sections devoted to Welsh grammar contain a wonderfully complete and accurate analysis of the language of the Red Book Mabinogion (ed. Lady Charlotte Guest, 1849), the Black Book of Chirk (in A.L., 1841), and the Welsh passages in Liber Landavensis (ed. Rees, 1840).

In 1908 appeared the first part of Pedersen's *Vergleichende Grammatik der keltischen Sprachen*; two of the remaining three parts have since been issued. This important work is mainly comparative as its title suggests, and deals with the derivation and development of the grammatical forms of all the Keltic languages. It records the latest results of Keltic philology, but is in some respects rather markedly individual.

Strachan's *Introduction to Early Welsh* appeared posthumously in 1909. It contains a Medieval Welsh grammar, reader and glossary. The grammar was written by Strachan in a few weeks in 1907, and one cannot but wonder with his editor at "the amazing rapidity with which he toiled". The work embodies forms from texts inaccessible to Zeuss, and is naturally the product of a more advanced knowledge. Its value is somewhat lessened by the fact that a large number of forms and phrases are quoted without references.

Of the scope of the present work I have already spoken. It embraces roughly that of the grammars of Davies, Strachan, and Pedersen (so far as this relates to Welsh). The sections dealing with the derivation of Welsh sounds were planned and partly written before the appearance of Pedersen's work; but I had the advantage of consulting the latter in filling in the detail. I have however examined each rule for myself; many new examples are adduced, and the conclusion arrived at differs in some cases from Pedersen's. In §§ 75, 76 I have attempted a solution of the extraordinarily difficult problems presented by the development of original diphthongs in Welsh. I hope the result is in the main sound, though some of the details are tentative. In § 63 I have endeavoured to compress into a few pages an account of the Aryan vowel system, a knowledge of which is essential to an understanding of the vocalism of the derived languages. The section follows the lines of Hirt's suggestive work *Der idg. Ablaut*; the notation (R, F, etc.) is an adaptation

and elaboration of Hirt's. Apart from the Welsh examples the section contains nothing new except the notes on the place of *a* in the system (v (2)) and the treatment of long diphthongs (vii (5)). In the discussion of philological questions generally my obligation to Brugmann's great work is so obvious as hardly to need statement; for the writing of prehistoric forms his scheme has been adopted, and is departed from in only one particular: ${}_{e}r$, ${}_{e}n$ etc. are used here, as by Hirt, instead of $\underset{\circ}{r}$, $\underset{\circ}{n}$ etc. I have also learnt much from Meillet's brilliant *Introduction*, and have borrowed from him the convenient use of the term "sonant" to denote the sounds which oscillate between vowels and consonants in Pr. Ar. In the search for the origin and cognates of Welsh vocables I have made extensive use of Walde's *Wörterbuch*, which contains, in a concise form and fully indexed, a vast collection of the results of recent investigation in this field; Boisacq's *Dictionnaire* I have also found most valuable. For the purposes of Keltic philology I have consulted with much profit Thurneysen's admirable grammar of Old Irish. The sections treating of the derivation of sounds are fuller than they were originally intended to be; and with the material thus provided I was led further to attempt to trace to their origin all inflexions and important grammatical forms. But in order to save space I have generally given only the explanation which seemed to me in each case the most probable; thus the fact that Pedersen's equation of W. *ynteu* with Ir. *intī* or his derivation of *eiδ-aw* from **esi̯o* is not mentioned does not necessarily mean that it has not been considered, but that I regard it as less likely than the explanation offered in the text.

I have to express my gratitude to Dr. Gwenogvryn Evans, who was kind enough to lend me for the purposes of this work his manuscript referred to as TR., his transcripts of numerous poems by G.Gr., G.Gl., Gu.O., D.N., D.E., H.D., I.F. and IL., and to furnish me with proofs of W.M. before it was issued, and of R.P.

and B.T. which have not yet appeared; and to Mr. J. H. Davies who generously lent me for several years his transcripts of about 200 of the poems of T.A., and verified readings for me in MSS. at the National Library. For the latter service I am also indebted to Mr. T. Gwynn Jones at the National Library, and to Mr. J. Ifano Jones at the Free Library, Cardiff. I have to thank Mr. Shankland for the readiness with which he has assisted me in various ways at the Library of the University College of North Wales. The first proof of every sheet was read by my colleague Professor Hudson-Williams; proofs of the Accidence were read by my assistant Mr. Ifor Williams; proofs of the Phonology and revises of the Accidence were read by Sir John Rhys. To each of them, and to the Reader at the Press, I am indebted for the correction of errors which had escaped me. Every reference to a printed book was verified by myself in the first proofs, and I hope few errors remain uncorrected; references to MSS. were compared with my notes and with entries in the *Report on Welsh Manuscripts*, but it was of course impossible, except in a few cases, to check the reading with the original. My thanks are due to Mr. Ifor Williams for much valuable criticism and many hints; I owe to him the explanation of *i'w*, Ml. *yw*, as a metathesis of *wy* p. 277, see p. xxvii below. I desire to acknowledge my deep obligation to my teacher Sir John Rhys, who has always been ready to help with criticism and advice. Lastly, I owe a debt of gratitude to the Fellows of Jesus College who elected me to a research fellowship for a period in order to enable me to devote my long vacations to the work.

J. MORRIS JONES.

May 31st, 1913.

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ABBREVIATIONS

I. SIGNS

√ 'root'.

< 'from, comes from'. } The angle points in the direction of the
> 'giving, gives'. } change.

: '(is) cognate with', used to connect forms having a common element, but usually varying in formation or vowel-grade. The common use of the sign as roughly equivalent to 'viz.' does not clash with the above, and has been retained.

= is used for three purposes; (1) between forms which according to the laws of their respective languages imply the same ground-form; it replaces the usual colon only where it is desired to point out identity of formation as well as of root, etc.;—(2) between references to, or various readings of, the same passage in two different MSS.;—(3) between two designations of the same MS., book or person; or two characters of the same value, etc.

≡ '(is) pronounced'; it generally introduces a phonetic transcription, see Note p. 29; but in some cases the phonetic spelling occurs in contemporary texts, and a reference is given.

| denotes syllabic division, see p. 31; division of feet on p. 18.

/ (1) between words quoted denotes that they rhyme, or correspond in cynghanedd, i.e. have the same consonantism or accentuation or both;—(2) between letters denotes that they alternate, see e.g. § 101 iii;—(3) in references, see VI 1.

* prefixed to a form denotes that it is not attested, but only inferred from a comparison of cognates, or from the known action of sound-laws. It also marks hypothetical forms (and meanings) generally.

A dot under a vowel denotes that it is sounded close.

A comma under a vowel denotes that it is sounded open.

˛ under a vowel denotes that it is nasalized; thus Fr. *bon* ≡ *bǫ̨*.

Marks and symbols explained in the body of the work: accent marks § 39; *i̯*, *u̯* § 100; *w̥* § 17 xi ¶; *o͡y* § 38 i; *l̥*, *m̥*, *n̥*, *r̥* § 57; *ᵉn*, etc. § 61 i (2), § 62 i (2), § 63; *ə* § 57; *k̂*, *ĝ*, *q̂*, *ĝ*, *q̂ʷ*, *ĝʷ* § 84; *ꝏ*, *ꝏ̂* § 17 vi; *g̃* § 19 iv; *ẏ* § 16 ii (3), § 25 iii; *ɣ* § 16 v (2); *ɥ*, *y* § 16 i; *r̂* § 22 iv; *ɮ* § 17 iv; *δ* § 19 iii; *χ*, *χ̂* § 17 iii; *6* § 14 ii (2); F, F°, L, L°, V, R, R³, R_1 etc. § 63.

Meanings are given in single inverted commas; double inverted commas are used to quote the words of the original when the words explained are taken from a translation; also as ordinary quotation marks.

II. TERMS

abl. 'ablative'
acc. 'accusative'
adj. 'adjective'
adv. 'adverb'
aff. 'affixed' (in Index 'affirmative')
anal. 'analog-y, -ical'
aor. 'aorist'
auto. 'autograph'
cf. 'compare'
conj. 'conjunctive' or 'conjugation'
cpv. 'comparative'
dat. 'dative'
def. 'definite'
denom. 'denominative'
do. 'same book (or author)'
e. g. 'for example'
eqtv. 'equative'
f., fem. 'feminine'
gen. 'genitive'
gl. 'gloss on'
ib. 'same book and page'
id. 'same meaning'
i. e. 'that is'
impers., imps. 'impersonal'
impf. 'imperfect'
impv. 'imperative'
ind. 'indicative'
indef. 'indefinite'
inf. 'infixed'
inj. 'injunctive'
instr. 'instrumental'
interr. 'interrogative'
intj. 'interjection'
l.c. 'in place cited'
lit. 'liter-ary, -ally'
loc. 'locative'
m., mas., 'masculine'
nom. 'nominative'
obj. 'object(ive)'
obl. 'oblique'
orig. 'original(ly)'
perf. 'perfect'
pers. 'person(al)'
pl. 'plural'
plup. 'pluperfect'
pos. 'positive'
pref. 'prefix(ed)'
prep. 'preposition'
pres. 'present'
prob. 'probably'
pron. 'pronoun' or 'pronounced' according to context.
prov. 'proverb'
q.v. 'which see'
redupl. 'reduplicated'
rh. 'rhyming'
sc. 'scribal'
sg. 'singular'
spv. 'superlative'
subj. 'subjunctive', rarely 'subject'
suff. 'suffix'
s.v. 'under the word'
unacc. 'unaccented'
v.a., v.adj. 'verbal adj.'
vb. 'verb'
v.n. 'verbal noun'
voc. 'vocative'

III. LANGUAGES

Abbreviations denoting languages are obvious contractions of the names of languages given on p. 1.

Mn. 'Modern'. Ml. 'Medieval' or 'Middle'. O. 'Old'. Pr. 'Primitive'.

Note that Ir. means 'Old Irish' as in Thurneysen Gr., Vendryes Gr., and Windisch, *Irische Texte*. Ml. and Mn. Ir. are so named.

O.E. 'Old English'=Anglo-Saxon. O.H.G. 'Old High German'. Gathav. 'Gathic Avestic', Oldest Avestic.

Hes(ych). designates forms and meanings from the Lexicon of Hesychius.

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Sommer: *Handbuch der lateinischen Laut- und Formenlehre* . . . Von Dr. Ferdinand Sommer. Heidelberg 1902.
S.R.: Siôn Rhydderch=*Grammadeg Cymraeg* . . . O Gasgliad, Myfyriad ac Argraphiad John Rhydderch . . . Mwythig (Shrewsbury) 1728.
T. Stephens: see R. I. Prys.
Stokes, Fick: see Fick.
Strachan Intr.: *An Introduction to Early Welsh.* By the Late John Strachan . . Manchester 1909.
S.V.: *Pump Llyfr Kerdwriaeth* [Welsh Grammar and Prosody by Simwnt Vychan, see V]; see P.LL. under VI II.
T. Charles: *Geiriadur Ysgrythyrol* . . . ³ Bala 1836.
Tegai: *Gramadeg Cymraeg* . . . Gan Hugh Hughes (Tegai). ³ Caernarfon [1859].
Tegid: *A Defence of the Reformed System of Welsh Orthography* . . . By the Rev. John Jones M.A. [Tegid]. Oxford 1829; and another tract; confuted by W. B. Knight, to whom the chief credit is due for saving the Welsh Bible from the vandalism of Pughe's followers.
Thurneysen Gr.: *Handbuch des Altirischen* . . . Von Rudolf Thurneysen. i. Teil: Grammatik. Heidelberg 1909.

Thurneysen KR.: *Keltoromanisches.* Von Rudolf Thurneysen. Halle 1884.

T.J.: *The British Language in its Lustre, or a Copious Dictionary of Welsh and English* ... Compiled by the great Pains and Industry of Tho. Jones. London 1688.

TPS.: *Transactions of the Philological Society.* London.

Tr. Cym.: *The Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion.* London.

Troude: *Nouveau dictionnaire pratique breton-français* ... Par A.-E. Troude. Brest 1876.

Troude, Dic. Fr.-Bret.: *Nouveau dictionnaire pratique français & breton* ... Par A. Troude. [3] Brest 1886.

Vendryes Gr.: *Grammaire du vieil-irlandais* ... Par J. Vendryes ... Paris 1908.

Walde: *Lateinisches etymologisches Wörterbuch,* von Dr. Alois Walde ... Heidelberg [1] 1906, [2] 1910.

Whitney: *A Sanskrit Grammar* ... By William Dwight Whitney. [3] Leipzig 1896.

Williams Lex: *Lexicon Cornu-Britannicum* .. By the Rev. Robert Williams M.A... Llandovery 1865.

ZE.: *Grammatica Celtica* ... Construxit I. C. Zeuss ... Editio Altera curavit H. Ebel ... Berolini 1871.

ZfCP.: *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie,* hg. v. Kuno Meyer und L. Chr. Stern. Halle a. S.

Other references seem to require no explanation. The most important of the works used, but not referred to, are the following: *A New English Dictionary.*—Skeat, *An Etymological Dictionary of the English Language* [4] 1910.—Kluge, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache* [7] 1910.—Prellwitz, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der griechischen Sprache* [2] 1905.—Macdonell, *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary* 1893.—Wiedemann, *Handbuch der litauischen Sprache* [2] 1897.—Wright, *A Primer of the Gothic Language* [2] 1899.—Windisch, *Irische Texte mit Wörterbuch* 1880.—Loth, *Les mots latins dans les langues brittoniques* 1892.—Rhys, *The Outlines of the Phonology of Manx Gaelic* 1894.

V. AUTHORS

(m. before an author's initials in brackets denotes that the quotation is from a *marwnad* in his memory.)

A.R.: Absalom Roberts (Conway Vale), d. 1862 (?), see LL.M.

B.A.: Bedo Aeddren (Llangwm, LL 15/44 R.), c. 1500.

B.Br.: Bedo Brwynllys (Brec.), c. 1460.

B.D.: Bleddyn Du [Bleðyn Tu § 111 vii (2)], c. 1350.

B.F.: y Brawd Fadawg ap Gwallter, c. 1250.

B.Ph.B.: Bedo Phylip Bach, c. 1480.

B.V.: Bleddyn Vardd, fl. 1250–90.
C.: Cynddelw (Powys), fl. 1150–1200.
Ca.: Casnodyn, c. 1320.
Ceiriog: John Ceiriog Hughes, 1832–87.
D.B.: Dafydd Benfras, fl. 1200–50.
D.E.: Dafydd ab Edmwnd (Flintsh.), fl. 1450–80.
D.G.: Dafydd ap Gwilym (N. Card.), fl. 1350–80; ref. to *Barddoniaeth Dafydd ab Gwilym* . . . Llundain, 1789.
D.I.D.: Deio ab Ieuan Du (Card.), c. 1480.
D.Ll.: Dafydd Llwyd ap Llywelyn ap Gruffudd, c. 1480.
D.N.: Dafydd Nanmor (Beddgelert), c. 1460.
Dr. M.: William Morgan (C'vonshire), 1541–1604; Bp. of St. Asaph, translator of the Bible, 1588.
Dr. P.: Richard Parry (Ruthin), 1560–1623; Bp. of St. Asaph, editor of the revised Bible, 1620. Internal and other evidence points to the version being largely if not mainly by Dr. John Davies.
D.W.: Dewi Wyn o Eifion = Dafydd Owen (Llanystumdwy), 1784–1841; ref. to *Blodau Arfon* . . . Caerlleon (Chester), 1842.
D. y C.: Dafydd y Coed, c. 1330.
E.F.: Eben Fardd = Ebenezer Thomas (S. C'von), 1802–63; ref. to *Gweithiau Barddonol Eben Fardd.* [Pangor, n.d.]
E.M.: Edward Morris (Cerrig y Drudion), d. 1689; ref. to *Edward Morris . . . ei Achau* . . etc. Liverpool 1902.
E.P.: Edmwnd Prys, Archdeacon of Merioneth, 1541–1623; ref. to *Edmwnd Prys* . . . Gan. T. R. Roberts (Asaph). Caernarfon 1899. PS. refers to his metrical version of the Psalms.
E.S.: Elidir Sais, fl. 1160–1220.
E.U.: Edward ab Urien, c. 1610.
G.: Gwalchmai (Anglesey), fl. 1150–90.
G.B.: Gwynfardd Brycheinog (Brec.), c. 1170.
G.C.: Gruffudd ap Cynfrig Goch, p. 119, error in P 64/122 R. for Rhys ap Cynfrig Goch P 97/244 ("nai . . i I.G." ?); P 100/408; M 133/129 R. (? = R.G.G.).
G.D.A.: Gwilym Ddu o Arfon, c. 1300.
G Gl.: Guto'r Glyn (Denb.), fl. 1450–80.
G.Gr.: Gruffudd Gryg (Anglesey), c. 1370.
G.Gw.: Gruffudd ap Gwrgeneu, c. 1200.
G.H.: Gruffudd Hiraethog (N. Denb.), fl. 1520–60.
G.I.H.: Gwilym ab Ieuan Hen, c. 1460.
G.I.Ll.F.: Gruffudd ab Ieuan ap Llywelyn Fychan (Denb.), fl. 1500–25; selected poems ed. by J. C. Morrice, Bangor Welsh MSS. Soc. 1910.
G.J.: Griffith Jones, Rector of Llanddowror, 1684–1761.
G.M.D.: Gruffudd ap Maredudd ap Dafydd, c. 1320–50.
Gr.O.: Goronwy Owen (Anglesey), 1723–69; ref. to *Gwaith y Parch. Goronwy Owen* . . . Llanrwst, 1860. (In R. Jones's edn., 1876, the text is tampered with.)
G.S.: Guto ap Siancyn y Glyn = G.Gl.

G.T.: Gwilym Tew (Glam.), c. 1450.
Gu.O., Gut.O.: Gutun Owain (Denb.), fl. 1450–90.
G.V.: Gruffudd Vychan, c. 1320.
G.Y.C.: Gruffudd ab yr Ynad Coch, c. 1280.
H.A.: Huw Arwystl c. 1550.
H.C.LL.: Huw (or Hywel) Cae Llwyd, c. 1480 [LL R. p. 428 footn. for 1525 read 1475].
H.D.: Huw Dafi, or Hywel ap Dafydd ab Ieuan ap Rhys (Brec.), c. 1480.
H.K.: Hywel Kilan (l ≡ l-l) (Llŷn ?), c. 1480.
H.M.: Hugh Maurice (Denb.), 1622–1709; ref. to *Eos Ceiriog* ... 2 vols. Wrexham, 1823.
H.O.G.: Hywel ab Owain Gwynedd, Prince of the House of Gwynedd, d. 1170.
H.R.: Hywel Rheinallt, c. 1480.
H.S.: Hywel Swrdwal (Montgomerysh.), c. 1450; ref. to *Gwaith Barddonol Hywel Swrdwal a'i Fab Ieuan*, ed. by J. C. Morrice, Bangor Welsh MSS. Soc., 1908.
I.B.H.: Ieuan Brydydd Hir (Merioneth), c. 1450.
I.C.: Iorwerth ab y Cyriawg, c. 1360.
I.D.: Ieuan Deulwyn (Carm.), fl. 1460–80; ref. to *Gwaith Ieuan Deulwyn*, ed. by Ifor Williams, Bangor Welsh MSS. Soc. 1909.
I.F.: Iorwerth Fynglwyd (Glam.), c. 1490.
I.G.: Iolo Goch (Denb.), fl. 1370–1405; ref. to *Gweithiau Iolo Goch* ... Gan Charles Ashton, Cymmrodorion Soc., 1896.
I.H.S.: Ieuan ap Hywel Swrdwal, c. 1470; ref. as for H.S., q.v.
I.LLaf.: Ieuan Llavar, c. 1590.
Io.G. = I.G.
I.R.: Ieuan ap Rhydderch ab Ieuan Llwyd, c. 1420.
I.T.: Ieuan Tew o Gydweli, c. 1460 (often confused with the later, and lesser, Ieuan Tew who graduated at the Caerwys Eisteddfod of 1568).
L.G.C.: Lewis Glyn Cothi, fl. 1440–80; ref. to *Gwaith Lewis Glyn Cothi* ... Oxford 1837.
L.M.: Lewis Morris (Llywelyn Ddu o Fôn), 1701–65.
L.Môn: Lewis Môn, c. 1500.
L.Mor.: Lewis Morgannwg, c. 1520.
LL.: Llawdden (Llandeilo, I.MSS. 320), c. 1460.
LL.G.: Llywelyn Goch Amheurig Hên, c. 1380.
M.: Meilyr (Anglesey), c. 1137.
M.B.: Madog Benfras, c. 1380.
M.D.: Madog Dwygraig, c. 1370.
M.K.: Maurice Kyffin; ref. to *Deffynniad Ffydd Eglwys Loegr* 1595, reprint ed. by Wm. Prichard Williams, Bangor 1908.
M.LL.: Morgan Llwyd o Wynedd, 1619–1659; ref. to *Gweithiau Morgan Llwyd o Wynedd*, i ed. by Thomas E. Ellis, Bangor 1899; ii ed. by John H. Davies, Bangor 1908.
M.R.: Maredudd ap Rhys, c. 1440.

O.G. : Owain Gwynedd, c. 1580.
P.M. : Llywarch ap Llywelyn, Prydydd y Moch (Wigwer, St. Asaph ; "wele [gwely] Pridith Mogh" at "Wyckewere", Seebohm 31), c. 1160–1220.
R.C. : Rhys Cain, c. 1580.
R.D. : Richard Davies (Conway), Bp. of St. Davids, 1501–81 ; translator of some epistles in Wm.S.'s N.T. 1567.
R.G.D. : Robert ap Gwilym Ddu = Robert Williams, Betws Fawr, Llanystumdwy, 1767–1850 ; ref. to *Gardd Eifion* . . . Dolgellau 1841.
R.G.E. : Rhys Goch Eryri (C'vonsh.), c. 1430.
R.G.G. : Rhys Goch Glyndyfrdwy, c. 1420 (?), see G.C.
R.Ll. : Rhys Llwyd ap Rhys ap Rhicart, c. 1460.
R.M. : Richard Morris (Anglesey, brother of L.M.), 1703–79 ; editor of Bible, 1746, 1752.
R.V. : Rowland Vaughan, Caer Gai, Llanuwchllyn, d. 1667.
Salesbury, see Wm.S.
S.B. : Siôn Brwynog (o Frwynog ym Môn), d. 1562.
S.C. : Siôn Cent (Kentchurch), c. 1420.
S.M. : Siôn Mawddwy (native of Glam.), c. 1580.
S.Ph. : Siôn Phylip (Ardudwy, Mer.), 1543–1620.
S.T. : Siôn Tudur (Wigwer, St. Asaph), d. 1602.
S.V. : Simwnt Vychan (Ruthin), born c. 1530, d. 1606 ; author of P.Ll.
T. : Talhaiarn = John Jones, Llanfair Talhaearn, 1810–69 ; ref. to *Gwaith Talhaiarn*, i London 1855, ii London 1862, (iii Llanrwst 1869).
T.A. : Tudur Aled (N. Denb.), fl. 1480–1520.
W.Ll. : Wiliam Llŷn (? Llŷn ; res. Oswestry), 1535–80 ; ref. to *Barddoniaeth Wiliam Llŷn* . . . Gan y Parch. J. C. Morrice M.A. Bangor 1908.
W.M. : William Morris (brother of L.M.), 1705–63.
Wm.S. : Wyllyam Salesbury (Llanrwst) ; translator of the bulk of N.T. 1567 ; joint tr. and ed. of Pb. 1567, 1586 ; etc.
Wms. : William Williams, Pant y Celyn (Carm.) ; hymn-writer, 1717–91 ; ref. to *Gwaith Prydyddawl* . . . *William Williams* . . . *sef yr Holl Hymnau* . . . Caerfyrddin, 1811, definitive edn. by his son.

VI. SOURCES

I. COLLECTIONS OF MANUSCRIPTS

The name of the collection is denoted by a sm. cap. initial without a stop; the number of the MS. follows, and generally the number of the page or folio, separated by an oblique stroke; thus P 99/469 means Peniarth MS. 99, page (or folio) 469. The MSS., except those of the Brit. Mus., are numbered as in the Historical Manuscripts Commission's *Report on Manuscripts in the Welsh Language*. R. after a reference indicates that the words quoted appear in the *Report*. As many of the quotations are taken from transcripts in some of which only the p. or fol. of the opening lines of a poem was given, the reference may be to the piece beginning on the p. or fol. named.

A = British Museum Additional Manuscripts.
C = Cardiff Free Library Manuscripts.
J = Manuscripts in the Jesus College Library, Oxford.
LL = Llanstephan Manuscripts, now in the National Library of Wales.
M = Mostyn Manuscripts, at Mostyn Hall.
P = Peniarth Manuscripts, now in the National Library of Wales.
Stowe = British Museum Stowe Manuscripts.

II. MANUSCRIPTS AND TEXTS

O.W. materials are distinguished thus †. References are not usually given to the pages of OX., OX. 2, JUV. and M.C., as Loth Voc. forms an index to these MSS. The reference is to pages except where otherwise stated below.

†A.C.: *Annales Cambriæ* in *Y Cymmrodor* ix 152–169; reference to years. [Early 12th cent. literal transcript of late 10th cent. orig. by scribe ignorant of Welsh, see Phillimore's preface.]
A.G.: *Athravaeth Gristnogavl* [Milan 1568]. By Morys Clynoc; ed. by G.R. Cymmrodorion Soc. Reprint 1880.
A.L.: *Ancient Laws and Institutes of Wales* . . . 2 vols. 1841.
B.A.: *The Book of Aneirin* = C 1, circa 1250. Facsimile and Text by J. Gwenogvryn Evans. Pwllheli 1908. [Parts are transcribed literally from older copies not understood by the scribe.]
BAR.: *Barddas* . . . With trans. and notes by J. Williams ab Ithel. i Llandovery 1862; (ii London 1874). [Late Gwentian.]

B.B.: *The Black Book of Carmarthen* = P 1, end of 12th cent. Ed. by J. Gwenogvryn Evans. Pwllheli 1906.

B.CH.: The Black Book of Chirk = P 29 = A.L. MS. A., circa 1200. Quotations taken from the orig. MS. (Quotations from A.L. are referred to the latter.)

B.CW.: *Gweledigaetheu y Bardd Cwsc.* [By Ellis Wynne]. Llundain 1703. Reprint ed. by J. Morris Jones, Bangor 1898.

BR.: *Y Brython.* i Weekly; ii–iv Monthly; v Quarterly. Tremadoc 1858–63. [Contains old cywyddau etc.]

†B.S.CH: The Book of St. Chad. 9th cent. entries in W., see Lindsay EWS. 1–6; transcribed (with facsimiles) in L.L. pp. xliii–xlviii; ref. to nos. of entries ib.

B.T.: The Book of Taliessin = P 2, circa 1275; ref. to the edn. about to be published by Dr. Gwenogvryn Evans.

C. i and C. ii: *Ceinion Llenyddiaeth Gymreig* . . . Dan olygiad y Parch. Owen Jones. 2 vols. London 1876.

C.B.Y.P.: *Cyfrinach Beirdd Ynys Prydain* . . . Dan olygiad . . . Iolo Morganwg. Abertawy (Swansea) 1829.

C.C.: *The Cefn Coch MSS.* . . . Ed. by the Rev. J. Fisher. Liverpool 1899. [Late 16th and 17th cent.; mostly poetry.]

C.G. *Cant o Ganeuon.* Gan John Ceiriog Hughes. Wrexham [1863].

C.LL.: *Cynfeirdd Lleyn: 1500–1800* . . . Cynnulledig . . . gan J. Jones (Myrddin Fardd). Pwllheli 1905.

C.M.: *Ystorya de Carolo Magno.* From the Red Book of Hergest. Ed. by Thomas Powell. Cymmrod. Soc. 1883.

†CP.: *Fragment of an Old Welsh Computus.* 23 lines [10th cent.]. Fac., transcr. and transl. by E. C. Quiggin. ZfCP. viii 407–10. Ref. to lines.

CY.: Reproductions in *Y Cymmrodor.*

D.: Quoted in D., see under IV.

D.G.: By G.Gr. etc., printed in D.G.; see under V.

D.P.O.: *Drych y Prif Oesoedd* . . . Gan Theophilus Evans . . . [2] Mwythig (Shrewsbury) [1740]. Reprint ed. by Samuel J. Evans . . . Bangor 1902.

D.T.: *Diddanwch Teuluaidd: neu Waith Beirdd Mon* . . . [2] Caernarfon 1817.

E.: *Egluryn Phraethineb* . . . Gan Mr. William Salesbury, a . . . Mr. Henri Perri . . . Lhundain 1595; [3] Llanrwst 1829. Ref. to chapters.

E.G.: *Eos Gwynedd* . . . Gan . . John Thomas, Pentre'r Foelas. Dan olygiaeth G. Caledfryn. Llanrwst [1845].

E.P.: Quoted in E.P.; see under V.

F.: *Flores Poetarum Britannicorum* . . . O gasgliad J[ohn] D[avies] SS. Th. D. . . . Mwythig (Shrewsbury) 1710.

F.N.: *Y Flodeugerdd Newydd. Casgliad o gywyddau* . . . Wedi eu golygu gan W. J. Gruffydd. Cardiff 1909. [Early Mn. verse.]

G.: *Gorchestion Beirdd Cymru* . . . O Gasgliad Rhys Jones . . . Amwythig (Shrewsbury) 1773. [Early Mn. verse.]

G.C.: *The History of Gruffydd ap Cynan. The Welsh Text with trans., intr., and notes.* By Arthur Jones. Manchester 1910. [Pp. 102–142 = P 17/1–16, mid-13th cent.]

† GEN. Old-Welsh Genealogies in *Y Cymmrodor* ix 169–83; ref. to nos. of genealogies. [From the same MS. as A.C., q.v.]

G.R. Quoted in G.R., see under IV.

GRE. (or Greal): *Y Greal; sev Cynnulliad o Orchestion ein Hynaviaid* . . . Llundain 1805–7.

H.G.: *Hen Gwndidau, Carolau, a Chywyddau*...[Ed.] by Hopcyn . . . and Cadrawd . . . Bangor 1910. [Gwentian 16th–17th cent.]

Hyff. Gynn(wys): *Hyfforddiad Gynnwys I Wybodaeth jachusol o Egwyddorjon a Dyledswyddau Crefydd* . . . Gan Weinidog o Eglwys Loegr [Griffith Jones]. Llundain 1749.

H.M. ii: *Selections from the Hengwrt MSS. . . in the Peniarth Library. Vol. ii.* Ed. . . by . . Robert Williams . . . transl. contd. by . . G. Hartwell Jones . . London 1892. [Vol. i is referred to as S.G.]

I.MSS.: *Iolo Manuscripts* . . . Coll. . . by . . Edward Williams, Iolo Morganwg . . . Llandovery 1848. [Contains cywyddau etc. besides late Gwentian memoranda].

† JUV.: Glosses in the Juvencus MS., Cambridge Univ. Libr. Published by Stokes in Kuhn's Beiträge iv 385–421. [9th to 11th cent., Lindsay EWS. 16.]

† JUV. SK.: The verses in the Juvencus MS., printed in Skene's *Four Ancient Books of Wales* ii 1–2.

L.G.C.: Appearing in L.G.C., see under V.

† L.L.: Liber Landavensis, c. 1150. *The Text of the Book of Llan Dâv* . . . by J. Gwenogvryn Evans . . . [and] John Rhys . . Oxford 1893. [Contains documents with O.W. forms literally transcribed].

L.A.: Llyfr yr Ancr, dated 1346. *The Elucidarium and Other Tracts in Welsh* . . . Ed. by J. Morris Jones . . . and John Rhŷs . . . Oxford 1894.

L.B.M.: Llyfr Bychan Mawddwy, a 16th cent. MS. in the National Libr. of Wales.

L.H.: Y Llyfr Hir in the National Libr. of Wales. [MS. collection by W. Jones (Bleddyn), of Early Mn. cywyddau.]

L.M.: *Lloches Mwyneidd-dra* . . . Gan Absalom Roberts. Llanrwst 1845. [Contains coll. of old penillion telyn.]

M.A.: *The Myvyrian Archaiology of Wales* . . . 3 vols. London 1801–7. [Corpus of Ml. poetry and prose. [2] Denbigh 1870.]

† M.C.: Glosses on Martianus Capella in the Libr. of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, ed. by Stokes in Arch. Camb. 1873 pp. 1–21. [Mostly 9th cent., Lindsay EWS. 22.]

M.E.: Mil o Englynion = *Pigion Englynion fy Ngwlad* . . . Gan Eifionydd. i[2] and ii, Liverpool 1882.

M.L.: Morris Letters. *The Letters of Lewis, Richard, William and John Morris, of Anglesey* . . . *1728–1765.* Transcr. . . and ed. by John H. Davies . . . 2 vols. Oxford 1906–9.

M.M.: Meddygon Myddfai. *The Physicians of Myddvai*... Transl. by John Pughe . . F.R.C.S. . . and ed. by . . John Williams Ab Ithel. Llandovery 1861. [Pp. 1–34 are from R.B. 928 ff.]

N.T.: New Testament.

O.B.: *Oriau'r Bore.* Gan John Ceiriog Hughes. [2] Wrexham n.d.

O.H.: *Oriau'r Hwyr.* Gan John Ceiriog Hughes. [5] Wrexham [1872].

† OX.: Oxford Liber Commonei and Ovid, Bodleian Libr., Auct. F 4. 32. Date 817, Lindsay EWS. 7 (812, Dosp. Ed. 10). Glosses in W. and notes in mixed Lat. and W., printed in ZE. 1052–60.

† OX. 2: Cod. Oxoniensis Posterior. Glosses in Bodl. 572 printed in ZE. 1060–3 as W.; given as Corn. in Loth Voc. ix; shown to be W. by Loth, RC. xiv 70; 10th cent.

Pb.: Prayerbook.

P.G.G.: *Pattrwm y Gwir-Gristion* . . . Chester 1723. Reprint ed. by H. Elvet Lewis. Bangor 1908.

P.IL.: *Pump Llyfr Kerdwriaeth* by S.V.=J 9 autograph; printed (from a copy by J.J. of a copy of the orig.) in Dosp. Ed. pp. xlii–cxxviii. P.IL. refers to the latter, J 9 to the auto. MS.

R.B.: The Red Book of Hergest=J 1, late 14th and early 15th cent. Quotations taken direct from the MS.; ref. to columns.

R B.B.: Red Book Bruts. *The Text of The Bruts from the Red Book of Hergest.* Ed. by John Rhŷs . . . and J. Gwenogvryn Evans. Oxford 1890.

R.G.: Red Book Grammar; cols. 1117–1142 of R.B. Ref. to columns. The Bangor MSS. Soc. will shortly publish an edn. by the writer.

RH.B S.: *Rheol Buchedd Sanctaidd* . . . Llundain 1701. Transl. of Jer. Taylor's *Holy Living* by Ellis Wynne, author of B.CW.

R.M.: Red Book Mabinogion. *The Text of the Mabinogion* . . . *from the Red Book of Hergest.* Ed. by John Rhŷs . . . and J. Gwenogvryn Evans. Oxford 1887.

R.P.: Red Book Poetry; quotations taken from corrected proofs of the edn. about to be published by Dr. J. Gwenogvryn Evans. Ref. to columns.

Ruthin Court Rolls: *The Court Rolls of the Lordship of Ruthin* . . . . . *of the Reign of King Edward the First.* Ed. . . . by R. A. Roberts. Cymmrod. Record Series. London 1893. [Contains Welsh names in Norman-Fr. spelling.]

Seebohm Trib. Sys.: *The Tribal System in Wales* . . . by Frederic Seebohm . . . London 1895. [Contains reproductions of Norman documents with Welsh names.]

S.G.: *Selections from the Hengwrt MSS. . . Vol. i. Y Seint Greal* . . . Ed. . . by . . Robert Williams. London 1876 [=P 11, end of 14th cent.]

SK.: *The Four Ancient Books of Wales* . . . By William F. Skene. Edinburgh 1868. Vol. ii. [Texts; now superseded except pp. 1–2, see JUV.]

TR.: Tremvan MS.; cywyddau etc. in the hand of Robert Vaughan of Hengwrt 1592–1666; used by the editor of G.; now in the possession of Dr. J. Gwenogvryn Evans.

W.: 13th cent. MS. copied by Dr. Davies in 1617, since lost sight of, recently re-discovered; Davies's copy in A 14869, the source of the poems of M., G., H.O.G., etc. in M.A. i. A reproduction, ed. by the present writer, will be issued in the Univ. of Wales Guild Series.

W.B.: The White Book of Rhydderch = P 4 and 5.

W.M.: *The White Book Mabinogion* . . . Ed. by J. Gwenogvryn Evans. Pwllheli 1907. From the White Book of Rhydderch = P 4, late 13th cent. Ref. to columns. The volume also contains other early versions of the Mabinogion, incl. the fragments in P 6/i, ii, circa 1225; ref. in this case to pages distinguished by "p."

W.M.L.: *Welsh Medieval Law* . . . Harl. MS. 4353 . . . 13th cent. . . . By A. W. Wade-Evans. Oxford 1909.

Y.L.H.: *Yn y lhyvyr hwnn y traethir Gwyδor kymraeg*, etc., 1546. By Sir John Price. Reprint ed. by John H. Davies . . Bangor 1902.

CORRECTIONS

P. 54, § 44 i, l. 9, read *Kellynnawc* (*ll* ≡ *l*)
P. 71, § 54 ii, l. 1, after **b**, **d**, **g**, insert **f**, **dd**,
P. 113, § 78 i (2), l. 7, delete ;—*raccw* § 210 x (3)
P. 131, iv, l. 8, insert * before *ĝhuer-*
P. 153, l. 1, read *di|e|fyl*
P. 166, iv (3), l. 6, for **ad-rim-* read **ad-rīm-*
P. 194, l. 9, insert * before *is-le.*
P. 277, l. 7, delete * before *ŵy*

The metathesis was suggested by Mr. Ifor Williams; unfortunately I overlooked his note in his *Cyfranc Lludd a Llefelys* (1910), p. 20, in which he adduces examples of *wy* M.A.^{2} 145*b* and *uy* do. 227*b*, so that the form need not have been starred. The same explanation is given by Pedersen Gr. ii (1911), p. 158.

INTRODUCTION

ORIGIN AND GENERAL HISTORY

§ 1. i. The Welsh Language is a member of the Keltic branch of the Aryan (also called the Indo-European or Indo-Germanic) family of languages.

The languages of this great family are classified as follows, names of branches and groups being printed in spaced type:

(1) Indian, comprising (*a*) Sanskrit; (*b*) Prākrit dialects, from which are descended numerous modern languages in India.

(2) Iranian: (*a*) Avestic (East Iranian, also called Zend or Old Bactrian); (*b*) Old Persian (West Iranian), later Pehlevi; (*c*) Modern Persian.

(3) Armenian.

(4) Greek, which comprises many dialects, the most important being (*a*) Ionic-Attic; (*b*) Doric; (*c*) Aeolic: Lesbian, Thessalian, Boeotian; (*d*) Arcadian and Cyprian; (*e*) Pamphylian.

(5) Albanian.

(6) Italic: (*a*) Latin, from which are derived the modern Romance languages; (*b*) Oscan, Umbrian.

(7) Keltic: (*a*) the Q division, consisting of dialects in Gaul and Spain, and the Goidelic group, comprising Irish, Scotch Gaelic and Manx; (*b*) the P division, consisting of Gaulish, and the British group, comprising Welsh, Cornish and Breton.

(8) Germanic: (*a*) Gothic; (*b*) the Norse group, including 1. Swedish, Gutnish, Danish; 2. Norwegian, Icelandic; (*c*) the West-Germanic group, including 1. Old English (or Anglo-Saxon), now English; Frisian; Old Saxon, now Low German; Dutch, Flemish; 2. Old High German, now German.

(9) Baltic-Slavonic: (*a*) the Baltic group: Old Prussian, Lithuanian, Lettish; (*b*) the Slavonic group: Old Bulgarian; Russian, Bulgarian, Illyrian; Czech, Sorabian, Polish, Polabian.

(10) Tocharish, recently discovered in East Turkestan.

ii. All these languages are descended from a common ancestor called the Aryan parent language, Primitive Aryan, or briefly Aryan. Similarly, the languages of each branch may be referred to a common parent called Primitive Keltic, Primitive Italic, Primitive Germanic, etc., as the case may be. Some of the above branches are perhaps to be regarded rather as groups; Indian and Iranian are often classified together as the Indo-Iranian branch; and the common features of Keltic and Italic are such as to render it certain that the two branches were united and shared the same development for a period after their separation from the others; hence we may classify them together as Italo-Keltic; see § 86 ii (2), § 113 i (3), § 147 iv (2), § 203 vii (3).

iii. Our earliest knowledge of the various languages varies widely in point of date, and naturally those of which we possess the most ancient records on the whole bring us nearest the fountain head. But the Baltic group, of which our knowledge is only recent, are of a remarkably archaic character; Lithuanian, whose earliest text is dated 1547, and which has changed comparatively little since, preserves to this day some forms which are practically identical with those which we have to postulate for Primitive Aryan itself.

From the cradle of Aryan speech various tribes migrated at different periods in different directions, establishing themselves in distant lands, in which their speech prevailed, though the aborigines cannot have been exterminated, since the speakers of Aryan languages in historical times belong to many races, and it is still matter of dispute which of these has the best claim to be regarded as representing the original Aryans. The dispersion commenced not earlier than about 2000 B. C. according to Hirt, Die Indogermanen 22. The centre of dispersion is now generally believed to have been somewhere in Europe.

A parent language is not necessarily isolated; analogy rather suggests the contrary. As Latin, which is the parent of the Romance languages, is derived from Aryan and allied to the other Aryan languages, so Aryan itself must be derived from some remote ancestor, and it is improbable that it is the only descendant of it which survived. Sweet, by a comparison of the pronominal and verbal forms of Aryan and Ugrian, has made out a strong case for supposing that the two families are allied; see his History of Language pp. 112 ff. On the other side Möller, in his Semitisch und Indogermanisch i (1907), has compared the consonant sounds of Aryan in detail with those of Semitic, and in KZ. xlii 174 ff. the vowels; and claims to have proved their derivation from a common source. But none of these affinities can yet be regarded as established.

§ 2. In the oldest forms of Goidelic found in the ogam inscriptions, Primitive Keltic q^{μ} from Aryan q^{μ} remains; but in the oldest British it had already become p, and it is p in Gaulish. Traces of a Keltic q^{μ} language in Gaul are seen in names like *Sequani*; and in some recently discovered inscriptions further evidence of the survival of such a language is believed to have been found. As the change of q^{μ} to p is the earliest sound-change known which is not common to the whole branch, it seems reasonable to classify the Keltic languages as above § 1 i (7).

The more usual classification adopted in recent years is that in which the Keltic languages are grouped into "insular" and "continental". But this is a negation of all classification; it is as if we were to group together English and Icelandic as insular Germanic! Thurneysen now calls it a "geographic" classification (Gr. 1), which is equivalent to saying that it is no classification at all. It arose out of the view put forward in Rhys's LWPh.[2] (1879) pp. 16 ff. that the language of the ogam inscriptions in Wales is an old form of Welsh. Thurneysen, KR. (1884) pp. 7 ff., adopts this view; dismisses Rhys's later view, CB. (1884) p. 215, that the ogams are Irish; and concludes that, as the ogams have q^{μ}, the change $q^{\mu} > p$ in British is much later than the same change in Gaulish. Of course, if the ogams are Welsh, there was no difference in the 5th cent. between Welsh and Irish, and both differed from Gaulish, which alone had p. Hence the classification into insular and continental. But the assumption on which it is based is groundless; no one now holds that the ogams are Welsh.

If it is denied that a systematic classification of the groups is possible, it would be better to take them separately than to adopt a classification which implies a close relationship between Goidelic and British. But there seems no sufficient reason for separating British from Gaulish. It is now admitted that Brit. p from q^{μ} is ancient; and it is extremely improbable that this p developed independently of Gaulish p. Tacitus, Agricola xi, tells us that the speech of the Britons differed little from that of the Gauls. The Gaulish forms Πεννο-ουινδ-os, *Vindomag(os)*, *ambact(os)*, *Voretovir(os)* are identical with the British forms which we have to postulate as the originals of the Welsh *penwyn* 'white-headed', *gwynfa* 'paradise', *amaeth* 'serf', *gwaredwr* 'saviour'. It is for those who would separate British and Gaulish to prove that Tacitus was wrong.

For the continental q^{μ} dialect or group of dialects various names have been suggested, as Sequanian (Nicholson), Pictavian, Celtican (Rhys), Ligurian (Jullian). The language of the Coligny calendar contains both *qu* and p; but whether the latter is secondary, or borrowed from Gaulish, or represents Aryan p, cannot yet be decided, since independent evidence as to meaning is lacking. The presence of Ar. p, if proved, would constitute these dialects a class apart.

§ 3. i. Welsh, Cornish and Breton are descended from British (properly Brittish), the language of the ancient Britons. The speakers called themselves *Brittones*, and their language **Brittonikā*.

The Old English name was *Brittisc* or *Bryttisc*, as *On Bryttisc sprecende* Guthlac, Godw. 42, 17 (cf. Rhys, CF. 676), which in later spelling was *Brittish*, misspelt *British*[a] under the influence of the Lat. *Britannia*. The name continued to be used for the derived languages: "The Gaulish speach is the very *Brittish*, the which was very generally used heere in all Brittayne before the coming in of the Saxons; and yet is retayned of the Walshmen, the Cornishmen, and the Brittons," Spenser, State of Ireland (Lloyd's Enc. Dic.). It was commonly used for Welsh as late as the 18th and beginning of the 19th cent.: "In these Schools . . . Men, Women and Children being ignorant of the English Tongue, are taught to read their native *British* language," Welsh Piety 1754 p. 53, 1755 p. 47 etc. Cf. dedication of Grawn Awen (Caledfryn) 1826.

ii. The Welsh call themselves *Cymry*, from **kom-brogī* 'fellow countrymen'; but the use of this as a national name is subsequent to the separation of the Welsh from the Cornish and the Bretons. The old name, which survived in poetry, was *Brython* B.T. 13 from *Brittones*; the corresponding name of the language *Brythoneg* was superseded by *Cymraeg*, but some memory of it survived (D.D. gives *Brythoneg*, but with no quotation). The Bretons call their language *Brezonek*, and Cornish was called *Brethonec*; all these forms imply an original **Brittonikā*. Sir John Rhys in his LWPh.[2] 16 adopted the names *Brythons* and *Brythonic* for the Brittones and their language, remarking, however, that he would "like to have called them *Brittons* and their language *Brittonic*". I prefer to call the language by its traditional English name *British*, which in this connexion involves no ambiguity. The term *Brythonic* suggests a later period, and tends to disguise the fact that the language meant is the speech of the ancient Britons.

iii. The name *Brittō*, sg. of *Brittones*, probably owes its *tt* to its being a formation of the type of Gk. Νικοττώ etc., see § 93 iii (2), for an earlier *Britann(os)*, pl. *Britannī*. Similarly we have a late Βριττία for *Britannia*. **Brittia* survives in Bret. *Breiz* 'Brittany', and **Britanniā* in Ml. W. *Brydein* used as a variant of the more usual *Prydein* as in B.B. 100, *milvir Pridein* l. 5, *milguir Bridein* l. 7. *Britan-* seems to be for *Pritan-* by British alternation *p*:*b* § 101 iii (2); cf. PRIT(AN)NII Holder i 564, PRITNII do. ii 1046. *Pritto* also occurs as a personal name beside *Britto*, and *Prittius* beside *Brittius* (see Holder s. vv.). The view now generally held that the members of these pairs are unrelated rests on no other basis than the assumption that British *p*- could under no circumstances pass into *b*-. The fact,

[a] It is of course still pronounced *Brittish*, rhyming with *skittish*, not with *whitish*.

however, is that *Pritan-* and *Britan-* are synonymous. The *P-* goes back through Diodorus Siculus probably to Pytheas (4th cent. B. C.). Polybius (2nd cent. B. C.) seems to have used Βρετ(τ)ανικαὶ νῆσοι; but Strabo and Diodorus have Πρετ(τ)ανικαὶ νῆσοι and Πρετ(τ)ανοί; later Ptolemy and Marcian used Π-. Stephanus of Byzantium (*c.* A. D. 500) wrote Βρεττανίδες νῆσοι and Βρεττανοί, remarking that Dionysius (Periegetes; Augustan age) wrote "one *t* ... Βρετᾶνοί" [read Βρεταννοί], and that others used "*p*, Πρετανίδες νῆσοι, as Marcian and Ptolemy"; elsewhere Stephanus himself wrote Πρετανική and Πρετανοί Holder i 560. The ε in Πρετ- ≡ Brit. *ĭ*, see § 66 i. *Pritan-* is an *n*-stem representing original (**q*^{u}*ṛt̥i̯n-* or) **q*^{u}*rit̥i̯n-*; for the *nn* see § 62 i (2).

The surviving forms show that the old *P-* forms had one *t*; thus W. *Prydain* 'Britain', Ml. W. *Prydein*, implies **Pritan(n)i̯a* and Ir. *Cruithnech* 'Pictish' implies a Pictish **Pritenikos*; hence the *-ττ-* in Πρεττανικαί is probably a misspelling of copyists, due to the *Britt-* forms which prevailed later. The forms with *-on-* had *-tt-*; thus W. *Brython* < *Brittones*, Bret. *Brezonek* <**Brittonikā*, and Ml. Ir. *Bretain* 'Britons' represents *Brittones* regularly. As the new form *Brittones* spread, *Britannia* became *Brittannia* which survives in Fr. *Bretagne*; later we find *Brittania* Βρεττανική etc. which were substituted for older forms in MSS. There is no possible doubt that the oldest *B-* form is *Britann-*: Catullus (died 54 B. C.), Propertius, Vergil, Horace, Ovid, all scan *Brĭtann-*. The evidence of the dated coins and inscriptions in Holder is as follows (the numbers in brackets refer to Holder i): coins of Claudius A. D. 41, 46 have *Britannis, Britanni., Britann.* (564, 36, 37); inscriptions: A. D. 41 *Britannia* (589, 52); time of Claudius *Britannia* (590, 27); A. D. 43 *Britannic(um)* (598, 24); A. D. 49 *Britan(nicis)* (599, 34). In A. D. 49 or 50, at least a century after the first evidence of *Britann-*, *-tt-* appears first in two inscriptions in the name of Claudius's son Britannicus: *Britta[nico]* (602, 18), *Brittanici* (602, 22); in eight other cases it is *Britannicus* or Βρεταννικος (602). The early appearance of *tt* in this name may mean that *Brittō* was in use as an abbreviated personal name earlier than as meaning 'Briton'. In the national name the single *t* continued in use: A. D. 54 *Britan(nicum)* (600, 22); A. D. 65 *Britannico* (599, 5); A. D. 80 *Britannica* (598, 37). In A. D. 85 *Brittones* first appears in the gen. pl. *Brittonum* side by side with *Britannica* (607, 41–2). In A. D. 90 first occurs *Brittanniae* (588, 7); in A. D. 98 and 103 *Britannia* again (590, 25; 588, 9); in A. D. 99 *Brittonum* (607, 43); in A. D. 105 *Brittan[nia]* (588, 10), in A. D. 110 *Brittanniae* (590, 5) and *Britannica* (598, 40). In the 2nd cent. *Britann-* and *Brittann-* are both common. *Brittania* first occurs on a coin in A. D. 185 (590, 50) and *Brittanicae* in A. D. 210 (599, 51).

The W. *Pryden* 'Picts' § 121 iii from **Pritenes*, *Prydyn* B.T. 13 'Pictland' from **Pritenī*, and the Ir. *Cruithen Cruithnech* seem to have the F-grade *-en-* of the stem-ending, probably a Pictish form. The Picts were Britons, as shown by the fact that *p* < *q*^{u} abounds in Pictish names. They kept in their own name the *P-* which also survives in

W. *Prydain* 'Britain', and so came to be distinguished from the Southern Britons, who called themselves *Brittones*. *Picti*, which is not known to occur before A. D. 297, seems to be a Latin translation of **Pritenes* explained as meaning 'figured' (: W. *pryd* 'form', Ir. *cruth*), just as W. *Brithwyr* 'Picts' is a translation of *Picti*. This explanation of **Pritenes* is probably only a piece of popular etymology; but even if it had some old tradition behind it, the name is equally applicable to the other Britons, for they all painted or tattooed themselves, Caesar B.G. v 14, Herodian iii 14, 7. Indeed the objection to accepting it as the true explanation is that at the time when it was first applied it could not be distinctive.

The etymology of a proper name is always uncertain, except when, like *Albion*, it hardly admits of more than one meaning, and that meaning fits. *Britain* like *Albion* must have been a name given to the island by its Keltic invaders, and *Albion* suggests the feature most likely to impress them. There is an Italo-Keltic root of some such form as **qʷrēi-* which means 'chalk' or 'white earth', giving Lat. *crēta*, and W. *pridd* 'loam', Irish *crē*; the attempt to derive the Welsh and Irish words from the Latin is a failure—the root must be Keltic as well as Italic; and it may have yielded the name *Pritannia* meaning 'the island of the white cliffs'.

§ 4. i. Gaulish and British are known to us through names on coins, and words and names quoted by Greek and Latin authors. No inscriptions occur in British, but British names are found in Latin inscriptions. A number of inscriptions in Gaulish have been preserved. Goidelic is known from the ogam inscriptions, of which the oldest date from the 5th century.

ii. The scanty materials which we possess for the study of Gaulish and British are sufficient to show that these languages preserved the Aryan case-endings, and were at least as highly inflected as, say, Latin. The great change which transformed British and converted it into Welsh and its sister dialects was the loss of the endings of stems and words, by which, for example, the four syllables of the British *Maglo-cŭnos* were reduced to the two of the Welsh *Mael-gwn*. By this reduction distinctions of case were lost, and stem-forming suffixes became a new class of inflexional endings; see § 113, § 119 i.

§ 5. The history of Welsh may be divided into periods as follows:

(1) Early Welsh, from the time when British had definitely become Welsh to the end of the 8th century. Of the forms of this

period we have only echoes, such as the names found in Bede, § 113 i (4).

(2) Old Welsh (O. W.), from the beginning of the 9th to the end of the 11th century. The remains of this period are a number of glosses, and some fragments of prose and anonymous verse. But O. W. forms are preserved in later copies in the genealogies, the Book of Llandâf, the Laws, the Book of Aneirin, etc.

(3) Medieval Welsh (Ml. W.), from the beginning of the 12th to the end of the 14th century and somewhat later. The orthography varied much during this period, and was at first in an unsettled state. It will be convenient to refer to the language of the 12th and early 13th century as Early Ml. W., and to that of the 14th and early 15th as Late Ml. W.

(4) Modern Welsh (Mn. W.), from Dafydd ap Gwilym to the present day. Though D. ap Gwilym wrote before the end of the 14th century, he inaugurated a new period in the history of the language, and is in fact the first of the moderns. The bards of the 15th and 16th centuries wrote the bulk of their poetry in the cywydd metre popularized by Dafydd ; and the forms used by him, with some alterations of spelling (*ai*, *au* for *ei*, *eu* § 79), were preserved unchanged, having been stereotyped by the cynghanedd. The language of this body of poetry may be called Early Mn. W.

At the introduction of printing, Wm. Salesbury attempted in his works, including the New Test. (1567), to form a new literary dialect, in which the orthography should indicate the etymology rather than the sound. His practice was to write Latin loan-words as if no change had taken place in them except the loss of the ending, thus *eccles* for *eglwys* 'church', *descend* for *disgyn* 'to descend' ; any native word with a superficial resemblance to a Latin synonym was similarly treated, thus *i* 'his, her' was written *ei* because the Latin is *eius* (perhaps *eu* 'their' suggested this). But Dr. Morgan in his Bible (1588) adopted the standard literary language as it continued to be written by the bards, though he retained some of Salesbury's innovations (e.g. *ei* for *i* 'his'). Some dialectal forms used by Morgan (e.g. *gwele* for *gwelai* 'saw' § 6 iii) were replaced by the literary forms in the revised Bible (1620), which became the standard of later writers. Thus

Late Mn. W., which begins with the Bible, though influenced to some extent by Salesbury, is based upon Early Mn. W., and forms a continuation of it. In the 19th century several neologisms were introduced, chiefly under the influence of Pughe; the language of this period will be referred to, when necessary, as Recent Welsh.

§ 6. i. The spoken language has four main dialects, as follows:

(1) Venedotian, the dialect of Gwynedd or North West Wales. (Gwyn. dial.)

(2) Powysian, the dialect of Powys, or North East and Mid Wales. (Powys dial.)

(3) Demetian, the dialect of Dyfed or South West Wales.

(4) Gwentian, the dialect of Gwent and Morgannwg, or South East Wales.

N. W. is used as an abbreviation for 'North Wales' or 'North Walian', S. W. for 'South Wales' or 'South Walian'.

ii. The two N. W. dialects differ from the two S. W. chiefly in the choice of words to express some common ideas, the most noticeable difference being the use of *o*, *fo* in N. W., and *e*, *fe* in S. W., for the pronoun 'he' or 'him'.

iii. In the final unaccented syllable the diphthongs *ai* and *au* are mostly levelled with *e* in the dialects. In Powys and Dyfed, that is, in an unbroken belt from North East to South West, the three are sounded *e*; thus *cader*, *pethe*, *bore* for *cadair* 'chair', *pethau* 'things', *bore* 'morning'. In Gwynedd and Gwent they are sounded *a*, as *cadar* (Gwent *cá|tar*), *petha*, *bora*. When *ai* is significant (e.g. as denoting the plural) it is *ai* in Gwynedd, *i* in Gwent, sometimes *i* in Powys, as Gwynedd *defaid* 'sheep', *llygaid* (when not *ll'gada*) 'eyes'; Gwent *defid*, *llý|cid*; Powys *defed*, *llygid*; Dyfed *defed*, *llyged*.

Dialectal forms, chiefly Demetian and Powysian *-e*, begin to appear in the MSS. of the 15th century; but the rhymes of the bards of the 15th and 16th centuries, with the exception of some poetasters, always imply the literary form, which is still used in the written language except in a few words. See § 31 ii.

PHONOLOGY

ORTHOGRAPHY AND PRONUNCIATION

The Alphabet.

§ 7. i. Welsh, in all its periods, has been written in the Latin alphabet.

The ogam inscriptions are Irish. The letters of the ogam alphabet consist of scores and notches on the edge of the stone; one to five scores, cut at right angles to the edge on either side, or obliquely across it, form 15 consonants; one to five notches on the edge form 5 vowels.

The "alphabet of Nemnivus", contained in OX., dated 812, and reproduced by Ab Ithel in Dosp. Ed. 10, 11, is stated in the MS. to have been formed by Nemnivus "ex machinatione mentis suae" in answer to a Saxon's taunt that the Britons had no letters. Most of the signs are forms of Latin characters made to imitate runes; two (ᛋ *n* and ᛦ *u*) are runes, while others seem to be arbitrary inventions. There is no evidence of the use of this alphabet. The "winged alphabet" given by Ab Ithel ibid. 12 consists of two classifications of Scandinavian tree-runes, the top line representing the two schemes of classification. The reason given for supposing the scribe to be a Welshman is too ridiculous to need refutation.

Among the "traditions" invented by the Glamorgan bards in support of their claim to be the successors of the druids was the "wooden book"; though all the accounts of it are in Iolo Morgannwg's handwriting, contemporary evidence of its existence in the early 17th cent. is afforded by Rhys Cain's satirical englyn (Ab Iolo, Coel. y B. 50); but it cannot be traced further back. The 'bardic alphabet' called *coelbren y beirdd* was a conventional simplification of ordinary characters adapted for cutting on wood; its letters are derived from the handwriting of the period, as ᛒ *b*, ᚦ *ð*, ᛇ *v* (= *e*), ᚺ *h*, ᚾ *n*, ᚱ *r*, except where it was easier to adapt the Latin capitals, as ᛦ A, ᚲ G. With one or two exceptions, such as ᛞ IL, the "derived characters" denoting consonant mutations, so far from proving the coelbren's antiquity, are its very latest development, Pughe acknowledging himself to be the author of five of them (L.G.C. 260 footnote). Iolo's memoranda (Coel. y B. 27) refer to an old form given by Gwilym Tew in his grammar; but this work is preserved in G.T.'s own hand in P 51, which does not mention the coelbren. The famous transcriber of MSS. John Jones

of Gelli Lyfdy compiled two collections of the alphabets known to him P 307, L 144, but neither contains anything like the coelbren. No MS. is written in it, for the simple reason that it was easier to write ordinary characters than the coelbren caricature of them. The writing in P 54 pp. 359 ff., stated in the R. to be in "'bardic' characters, which are widely different from Roman characters", bears no resemblance to the coelbren, and is no more "widely different from Roman characters" than the coelbren itself is; it is the hand of an illiterate person; the letters are written separately, but all are clumsy copies of the script characters of the period, mostly formed with awkward curves, the antithesis of the coelbren angles. There is a somewhat similar scribble written upside down on the bottom margin of B.CH. = P 29, p. 19.— The wooden book consisted of squared inscribed sticks in a frame; it was called *peithynen* from its resemblance to a weaver's reed, and not the reverse, as Iolo asserted, for *peithyn(en)* comes regularly from Lat. acc. *pectin-em* 'comb, weaver's reed'. The absurdity of the supposition that such a device ever served any serious purpose of literature is manifest when one considers what a cartload of wooden books would be required to carry the contents of a small manuscript volume.

ii. The earliest Welsh alphabet given as such is that found in the R.G. col. 1117: *a, b, c, d, e, f, g, h, i, k, l, m, n, o, p, q, r, s, t, v, x, y, w, tt.* It contains *q*, which is not used in Welsh, and omits all the digraphs except *ll*; they could not be included in the traditional number, 24.

Sir J. Price's alphabet in Y.L.H. (1546) is as follows: *a, b, c, d, ḋ, e, ff, f, g, h, i, k, l, lh, m, n, o, p, r, rh, s, t, v = u, v, y, w.*

W. Salesbury gives the following alphabet in his Playne and Familiar Introductiõ, 1567 (written in 1550): *A, b, c, ch, d, dd, e, f, ff, g, h, i, k, l, ll, m, n, o, p, r, s, t, th, v, u, w, y.* He distinguishes between *u* and *v*, using the latter for Eng. *v*, Welsh *f*.

G.R., (1567), who uses *ḋ, l̤, u̯* for *dd, ll, w*, gives the following alphabet: *a, b, c, ch, d, ḋ, e, f, g, i, h, l, l̤, m, n, o, p, r, s, t, th, u, u̯, y*, omitting *ng* and *ph* (both of which he uses, the latter to the exclusion of *ff*), to make the number 24.

S.V., (1568), gives the following alphabet of 24 letters: *a, b, d, dd, e, f, ff, g, i, k, l, ll m, n, o, p, r, s, t, v, w, y, ch, th*, adding that *h* is the sign of a breathing, J 9/3.

J.D.R., (1592), used *h* to form all his digraphs, thus *bh = f, dh = dd, gh = ng*. His alphabet is as follows: *a, b, bh, c, ch, d, dh, e, g, gh, ghh, h, i, lh, l, m, mh, n, nh, o, p, ph, rh, r, s, t, th, u, v, y, y.* It contains a character for each simple sound in the language, including the two sounds of *y*; but it was too cumbrous to win general adoption.

The alphabet of the present day is first met with in D. (1621), with the single difference that D. has two forms of the letter *y*; thus, *a, b, c, ch, d, dd, e, f, ff, g, ng, h, i, l, ll, m, n, o, p, ph, r, s, t, th, u, w, y/y.* It omits *mh, nh, ngh, rh.* The names now given to the letters are, in the above order, in Welsh spelling (all vowels not marked long to be

read short): *ā, bī, ec, ech, dī, edd, ē, ef, eff, eg, eng, āets, ī, el, ell, em, en, ō, pī, yff* or *ffī, er, es, tī, eth, ū, w̄, ȳ*. The names *ha, he, hi* given to the letter *h* by some writers on Welsh grammar and orthography[a] are figments. The name is *āets*, borrowed from Eng. or Fr. (Eng. *aitch*, Fr. *ache*, Span. *atche*):

H. *arall it sy—Harri*
Wyth yw'r dyn a'th eura di.—T.A., c. i 340.

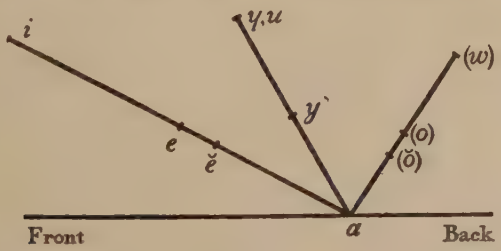
'Thou hast another H.—Henry the Eighth is the man who will ennoble thee.'—The first line is to be read **Aets** *arall it sy Harri*, as shown by the cynghanedd: *t s r—t s r*.

Lhuyd, (1707), used *χ* for *ch*, *λ* for *ll*, and *ð* for *dd*. The last has survived in the form *ð* in ordinary handwriting, but manuscript *ð* is printed *dd*.

§ 8. The orthography of Mn. W. is almost purely phonetic: each letter of the alphabet has one standard sound, except *y* which has two. It will therefore be convenient to give the values of the letters in the modern alphabet, and then, using the modern characters to represent the sounds of the language, to show in detail how each sound was written in earlier periods, noting any changes which have taken place in the sounds themselves.

The Vowels.

§ 9. The letters **a, e, i, o, u, w, y** represent vowel sounds. The following diagram shows the approximate relative positions of the vowels at the present day. *ɣ* and *ʒ* denote the two sounds of **y**. Vowels pronounced with rounded lips are enclosed in brackets. The more open the sound the less the rounding.



The vowel sounds *i, e, a, o, w*, except in certain diphthongal combinations, have probably undergone no material change from

[a] G.R., Rowland, Silvan Evans, Tegai. Rowland's *haitch* is a S.W. vulgarism.

the O. W. period to the present day; the sounds *a*, *e*, *o*, have always been represented by the characters **a**, **e**, **o**,[a] and the sound *i* always by **i**, with some exceptions in Early Ml. W., § 16 ii (2).

§ 10. The sound of **a** is that of the English *a* in *father*. It occurs long as in *tad* 'father', medium as in *tá|dol* 'fatherly', and short as in *mam* 'mother'.

The sound does not occur short in English, the *a* of Eng. *man* being a more forward sound, which may be denoted by *æ*. This sound *æ* is heard in Welsh in a narrow strip stretching from the English border to Harlech, and in Glamorganshire.

§ 11. The sound of **e**, when long or medium, is the middle *e*, as in the Eng. *men*, *let*; thus *gwên* 'smile', *gwé|nu* 'to smile'; when short it is generally more open, tending towards the Eng. *e* in *there*; thus *gwenn* 'white'. For its sound in diphthongs, see §§ 29, 79.

§ 12. The sound of **i** is the close *i* of the French *fini*, *si*, or the North Eng. *i* in *king*, *machine*. The Southern Eng. *i* is more open. It occurs long as in *gwîn* 'wine', medium as in *gwí|noedd* 'wines', short as in *prin* 'scarcely'.

§ 13. The sound of **o**, when long or medium, is the middle *o*, midway between the close *o* in Eng. *note* and the open *o* in *not*; thus *tôn* 'tune', *tó|nau* 'tunes'; when short it is more open, tending towards the *o* of *not*, as *tonn* 'wave', *tŏnnau* 'waves'.

§ 14. i. The sound of **w** is that of the French *ou* in *sou*, or the North Eng. *oo* in *food*, *book*. The Southern Eng. sound is more open. It occurs long as in *gŵr* 'man', medium as in *gŵ|rol* 'manly', short as in *trwm* 'heavy'.

ii. (1) The sound *w* was written **u** in O.W., and thus could not be distinguished (except by the context) from the sound *u*, § 15 i, which was also written **u** (though sometimes **i**, § 15 ii).

(2) In Early Ml. W., the sound *w*, both vocalic and consonantal was written **u** (or **v**) and **w**, and as the former also represents the sound *u*, and both represent the sound *f*, the spelling is often ambiguous. In Late Ml. W. the uncertainty is partly removed by the restriction of **w** and the use of **ỽ** (a peculiar shape

[a] Here and in the following sections up to § 26, a letter printed in heavy type represents the written letter; a letter printed in italics represents the sound.

of v) to represent the *w* sounds. The characters **w** and ϭ represent both *w* and *w̯* almost indifferently. Theoretically perhaps **w** stood for *w̯*, and the R.B. scribe wishing to distinguish between *gw̯ŷr* 'men' and *gŵŷr* 'knows' writes them *gwyr*, *gϭyr* respectively, R.G. 1118; there seems to be a slight predominance of the *w̯* value for **w**, but no systematic distinction is made between the sounds, whole pages frequently occurring, e.g., in W.M., where ϭ is used exclusively for both.

☞ In this work Late Ml. W. ϭ is transcribed *w*, as nothing is gained by reproducing a distinction which would often be misleading if taken to have a phonetic significance.

(3) In Mn. W. the sound is represented by **w**.

G.R. uses **u̯**; and J.D.R. a peculiar character based on *ϭ*, a late script form of *ϭ*; § 7 ii.

§ **15.** i. (1) In Late Mn. W. the sound of **u**, long, medium, and short, is the same as the clear sound of **y**, § 16 i; thus the words *hûn* 'sleep' and *hŷn* 'older' have now absolutely the same sound. But in O. and Ml. W. **u** had the sound of the French *u*, that is, an *i* pronounced with rounded lips. In accented syllables it retained this sound down to the end of the 16th cent., as is shown by the fact that J.D.R. (pp. 33, 34) describes both *u* and *y*, and distinguishes between them with a phonetic truth which could only be derived from actual acquaintance with both as living sounds.

(2) In the final unaccented syllable the original *u* sound became *y* as early as the 14th cent.; see ZfCP. iv 118. Hence we find **u** and **y** confused from the 14th century on. *Kymry* 'the Welsh, Wales' often appeared as *Cymru*; see *y Cymru* 'the Welsh', G.R. p. [v]; M.IL. (3 Ader.—Title). Later, the misspelling *Cymru* came to be used for 'Wales', the true form *Cymry* being retained as the pl. of *Cymro*. In the 3rd pl. of prepositions, *arnunt* 'on them', etc., in *dywedud* 'to say', *anoddun* 'deep', *credadun* 'believer', *arofun* 'intend', *munud* 'minute', **y** is in Late Mn. W. wrongly written for **u**; for *testun* 'text', *ysgrythur* 'scripture', see § 82 iii (3). The converse error was frequent in the 16th cent., Dr. M. writing *fellu*, *i fynu*, *gorthrymmudd*, etc.

The view that the distinction survived in monosyllables down to a late date is corroborated by the fact that out of about 140 monos. in use containing either *u* or *y* only one, *crud* 'cradle' (*crut* IL.A. 72, R.P. 1418), is now commonly misspelt; and even this misspelling is due to Pughe's bringing the word under the same head as *cryd*

'quaking, fever' obviously on a false etymological theory. D.D. and Richards have *crud* 'cradle', *cryd* 'fever'.

ii. The O. and Ml. W. sound above described was written **u**. It was therefore not distinguished in writing in the O. and Early Ml. period from the sound *w* which was also written **u**. We may call O. W. **u** the front *u*, or *ü*, when it corresponds to Mn. W. *u*, and the back *u* when it represents Mn. W. *w*. It is certain that the two sounds were as distinct then as they were later, for in O.W. we find the *ü* sound written **i**, as in *scipaur* JUV. 'barn', Mn. W. *ysgubor*. Still earlier evidence of *ü* is furnished by Bede's spelling *Dinoot* of a name which was later *Dunawd*.

§ 16. i. **y** has two sounds, the clear and the obscure.

The clear sound of **y** is a peculiar *i*-sound very difficult to acquire. It is a dull *i* produced further back than ordinary *i*. The sound is very similar to French *u* in its effect upon the ear, and has the same absolute pitch; but it is produced quite differently. The French *u* is an *i* pronounced with rounded lips, but the Welsh *y* is an *i* pronounced further back, but with open lips; see the diagram, § 9. Ml. W. had both sounds, written **u** and **y** respectively; but gradually the rounded sound, which was written **u**, was replaced by the unrounded sound, though still continuing to be written **u**, the result being that Welsh has now the unrounded sound only, written **u** and **y**.

The sound *y* is long as in *dŷn* 'man' or short as in *bryn* 'hill'. It cannot be medium except when written as *u*, as in *úno* 'to unite', and in the word *gyda* for *gyd a*, § 82 ii (2).

In S. W. dialects both *u* and *y* are sounded as *i* or nearly so.

The obscure sound of **y** is the sound of the Eng. *o* in *ivory*. It is medium or short in the penult, or short in an unaccented syllable. It is long in the penult before a vowel or *h* as *cý-oedd*, *cý-hoedd*, and in the name of the letter **y**.

☞ In this grammar the character **y** is used as in ordinary written Welsh to represent both the clear and the obscure sound; but when it is required to distinguish between them, the character **ų** is used to denote the clear, and **ẏ** to denote the obscure sound. —Note that **y** is the clear *y* in the diphthong **o͡y**, and when circumflexed, **ŷ**.

A special character for the sound *y* was used by some 16th century scribes, and is regularly employed by J.D.R. and Dr. Davies in their grammars. A distinctive character is also needed for the clear sound; and **u** is convenient because it suggests **u** which has now the same sound.

NOTE.—The idea that **y** has borrowed its clear sound from **u**, which, as we have seen, is the exact reverse of the truth, has led some writers to call *y* the primary, and *ỳ* the secondary sound of **y**. The former is of course secondary, being the obscured form of *ỳ* and other sounds.

¶ On the use of the two sounds of **y** see § 82.

ii. (1) In O. W. the sounds of *y* are denoted by **i**, and are therefore not distinguished in writing from the sound *i*. That *ỳ* and *i* were then distinct requires no further proof than that they are different in origin, and if the difference had been lost it could not have been recovered.

(2) In Early Ml. W. MSS., as in the B.B., **y** and **i** are used indifferently to express the *i* sound and the sounds of *y*. In B.CH. (=A.L. MS. A.) **y** is used in some parts almost to the exclusion of **i**, as *brenyn, tyr* for *brenin* 'king', *tir* 'land'; *yx* p. 9 for *ix* 'nine' (printed *nau* in A.L. i 18!) shows that the scribe treated **y** and **i** as identical. In some early MSS. the sounds of *y* were represented by **e**; see the passage in ancient orthography in A.L. ii 36–8, where *y lle, y dyn* appear as *elle, eden* 'the place', 'the man'.

(3) In Late Ml. MSS., as in Mn. W., the sounds *ỳ, y* are written **y**, and are not confused with *i* which is written **i** (except that **y** also represents *i̯*, § 25 iii).

In a few monosyllables of frequent occurrence, *ỳ* by constant repetition advanced to the easier front position of *i* towards the end of the Ml. period. These are *y* 'to', *y* 'his' or 'her', *ny, nyt* 'not'. The latter often appears as *ni, nit* in W.M., see 46, 48, showing the thinning of the vowel to be so early. That the sound was once *ỳ* is shown by the fact that *nỳd*, written *nydd* (*dd* ≡ double *d*, not *ð*) by J.D.R. in 1592, may still be heard in Anglesey.

☞ In this grammar the Ml. W. *y* 'to' and *y* 'his' or 'her' are dotted thus, *ẏ*, to distinguish them from the article *y* ≡ *y*. As the *ẏ* was probably sounded *i* some time before it came to be so written, it may be read *i*. [There can be no confusion with *ẏ* ≡ *i̯*, which never stands by itself, § 25 iii.]

iii. Though not indicated in writing, the difference between *ỳ* and

y goes back to the O. W. period. That O. W. **i** represented not only the clear *ɥ* but also the obscure *y* is shown by such forms as *cimadas* (= *cyfaddas*) M.C. Here *cyf-* comes from **kom-*; the *y* results from the indistinct pronunciation of *o*, § 65 iv (2), and was never sounded *ɥ*; hence the written **i** must have meant *y*. See also § 40 iii (2). In Ml. MSS. generally, as in Mn. W., no distinction is made between *ɥ* and *y*. But in some parts of B.CH., **e** stands for *y*, and **y** for *ɥ* regularly; thus *Ylety yu ety muyhaf ene tref akemeruedaf ac y kyd ac ef erey auenno or teylu*, A.L. i 12 ≡ *ɥ letɥ ɥw y tɥ mwɥhaf yny dref a chymherfeδaf, ag ɥ gɥd ag ef y r̊ei a vynno o'r teilu*, 'His lodging is the largest and most central house in the town, and with him such as he may please of the household.' The scribe's observance of the rule is remarkable; and though there are many slips due to mechanical copying, his spelling in some cases helps to decide the sound in obsolete forms.

iv. (1) In Early Ml. W. *ɥ* and *y* were probably nearer *e* than at present. If we assume the line *a*—*ɥ* more inclined towards the line *a*—*i* in the diagram p. 11 above, it will be seen at a glance not only why both were written **e** at that time, but why the B.CH. scribe uses **y** to represent both *i* and *ɥ*, and **e** to represent both *e* and *y*.

(2) The sounds *ɥ* and *y* in these forward positions were less stable, being not merely felt to be near enough to *e* to be represented by **e** in writing, but also liable to be confused with *e* in speech. Some examples of this confusion survived, and are met with in the later language: (α) Interchange of *y* and *e*: *Myrddin*, *Merddin* D.G. 471; *tymestl*, *temestl* G. 153; *ystɥn* F. 24, *estɥn*; *cybyddiaeth*, *a chebyδẏaeth* IL.A. 144; *ẏ bellynnic* IL.A. 126, 146, *pellennig*; *ketymdeith*, *cydymaith*; *ynnill*, *ennill*; *cynfigen*, *cenfigen*; *Tâl-y-bolion* M.A. i 315*a*, explained as *tâl ebolẏon* W.M. 45; *Pen-e'-goes* for **Pen-y'-goes*, see § 46 ii (3).—(β) Interchange of *ɥ* and *e*: *velle* IL.A. 148 for *fellɥ*; Late Mn. W. *wele* 'behold' for (*a*) *welɥ* 'dost thou see?' § 173 iii (3); *Mercher* for *Merchɥr* B.A. 17, B.B. 48, see § 69 v; *hwdɥ* C.M. 31, *hwde* R.M. 173; *mɥwn*, *mewn*; *Llɥɥn*, *Lleɥn*. Dial. *edrech* for *edrych*, *-ech* for *-ɥch* 2nd sg. pres. subj. § 176 iv.—(γ) In Ml. W. *ɥ hun* 'himself, herself' is written *e hun*, the *e* modification being preferred owing to the difficulty of sounding unrounded *ɥ* and rounded *ü* in consecutive syllables, cf. § 77 viii. Dissimilation also occurs in *e Iwerδon* W.M. 59 for *ɥ Iwerδon*. Similarly *te|ɥrn* for **tɥ|ɥrn* § 103 ii (1); *diell* for *di-hyll* § 146 ii (2).

In Breton **y* has generally become *e*; thus *nevez* = W. *newydd*; *pemp* = W. *pɥmp*; *kevrann* = W. *kyvran*; *ened* = W. *ynɥd*.

(3) *y* before a nasal tended to be lowered towards *a*, and is sometimes written **a** in the B.CH., as *cantaf* A.L. i 84 for *cyntaf*; *kannal*, do. 154 for *kynnal*; *kafreiht* do. 130 for *kyv̄reith*. Hence *y* and *a* interchange before a nasal: *Yngharad*, *Angharad*; *ymherawdr*, *amherawdr*; *ymddifad*, *amddifad*; *canhorthwy*, *cynhorthwy*; *mynach*, *manach*, etc.

Unaccented *a* is sometimes weakened to *y* in the dialects, but

examples are rare in lit. W.: *rhyglyddu* 'to merit', for *rhaglyddu*, see *raclyδei* W.M. 428.

(4) In Mn. W. since *y* has become quite neutral, it is apt in some cases to be coloured by neighbouring sounds: after *w* or followed by *w* in the ultima, it becomes *w*, § 66 ii. When immediately followed by another vowel it is assimilated to it, § 82 ii (3).

v. (1) In Ml. W. an inorganic **y** is written between two consonants at the end of a word in the following groups: 1. cons. + **r**, **l** or **n**; 2. **rm**, **rf**, **lm**, **lf**; 3. **δf**; 4. rarely **rch**, **lch**; thus *pobyl* for *pobl* 'people', *vy maryf* W.M. 59 for *fy marf* 'my beard'. In O. W. it appears as **i**, as in *reatir* JUV., Mn. W. *rhaeadr* 'cataract', but is of rare occurrence, being usually omitted as in Mn. W., thus *cruitr*, *discl* JUV. *datl*, *scribl* OX. It occurs medially as **i** in *centhiliat* JUV. 'singer' for *centhliat*, as **o** in *cenitolaidou* OX., Mn. W. *cenedlaethau* 'generations'. In Early Ml. W. it appears as **i**, **y**, and **e**, as *perygil* B.B. 31 'danger', *cathil* do. 16 'song', *autyl* do. 15 'ode', *coloven* A.L. i 10 'column'. It occurs sometimes in initial groups: *o gynaud* B.B. 84 'of flesh'; *keleuuet* A.L. i 40 ≡ *clywed* 'to hear'.

(2) The sound intended to be represented was the glide between the consonants, which was becoming perceptible as a dull sound resembling *y*. It was naturally written **i** in O. W., **e** in B.CH., these being the signs for *y*, see iii above. It was not written where no audible glide developed, as in **nt**, **rth**, **rδ**, and was rare where the glide was voiceless, as before **ch**. It did not form a full syllable in Ml. W., at least in the standard pronunciation, for (α) it is occasionally written in groups where it is generally omitted, and which seem never to have been syllabic, as in *meirych* W.M. 41 ≡ *meirch* R.M. 28 'horses'; (β) it is sometimes found medially where it could not be syllabic, as in *kenedyloeδ* IL.A. 11 ≡ *kenedloeδ* IL.A. 169 'nations', *dadeleu* A.L. i 20 ≡ *dadleu* 'lawsuit'; (γ) it does not affect the accentuation; thus in

có|lofyn gweδ ẽ|ofyn y gwe|δĩ|eu,—R.P. 1239

'Upholder in fearless manner of prayers', the *e* of *ẽofyn* is accented to correspond to the *i* of *gweδĩeu*; (δ) it does not count as a syllable in Ml. verse; the above is a line of nine syllables; in the following cywydd couplet the cynghanedd requires *chalych* to be read as an absolute monosyllable, as it is pronounced at the present day:

Pwy a allei, pei pennsaer,
peintyaw a **chalych** *pwynt vy chwaer?*—I.G., R.P. 1408.

'Who could, though he were a master, paint with chalk my sister's mien?'

☞ In the quotations in the present work this non-syllabic **y** is represented thus, *y*.

(3) In Mn. lit. W. the epenthetic *y* is simply dropped; thus *pobl*, *ffenestr*, *ofn*. The non-syllabic pronunciation continued to be the only one admissible in cynghanedd, and so remained the standard literary form; and the mute *y* came to be dropped in writing to prevent ambiguity. [In one form of cynghanedd, however, exemplified by—

Da osôdiad hyd i sawdl.—D.N., G. 158,

-l answers a syllable *-iad* in the cynghanedd, though it does not count as a syllable in the metre, an inconsistency which shows that such a word as this, treated as a monosyllable in verse generally, sounded like a disyllable when it ended a sentence.]

In the spoken language, when the word was disyllabic the final liquid was lost, thus *perig*, *ffenest* for *perigl* 'danger', *ffenestr* 'window', or metathesized as in *ewyrth* for *ewythr* 'uncle'. In monosyllables the glide was assimilated to the vowel of the syllable or the second element of its diphthong and became syllabic; thus *pobol*, *cefen*, *llwybyr*, *sowdwl*, *bara'* for *pobl* 'people', *cefn* 'back', *llwybr* 'path', *sawdl* 'heel', *barf* 'beard'. Some examples of this assimilation already appear in Late Ml. W., as *budur* LL.A. 18 'dirty', *kwbwl* C.M. 87 'all', *vy maraf* R.M. 42 'my beard'.—The colloquial syllabic pronunciation is the one generally implied in recent verse in the free metres; thus Anne Griffiths's *Llwybr cwbl groes i natur*, though so printed in all hymn-books, is intended to be sung *Llúybyr | cúbwl | gróes i | nátur*. But in N. W. dialects the parasitic vowel did not arise in groups containing *f*; thus in the greater part of N. W. *ofn*, 'fear', *cefn* 'back', *llyfr* 'book', *barf* 'beard' are purely monosyllabic to this day. Forms like *march*, *calch* are everywhere monosyllabic.

¶ For prosthetic *y-* see § 21 iii, § 23 ii, § 26 vi (4).

The Consonants.

§ 17. The values of the letters representing consonants in the Mn. alphabet are as follows:

i. Voiceless explosives (tenues): **p** ≡ English *p*; **t**, normally more dental than Eng. *t*, but varying to Eng. *t*; **c** ≡ Eng. *k*, having two sounds, front *c* (*k̂*) before *i*, *e*, like *k* in Eng. *king*, back *c* (*q*) before *a*, *o*, *w*, *u y*, like **c** in Eng. *coal*.

ii. Voiced explosives (mediae): **b** ≡ Eng. *b*; **d** corresponding to W. *t* as above; **g** front and back (*ĝ*, *g*), like Eng. *give*, *go*.

iii. Voiceless spirants: **ff** or **ph** ≡ Eng. *f*, labiodental; **th** ≡ Eng. *th* in *thick* (which may be denoted by *þ*); **ch** ≡ Scotch *ch* in *loch*, German *ch* in *nach* (χ), but not German *ch* in *ich* (χ̂). Even after *e* and *i*, as in *llēch* 'slate', *gwīch* 'squeak', the *ch* is the back sound χ.

i + back χ is an awkward combination, and becomes difficult in the short time available when the *i* is the second element of a diphthong; hence *baich*, *braich* are generally pronounced *băyχ*, *brăyχ* (with the short *a* of the original diphthong). This pronunciation is condemned by D., p. 10; but the spelling *ay* is common earlier, e. g. J.D.R. 271. But *beichiau*, *breichiau* are so sounded, with back χ (not χ̂).

iv. Voiced spirants: **f** ≡ Eng. *v*, labiodental; **dd** ≡ Eng. *th* in *this* (ð). O.W. had also the guttural voiced spirant, which may be represented by ȝ, corresponding to *ch*; see § 19 i.

v. Voiceless nasals: **mh**; **nh**; **ngh**. The nasals can only be made voiceless by a strong emission of breath, which causes a distinct aspirate to be heard as a glide after the consonant. Thus **nh** is somewhat similar to Eng. *nh* in *inhale*.

vi. Voiced nasals: **m**; **n**; **ng**. The last has two positions corresponding to those of *g*, namely front n̂, back ŋ.

vii. Voiceless liquids: **ll**; **rh**. The former is a voiceless *l* pronounced on one side. It is produced by placing the tongue in the *l* position, raising it so as to close the passage on one side, and blowing between it and the teeth on the other. The common imitation *thl* conveys the effect of the "hiss" (voiceless spirant) in the *th*, and gives the side effect in the *l*. But **ll** is of course a simple sound, which may be described shortly as a "unilateral hiss". The sound of **rh** is the Welsh trilled *r* made voiceless by a strong emission of breath, causing an audible aspirate glide after it. Briefly, it is *r* and *h* sounded together.

viii. Voiced liquids: **l**; **r**. The latter is trilled like the strong Scotch *r*, or the Italian *r*. The trilled *r* is a difficult sound to acquire; young children usually substitute *l* for it. A few never acquire it, but substitute for it a guttural *r* (≡ ȝ). This is almost the only defect of speech to be found among speakers of Welsh; it is called *tafod tew* 'thick tongue'.

ix. Sibilant: **s**. Welsh has no *z*; such a pronunciation as *zêl* 'zeal' is pure affectation; unsophisticated persons say *sêl*, *selog*. Before i̯ as in *eisiau*, *s* now tends to become Eng. *sh*, and in some S.W. dialects after *i*. But many old speakers cannot pronounce *shibboleth* at all. Standard Welsh *s* is the *ss* in *hiss*.

x. Aspirate: **h**. The aspirate is distinctly sounded, and is never misused except in Gwent and Glamorgan. It is really the voiceless form of the vowel which follows it, or the glide between a voiceless nasal or liquid and a vowel.

xi. Semi-vowels: **i**; **w**. As these letters also represent vowel sounds, they will be marked i̯, u̯ in this work where it is necessary to point out that they are consonantal. i̯ is the sound of the Eng. *y* in *yard*; u̯ is the Eng. *w* in *will*.

¶ Welsh *w* is the same sound as that which is written *u* in the hypothetic forms of Ar., Kelt., Brit., etc. Thus Mn. W. *wir* 'indeed' is identical with the first syll. of Kelt. **uīr-os* 'true' < Ar. **uēr-os*.

§ 18. i. The characters **p**, **t**, **c** had the values in O.W. of modern *p*, *t*, *c*. They also represented the mutated sounds *b*, *d*, *g*, see § 103 iii; as in *scipaur* JUV. ≡ *scubawr*, Mn. W. *ysgubor* 'barn', *creaticaul* OX. ≡ *creadigawl*, Mn. W. *creadigol* 'created'. When they have this value they are sometimes doubled; thus in M.C. we find *catteiraul*, Mn. W. *cadeiriol* 'cathedral' adj., *carrecc*, Mn. W. *carreg* 'stone', *hepp*, Ml. W. *heb* 'says'. Possibly this is due to the influence of Irish spelling. [In Old Ir. original **nt* > **d-d* written **t** and sometimes **tt**.]

ii. In Ml. W. **p**, **t**, **c** no longer represent *b*, *d*, *g* medially, but finally after a vowel they continued to do so even down to the Mn. period. The facts are briefly as follows: In the B.B., late 12th cent., the final labial is written **p**, but often **b** (*mab* 27, 28, 29); the dental is always **d**, because **t** is used for the soft spirant δ; the guttural is always **c**. In the 14th cent. the labial very generally appears as **b**, though often as **p**; the dental is always **t**, the guttural always **c**. In the 15th cent. (e.g. IL 28) we have **b**, **d**, **c**. In the 1620 Bible **b**, **d**, **g**, but **c** in many forms, *unic*, *lluddedic*, etc. The final **c** is still written in *ac* and *nac*, which should be *ag*, *nag*, § 222 i (1), ii (3). On the sound of the consonant in these cases see § 111 v (4).

Finally after a consonant **p**, **t**, **c** have always represented the voiceless sounds.

iii. In Ml. W. and Early Mn. W., initial *c* is generally written **k**. The chief exceptions are the combinations **cl**, **cr**. Medially we find **c**, **k**, **cc**, **ck**. Finally after a consonant, though we generally have **c**, we also find **k** (or even **ck**); as *grafangk*, *oerdrangk* R.P. 1321, *diaĝk* etc. do. 1314, *digelk* do. 1364, *Iork* R.B.B. 397, *carbunck*, LL.A. 170. In these words the sound was, and is, voiceless. Note that after a vowel, where the sound is now *g*, it is never written **k** in Ml. W. Thus **k**, which represents the tenuis only, is clearly distinguished from **c**, which also finally represents the media.

NOTE. In O. W. and the earliest Ml. W., as in L.L. (about 1150), **c** alone is used; **k** appears in B.B. and was general in Ml. and Early

Mn. W. G.R. discarded **k** on the principle of "one sound one letter", p. 20. But the decisive factor in its banishment from the Welsh alphabet was its replacement by **c** in Salesbury's N. T., published the same year (1567). This being one of the many innovations "quarrelled withall" in his orthography, Salesbury, in the Prayer Book of 1586 gave his reason for the substitution: "C for K, because the printers haue not so many as the Welsh requireth," Llyfryddiaeth 34. It is curious to note that a letter which was thus superseded because of its greater prevalence in Welsh than in English was classed 160 years later among "intruders and strangers to the Welsh language", *Gormesiaid a dieithriaid i'r Iaith Gymraeg*, S.R. (1728) p. 1.

§ 19. i. The characters **b**, **d**, **g**, in O.W. represented initially the modern sounds *b*, *d*, *g*; but medially and finally they stood for the mutated sounds *f*, *δ*, *ʒ*, as in *gilbin* JUV., Mn. W. *gylfin* 'beak', *guirdglas* M.C. ≡ *gwyrδʒlas*, Mn. W. *gwyrddlas* 'greenish blue'. Medially and finally *f* was also represented by **m**, though in this case the spirant was doubtless nasalized then, as it is still normally in Breton; thus *nimer* OX. ≡ *nĩver*, Mn. W. *nifer* 'number', *heitham* OX., Mn. W. *eithaf* 'extreme'.

ii. (1) In Ml. W., **b** represented the sound *b*, but no longer the sound *f*.

(2) The sound *f* was written in Early Ml. W. **u** or **v**, **w** and **f**; thus in B.B., *niuer* 7 ≡ *nifer*; *vaur* 21 ≡ *fawr* 'great'; *sew* 45 ≡ *sef* 'that is'; *dihafal* 20 ≡ *dihafal* 'unequalled'. We also find **ff**, as *affv* 21 ≡ *a fu* 'who has been', *bariffvin* 53 ≡ *barfwyn* 'white-bearded,' *tiff* 50 ≡ *tyf* 'grows'.

As **u** and **v** also represented the vowel *ü*, and as **u**, **v**, and **w** represented *w* as well, the orthography of this period is most confusing.

(3) In Late Ml. W. the sound *f* was written medially **u** or **v** and **fu**; finally it was represented by **f** regularly (the few exceptions which occur, e.g. in W.M., being due to mechanical copying). Thus, LL.A., *vy* 2 ≡ *fy* 'my'; *llauur* 3 ≡ *llafur* 'labour'; *kyfuoethawc* 55, Mn. W. *cyfoethog* 'rich'; *gyntaf* 3 'first', *dywedaf* 3 'I say', *ef* 3 'he', etc. **u** and **v** continued to be used medially for *f* during the Early Mn. period; but G.R. has **f** everywhere, and was followed by Dr. M. in the 1588 Bible, which fixed the Late Mn. orthography.

As **u** and **v** also represented the vowel *ü*, the word *fu* may be found written *vv*, *vu*, *uv*, *uu*. But there is much less confusion than in the

earlier period, for (1) *w* is distinguished from *ŭ*; (2) finally *u* and *f* are distinguished; thus *nev* means *neu* 'or', not *nef* 'heaven'.

The distinction between the characters **u** and **v** is a modern one; double **v** (i. e. **w**) is still called "double u" in English.

☞ In the quotations in this grammar the letter **u** or **v** (for it was one letter with two forms) is transcribed *u* when it stands for the vowel, and *v* when it represents the consonant *f*, irrespective of the form in the MS., which depended chiefly on the scribe's fancy at the moment.

(4) The sound which is now the labiodental *f* (≡ Eng. *v*) was in O. W. and probably also in Ml. W. a bilabial *v̆*, like the South German *w*. It was the soft mutation of *b* or *m*, and resulted from these bilabial sounds being pronounced loosely so that the breath was allowed to escape, instead of being stopped, at the lips. It was sometimes confused with *w̆*, § 26 v; and was so soft that it might, like *w̆*, be passed over in cynghanedd, e. g. *pwynt* **vy** *chwaer* p. 17 above; see Tr. Cym. 1908-9, p. 34.

iii. (1) The letter **d** in Ml. W. stands for both *d* and *dd* (*ð*).

(2) In some Early Ml. MSS., of which the most important is the B.B., the sound *ð* when it is an initial mutation is generally represented by **d**, but medially and finally is represented rather illogically by **t**; thus B.B., *dy divet* 19 ≡ *dy ðiweð* 'thy end'; *imtuin* 32 ≡ *ymðwyn* 'to behave'; *guirt* 33 ≡ *gwyrð* 'green'; *betev* 63 ≡ *beðeu* 'graves'. Medially, however, we also have **d**, as *adaw* 41 ≡ *Aðaf* 'Adam'; and occasionally, by a slip, finally, as *oed* 1 ≡ *oeð* 'was' (conversely, by a rare slip, final **t** ≡ *d*, as *imbit* 70 ≡ *ym myd* 'in the world'). In B.CH. usage is still looser.

(3) In the Late Ml. period the sound *ð* is represented by **d**, rarely by *dd*, see IL.A. p. xxii. Initially and medially *d* and *ð* cannot be distinguished at this period, but finally they can, since final *d* is written **t**, § 18 ii, so that final **d** must mean the sound *ð*. But it often happens that **-d** for *-d* and **-t** for *-ð* are copied from an earlier MS.

While W. is distinctly Late Ml. W. in the representation of *w*, *i*, *y*, it has **-d** for *-d* and medial and final **t** for *ð*; also occasionally **dd**, as *ar ddercher* 120*a* ≡ *arðercheð*.

(4) **dd** came generally into use in the 15th cent. In the 16th Sir J. Price, 1546, used **ꝺ**; G.R., 1567, used **ḋ**; Salesbury, 1567,

used **dd** and **ð**; Dr. M. in the Bible, 1588, used **dd**, which in spite of J.D.R.'s **dh**, 1592, has prevailed.

☞ In this grammar Ml. W. **d** when it stands for *dd* (ð) is transcribed ð.

iv. (1) In Ml. W. the letter **g** stands initially and medially for the sound *g*. The voiced spirant ȝ had then disappeared.

(2) But **g** is also used as well as **ng** for the sound *ng* (ŋ) (as in Eng. *song*). When final, **g** must mean the nasal, for the explosive is written **c**, § 18 ii; thus *llog* B.B. 90, W.M. 180, R.M. 87 must be read *llong* 'ship'.

☞ In this work Ml. **g** when it represents the nasal *ng* (ŋ) is transcribed *g̃*.

(3) Medially **ng** sometimes stands for *n|g* (pronounced ŋg like the *ng* in the Eng. *finger*); thus *Bangor*, pronounced *Baŋgor*. The simple sound represents original ŋg as in *angel* (≡ *aŋgel* § 54 i (2)) < Lat. *angelus* (≡ *aŋgelus*); the composite sound occurs where the nasal and explosive came together later, and the *g* is the soft mutation of *c*, as in *Ban-gor*, radical *cor*; *un-glust* 'one-eared', *clust* 'ear'. In O. W. the composite sound appears as *nc*, as *uncenetticion* M.C. ≡ *un-genedigion*, gloss on 'solicanae'. Cf. Bede's *Bancor*, doubtless the Early W. spelling.

§ **20**. i. (1) The sound *ff* is represented in O.W. by **f**, as *finn*, *fionou* M.C. ≡ *ffynn* 'sticks', *ffionou* 'roses'; sometimes medially by **ph** as in *ciphillion* M.C. 'sprouts', *grephiou* M.C. 'pencils', *Griphiud* A.C. 814, § 36 ii, and **p** or **pp** as *Gripiud* B.S.CH. 1, *Grippi(ud)* GEN. XXX.

(2) In Ml. W. the sound *ff* is represented initially by **f**, both when it is radical and when it is a mutation of *p*, though in the latter case **ph** is perhaps more usual; rarely we have **ff**; thus *ban foher* B.B. 5 'when they are put to flight', *fort* do. 33 ≡ *ffoð* 'way', *ny forthint* do. 34 'they did not cherish', *ny phercheiste* do. 21 'thou hast not respected'; *A fa le e maynt* A.L. i 160, MS. A., *a phy* . . . MS. D., 'and where they are'; *heb ðant yn ỳ fenn* W.M. 453 . . . *yn ỳ phenn* R.M. 101 'without a tooth in her head'; *ffoes* B.B. 44 'fled'. Medially and finally it is generally **ff**, as *diffuis* B.B. 35 ≡ *diffwys* 'steep', *proffuid* do. 85 'prophet', *grofft* R.M. 52 'croft', *anffurvaw* do. 29 'to disfigure', *gorffen* do. 5 'to finish', *sarff* do. 186 'serpent', *hoff* W.M. 72 'desirable'. It also appears as **ph**, as *corpk* B.B. 20 'body', *(g)orphen* do. 76 'end'; and often as **f**, as *deu gorf* R.M. 5 'two bodies', *anfuryf* do.

29 (≡*anffurf*) 'disfigurement', *yn braf* W.M. 53 (≡*yn braff*) 'strong', *groft* do. 73 'croft'.

(3) In Mn. W. **ff** and **ph** are used, the latter generally as a mutation of *p* only; but G.R. and J.D.R. use **ph** exclusively.

Many modern writers use **ph** in all positions where they perceive that it is derived from *p*, as in *corph* < Lat. *corpus*, writing **ff** where it does not appear to them to be so derived, as in *cyff* 'stem, trunk', *ffon* 'stick'. It is mostly a distinction without a difference: *cyff* comes from Lat. *cippus*, and *ffon* is from Pr. Kelt. **spond*-, § 96 iv (1). The attempted differentiation is a useless one; and as the etymology of too many words is still uncertain, it cannot be carried out. It is better, therefore, to write **ff** always where the sound is immutable, and **ph** only as a conscious mutation of initial *p*; thus *corff*, *cyff*, *ffon*; *chwe phunt*, *chwephunt* '£6', *gwragedd a phlant* 'women and children', *blith draphlith* 'higgledy-piggledy'.

ii. (1) The sound *th* (*þ*) is represented in O. W. by **th**, as *brith* JUV. 'variegated'; by **d**, as *papedpinnac* M.C. ≡*pa beth bynnag* 'whatsoever'; by **t** after *r*, as *gurt* OX. ≡*gwrth*, Mn. W. *wrth* 'against'; and by **þ**, as *papeþ* JUV. ≡*pa beth* 'what'.

(2) In Ml. W. the sound is generally written **th**, though in some early MSS., as B.CH., sometimes **t** (after *r*) as *kemyrt* A.L. i 4 ≡*kymyrth* 'took'. In Mn. W. it is always written **th**.

Such a form as *perffeidjaw* IL.A. 19 is no exception to the rule. The *th* had been voiced to *dd*, and the word was *perffeiddiaw*. It is so written in Early Mn. W., and the Late Mn. W. *perffeithio* is a re-formation. See § 108 iv (2).

iii. (1) The sound *ch* (χ) is written **ch** in O. W., as *bichan* OX. ≡ *bychan* 'little'. Once we have **gch**, in *iurgchell* M.C. 'fawn', Mn. W. *iyrchell*.

(2) The sound is written **ch** consistently in Ml. and Mn. W., and there seem to be no variations to note.

§ **21.** i. The sounds *mh*, *nh*, and *ngh* were written **mp**, **nt**, and **nc** in O. W.; and **mp**, **nt** and **nc**, **ngk**, or **gk** in Ml. W. These combinations continued to be written throughout the Ml. period, though the modern signs appear as early as W.M. or earlier; see § 107.

In Early Ml. W. we also find **m** for *mh*, **n** for *nh*, and **g** for *ngh*; see § 24 i.

ii. The letters **m**, **n**, **ng** have always represented the sounds *m*, *n*, *ŋ*; but **m** also represented *ṽ* in O. W., § 19 i; **ng** may represent *ŋg* in Ml. and Mn. W.; and *ŋ* was also written **g** in Ml. W.; § 19 iv.

iii. Initial **n** has sometimes a prosthetic **y-**; as *yrwng e* **y***niver ef ac* **y***niver y llys . . . yr* **y***niveroeδ* W.M. 40 'between his host and the host of the court . . . the hosts'. It is also written **a** as **a***nadreδ* C.M. 21 'snakes', **a***nniver* W.M. 65.

§ 22. i. In O. W. the sound *ll* was written **l** initially, and **ll** medially and finally; as *leill* OX. 'others', *lenn* M.C. 'cloak' *guollwng* JUV. = *gwollwng* 'release'. In *dluithruim* JUV., if rightly analysed into *llwyth* 'weight' and *rhwyf* 'oar', we have **dl-** for *fl-*, the usual imitation of the *ll* sound, § 17 vii, proving the sound to be as old as the 9th cent., though then usually written **l-** initially. The imitation **thl** is common in the earliest Norman records, but has not been used by Welsh writers.

ii. In Ml. W. the *ll* sound is represented by **ll**; in some MSS., e.g. the R.B., it is ligatured thus **ℍ**, enabling it to be distinguished from double **l** as in *callon* R.M. 106 'heart', *Iollo* R.P. 1369, 1407, *kollyn* R.B. 1073 'pivot', which we now write *calon*, *Iolo*, *colyn*, § 54 ii. The ligatured capital **ℐℒ** has been used from the Ml. period to the present day in lettering done by hand.

iii. In Mn. W. **ll** is used.

Several attempts have been made from time to time to find substitutes: G.R. used **l̨**, Sir J. Price and J.D.R. used **lh**; Ed. Lhuyd used **lh** and **λ**; but **ll** has held the field.

iv. The sound *rh* was written **r** in O. and Ml. W. The scribes use **r** for *rh* even when the *h* has a different origin, and sometimes even when it belongs to another word, as in *y gwanwyn araf* R.B.B. 194 for *y gwanwyn a'r haf* 'the spring and summer'.

☞ Ml. W. **r** for *rh* is transcribed *ṙ* in our quotations.

v. In the late 15th and early 16th cent. the sound *rh* was represented by **rr** and **R**; it was not until the middle of the 16th cent. that the present digraph **rh**, which seems to us so obvious and natural a representation of the sound, came into general use.

vi. The sounds *l* and *r* have always been represented by the letters **l** and **r**.

§ **23.** i. The sound *s* has always been written **s**. In O. W. it is sometimes doubled as in *dríssi* JUV. ≡ *dryssi* 'thorns', *iss* M.C., Ml. W. *ys* 'is'. In Ml. W. it is usually doubled medially between vowels, as in *Iessu* B.B. 25, 50, IL.A. 1, 19, etc., *Saesson* B.B. 48, *messur* B.B. 3 'measure', etc., but sometimes written single as in *Saeson* B.B. 60. Initial **ss** also occurs, as *ssillit* B.B. 99 ≡ *syllyð*, Mn. W. *sylli* 'thou gazest'. **z** for *s* is rare: *tryzor* IL.A. 17 'treasure'.

ii. Initial *s* followed by a consonant has developed a prosthetic *y*- (written **y**, **e**, **i**, etc. § 16), as in *ysgol* 'school'.

It is not derived from the late Lat. prosthetic *i*- as in *iscola*, since Corn., Bret., Ir. *scol* do not show it, and it appears in native words in W., as *ystrad*. It arose in W. for the same reason as in late Lat., a syllabic pronunciation of *s*- after a consonant. The earliest recorded examples are *Istrat*, *Estrat*, beside *Strat* in L.L. see its index s.v. *Istrat*. In the spoken language it is not heard except in words in which it is accented, as *ýsgol*, *ýstrad*, *ýsbryd*, etc., and sometimes in derivatives of these, as *ysgôlion*; but *sgúbor*, *strôdur*, *sgrífen*, *strŷd*. In O. W. it is not written: *scipaur* JUV., *strotur* M.C., *scribenn* M.C. In Early Ml. W. we have *gwastavel* A.L. i 4 ≡ *gwas-stavell* for the later *gwas ystavell* W.M. 183, R.M. 85. In the oldest verse it does not count as a syllable:

Stavell *Gynðylan ys tywyll heno* (10 syll.) R.P. 1045.

'The hall of Cynddylan is dark to-night.' In later verse it usually counts after a consonant and not after a vowel:

Mi Iscolan yscolheic (≡ *Mi 'Scolan yscolhe|ïc*, 7 syll.) B.B. 81.

'I am Yscolan the clerk.' But in B.B. 91 we seem to have *scolheic* after *wyd*, see § 41 iii (2).

Mae **sgrifen** *uwchben y bedd.*—L.G.C. 20.

'There is a legend above the tomb.'

Damasg a roed am i **sgrîn**.—T.A., A 31101/115.

'Damask was spread over his coffin.'

Ac **ysgrîn** *i geisio gras.*—D.G. 60.

'And a coffin to seek grace.'

The *y*- was general in late Ml. MSS., but it is possible that when unaccented the actual spoken sound consisted of a gradual beginning of the *s*, which like a vowel preserved the *r* of the article, etc. G.R., 1567, says that *yr* is used before *st*, *sc*, *sp*, as *yr stalwyn*, though some

write *yr ystalwyn*, p. 68. He himself also writes *ag scrifennu*, p. 69, etc. In the 1620 Bible we find *sceler*, *sclyfaeth*, *scrifennedic*, but *yscubor*, *yspeilio*, *yscrifen*, each word generally written in the same way whether it follows a vowel or a consonant. The *r* of the article is retained before forms without *y-*, as *yr scrifenyddion* Barn. v 14, Matt. vii 29. The *y-* is introduced more freely in the 1690 edition; but its insertion everywhere is late, and of course artificial, since it never became general in natural speech.

§ **24.** i. The letter **h** has always been employed to denote the aspirate; but it was not used to represent the aspirate glide after *ṙ* until the modern period, § 22 iv; and in some Early Ml. MSS. *mh*, *nh* and *ngh* were written **m**, **n** and **g**, as *emen* (≡ *ymhen*) A.L. i 84, *eurenynes* (≡ *y vrenhines*) do. 4; *vy g̃erenhyt* W. 3*a* (≡ *vy ngherennhyδ*); *yg̃ g̃adelliḡ* do. 9*a* (≡ *yng Nghadelling*).

ii. In O. and Ml. W. **h** seems also to have been used to denote a voiced breathing; see § 112.

§ **25.** i. Consonantal *i̯* is represented in O. W. by **i**, as *iar* JUV. ≡ *i̯ár* 'hen', *hestoriou* OX., pl. of *hestawr*, *cloriou* OX., Mn. W. *clori̯au* 'boards', *mellhionou* M.C., Mn. W. *meilli̯on* 'clover'. Before *-oü* it is also found as **u** (once **iu**), as *enmeituou* OX., Mn. W. *amneidiau* 'beckonings', *damcirchinnuou* JUV. 'circuits'; *dificiuou* JUV. 'defects'; here it was probably rounded into *ü* in anticipation of the final *ü*; cf. § 76 iii (3). Where it is the soft mutation of front *ĝ* it appears as **g** in O. W., as in *Urbgen* in Nennius ≡ *Urfi̯en*, Mn. W. *Uri̯en*; *Morgen* GEN. XXV ≡ *Mori̯en*. Here the *i̯* was doubtless heard with more friction of the breath being the spirant *ȝ̂* corresponding to front *ĝ*; see § 110 ii.

ii. In Early Ml. W. *i̯* is represented by **i**, except in MSS. where **y** is used for *i*, § 16 ii (2); thus *tirion* B.B. 26, pl. of *tir* 'land', *dinion* do. 45 (≡ *dyni̯on*) 'men'.

iii. In late Ml. W. it is represented initially by **i**, rarely by **y**; as *Iessu* B.B. 25, 50, IL.A. 1, 19, etc., *Ieuan* IL.A. 78, *iarll*, *iarlles* W.M. 136 'earl, countess', *iawn* R.M. 16 'right', *ẏawnhaf* do. 24 'most proper', *Yessu*, *Yiessu*, IL.A. 100. Medially it is written **y**, as *dynnẏon* W.M. 32 'men', *bedyδẏaw* do. 32 'to baptize', *meδylẏaw* do. 34 'to think', etc., etc., rarely as **i**, as *ymbilio* R.M. 3 'he may entreat.'

☞ When **y** represents *i̯* it will be dotted as above in the quotations in this book.

iv. In Mn. W. *i̯* is written **i**; but often **j** in the 18th cent., see e.g. Llyfryddiaeth 1713, 4; 1748, 4, 8; 1749, 2.

v. Voiceless *i̯* occurs where the word or syllable preceding *i̯* causes aspiration, and is written **hi** (also **hy** in Ml. W.), as *ŷ hiarllaeth* R.M. 178 'her earldom', *kennhŷadu* LL.A. 79 'to consent'.

If pronounced tensely *hi̯* becomes the palatal spirant *χ̂* as in the German *ich*, but this does not occur in Welsh: *hi̯* remains a voiceless semi-vowel. Cf. § 17 iii.

§ 26. i. Consonantal *u̯* is written **gu** in O. W. as in *petguar* ox. ≡ *pedu̯ar* 'four'. See § 112 ii (1).

ii. In Early Ml. W. *u̯* is represented by **u**, **v**, and **w**; in Late Ml. W. by **w** and **o**. Its representation is the same as that of the vowel **w**; see § 14 ii (2). In Mn. W. it is written **w**.

The letter **w** sometimes appears in the form **uu**, as in *keleuuet* A.L. i 40 (≡ *cylywed*) 'to hear'.

iii. Initial *u̯*- had become *gu̯*- in the Early Welsh period; see § 112 ii (1); but it is *u̯*- under the soft mutation, thus *gu̯allt* 'hair,' *dy u̯allt* 'thy hair'.

Initial *gu̯* may come before *l*, *r* or *n*, as in *gu̯lad* 'country', *gu̯raig* 'wife', *gu̯nâf* 'I do', each one syllable. The initial combinations are practically *gl*, *gr* or *gn* pronounced with rounded lips, the rounding taking place simultaneously with the formation of the *g*, so that the off-glide of the *g* is heard as *u̯*. When the *g* is mutated away the initial is *l*, *r* or *n* with *u̯* as an on-glide; thus *dy u̯lad* 'thy country' sounds like *dyu̯ lắd*, except that the syllabic division is *dy* | *u̯lắd*.

iv. In Ml. and Early Mn. W. final *w* after a consonant was consonantal; see § 42. Now the *w* is made syllabic.

The exceptions to the rule were forms in which *-w* represents earlier *-u̯i̯*, as *hunnw*; Mn. W. *acw*, Early Ml. W. *raccw*, Ml. W. *racko*; *assw*, *gwrw*, *banw* § 78 i (2). It may have been made consonantal in the last three by analogy, coming after *s*, *r*, single *n*.

v. Medial *u̯* is liable to interchange with *f*; thus *cawod*, *cafod* 'shower'; *cyfoeth*, *cywaeth* § 34 iv; *diawl* 'devil' for **diafl*. The old verbal noun from *lliw* 'colour' is *llifo* 'to dye', a newer formation is *lliwio* 'to colour'. The reason for the interchange is that *f* was once a bilabial, *ƀ*, § 19 ii (4), and so, very similar to *u̯*, being in effect *u̯* with friction of the breath at the lips instead of at the back.

vi. (1) Voiceless *u̯*, by being pronounced tensely, has become

a rounded *ch*, written **chw**. It is the result of pronouncing voiceless *w̥* with the mouth-passage narrowed at the back so as to produce audible friction, which is heard as *ch* (χ) accompanying the *w̥*. In S.W. dialects the loose voiceless *w̥* (written **wh** or **hw**) prevails initially. In O.W., in JUV. and M.C., *chwi* 'you' appears as *hui*; later this word was everywhere *chwi*, the *ch* being still heard even in S.W. (though now unrounded in this word, thus *chi*). Initial **chw** prevails in Ml. W. and later, as *chuerv* B.B. 83, 84 ≡ *chwerw* 'bitter', *chuec* do. 84 'sweet', *chuant* do. 34 'lust'; *chwythu* W.M. 47 'to blow', *chwaer* do. 41 'sister', *chwedyl* do. 42, R.M. 29 'tale', *chwythat* IL.A. 9 'breath', *chwant* do. 11 'lust', and so generally in Mn. W.; but **wh** frequently occurs in Ml. MSS. and sometimes in Early Mn. poets, as *whechet* IL.A. 147 'sixth', *whennychu* do. 149 'to desire', *whaer* R.M. 28, *whedl* G. 147.

(2) Initial rounded *ch* is heard with *w̥* as an off-glide, as in *chwaer*; final rounded *ch* has *w̥* as an on-glide, as in *iwch* 'to you', *ewch* 'go ye'. In the latter case the sound is *ch* in all the dialects, not *h*.

(3) Initial *chw* sometimes interchanges with *gw̥*; as *Gware dy chware* R.M. 154 'play thy game', *chwith*, *gwith* do. 301 'sinister'; this is due to the variability of original initial *s-*, § 101 ii (1); **su-* > *chw̥-*; **u̯-* > *gw̥-*. *nghw̥* for *chw̥* is due to a preceding *n* (*nhw̥* > *nhw̥*), as *chwaneg*, *anghwaneg* 'more'; *yn chwaethach* R.M. 7, *yghwaethach* do. 85, 108 'rather'.

(4) Initial *chw̥* has often a prosthetic *y-*, as *ychwaneg* 'more', *ychwanegu* W.M. 44 'to add'.

(5) Final rounded *-ch*, of whatever origin, becomes unrounded if the syllable is unaccented; thus *welewch* W.M. 50 'ye saw' is *welech*. But *-qw̥ch* gave *-wch*, as in *cerwch* 'ye love' for **cerqw̥ch*, see § 173 viii; so *peswch* for **pesqwch*: *pas*, § 201 iii (2). The form *ydych* is due to the analogy of *ydym*; so Late Mn. W. *gennych* after the 1st pl. for Ml. and Early Mn. *gennwch*.

NOTE.

TRANSCRIPTION.—By means of the devices mentioned in the above sections (the use of *δ*, *g̃*, *r̥*, etc.) the forms of Late Ml. W. can generally be transcribed so as to indicate the approximate sound while preserving the exact spelling of the MS. But, as we have seen, the orthography of O. and Early Ml. W. is so irregular that no such plan is possible. Accordingly, for these periods, the form in the MS. is given, followed, where necessary, by a transcription introduced by the sign ≡, giving the probable sound in modern characters.

The works of Early Mn. poets are often found in late MSS. and

printed books containing not only dialectal forms inconsistent with the forms implied by the rhymes of the bards, but also late inventions, such as *ei, eich*, etc. In these cases the spelling has been standardized in the quotations in this work. The spelling of the MS. is here of no importance, as the cynghanedd, rhyme or metre is in every case relied on as showing the exact form used by the author.

All quotations are given with modern punctuation, including the insertion of the apostrophe, and the use of capital letters.

Sounds in Combination.

Syllabic Division.

§ 27. i. In Welsh a single consonant between two vowels belongs normally to the second syllable; thus *ca|nu* 'to sing', *gwe|le|dig* 'visible'; when there are two or more consonants the first belongs to the first syllable, as *can|tor* 'singer', *can|iad* 'song', *tan|wydd* 'fire-wood', *can tref* 'hundred (district)'. A double consonant belongs to both; thus in *can|nu* 'to whiten', the first syllable ends after the stoppage of the mouth-passage for the formation of the *n*, and the second begins before the opening of the passage which completes the formation of the consonant. Thus a double consonant implies not two independent consonants, but a consonant in which the closing of the passage takes place in one syllable and the opening in the next, and both count. This is seen most clearly in a word like *drycin* 'storm', where the *c* closes as a velar *q* and opens as a palatal *k̂* (*dryq|k̂in*), and yet is not two complete consonants. The consonants **p, t, c, m, s, ng, ll**, are double after accented vowels, though written single; thus *ateb, canasant* ≡ *at|teb, ca|nas|sant*. See § 54.

ii. A consonant which is etymologically double is simplified after an unaccented syllable; as *cy|nẽ|fin* R.M. 183 'familiar' (*cyn-nef-in* < **kon-dom-ino-*: Lat. *domus*); *whe|nŷ|chu* R.B.B. 89 (from *chwant*) 'to desire'; *ym|gy|núll|aw*, do. 49 (from *cynnull*) 'to gather together'. But this phonetic rule is not regularly observed in writing, except in the final unaccented syllable, *călonn* 'heart' (pl. *calónnau*), *Cálann* (from vulg. Lat. *Kaland-*), etc., being generally written *calon, Calan*, etc.

iii. In modern writing the division of syllables where required, as at the end of a line, is made to follow the etymology rather than the

sound; thus it is usual to divide *can-u* 'to sing' so, *can* being the stem and *u* the ending, instead of *ca-nu*, which is the true syllabic division. In the case of more than one written consonant the division is usually made to follow the sound; thus, *cann-nu* 'to whiten', *plen-tyn* 'a child', the etymological division being *cann-u*, *plent-yn*. Ml. scribes divided a word anywhere, even in the middle of a digraph.

In this grammar syllabic division is indicated when required by | as above; and the hyphen is used to mark off the formative elements of words, which do not necessarily form separate syllables.

Diphthongs.

§ 28. A diphthong consists of the combination in the same syllable of a sonantal with a consonantal vowel. When the sonantal element comes first the combination is a falling diphthong. When the consonantal element comes first it is a rising diphthong. "Diphthong" without modification will be understood to mean falling diphthong.

Falling Diphthongs.

§ 29. i. In O. W. falling diphthongs had for their second element either **i**, front **u**, or back **u**. The O. W. diphthongs with their Ml. and Mn. developments are as follows:

	O. W.	Ml. W.	Mn. W.
i	**ai**	**aụ, ae**	(**aụ**), **ae**
	oi	**oụ, oe**	(**oụ**), **oe**
	ui	**wụ**	**w͡y**
	ei	**ei**	**ei, ai**
Front **ü**	**ou (au)**	**eu**	**eu, au**
Back **u**	**au**	**aw**	**aw**
	eu	**ew**	**ew**
	iu	**iw**	**iw**
	iu	**ụw, yw**	**ụw, yw**
	ou	**yw, ew**	**yw, ew**

ii. (1) As **i** in O. W. represented both *i* and *ụ* the exact value of the second element in O. W. **ai, oi, ui** cannot be fixed; but it was probably receding in the direction of *ụ*. In **w͡y** it has remained *ụ*. The former diphthongs are generally written **ae** and **oe**; but the spellings **ay, oy** are commonly met with in Early Ml. W., and sometimes in MSS. of the Mn. period; as *guayt* 'blood', *coyt* 'timber', *mays* 'field' L.L. 120; *croyn* 'skin' A.L. i. 24, *mays* do. 144; *Yspayn* 'Spain', *teyrnassoyδ* 'kingdoms' P 9 R. In R.M. 118

we have *haearn*, in 119 *hayarn* 'iron'. Though now always written **ae, oe,** the sound in N. W. is still distinctly *ay, oy*; thus **maes, coed** are read *máys, cóyd*. In Mid and S. Wales the sound approaches the spelling *ae, oe*. In parts of S. W. the diphthongs are simplified into *ā, ō* in the dialects: *más, cōd*. In Pembrokeshire *oe* becomes *ŵ-ë* and even *ŵ́*.

(2) Ml. W. **ae** and **oe** are derived not only from O.W. **ai** and **oi**, but also from O.W. disyllabic **a|e** and **o|e**; thus *saeth* < *sa|eth* < Lat. *sagitta*; *maes* < *ma|es* (rhyming with *gormes*, B.T. 25) < **mages*; *troed* pl. *traed* (rhyming with *vrithret / bryssyjet* R.P. 1042) from **troget-*, **traget-*, § 65 ii (1). They may also represent a contraction of **a|u, o|u** as in *dáed* § 212 iv, *tróent*, § 185 i (1).

iii. Ml. W. **ei** had an open and a close *e* according to position; these developed into Mn. W. **ai** and **ei**; see § 79 i. The present sound of the form **ei** is *əi*, where *ə* is an obscure vowel which is hardly, if at all, distinct from *y*.

iv. O.W. **ou** (≡ *oü*) occurs once as **au**, in *anutonau* JUV. 'perjuria', which in ox. is *anutonou*. The *o* was unrounded in Ml. W., becoming an indistinct vowel, open and close, written *e*; the two forms became Mn. W. **au** and **eu**; see § 79 ii.

v. O.W. **au** and **eu** (back *u*) have remained the same phonetically, the back **u** being written **w** in the later language. O.W. **iu** represented three distinct diphthongs according as **i** represented *i* or either sound of *y*. The diphthongs *yw* and *yw* are even now of course both represented by a single group **yw** in ordinary writing. The rules for distinguishing between them are those that apply to *y* and *y* generally; § 82 ii (4).

vi. O.W. **ou** (back *u*) represents the diphthong *yw*, written **yw** and also **ow** at a later period, § 33 iii (2). Thus *diguolouichetic* ox.; Ml. W. *llywychedic* R.M. 84 'shining', *llywych* R.P. 1153, which appear beside *llewych* R.P. 1154, Mn. W. *llewych* corr. into *llewyrch* 'light'; § 76 vi, viii.

§ 30. The diphthongs **ae** or **au** and **oe** or **ou** followed by **w** form the falling triphthongs **aew, oew** or **auw, ouw**, in *gwayw* 'spear', *gloyw* 'bright', *hoyw* 'sprightly', *croyw* 'clear', which remain strictly monosyllabic in the cynghanedd of the Early Mn. bards. In late pronunciation the *w* is made syllabic, except when a syllable is added, as in the pl. *gloywon* which is still disyllabic. In *dāywch*, contracted from *dā ywch*, the *āyw* has now been simplified into *áw*; see § 212 iv.

§ 31. i. Unaccented *ae* in the final syllable was often reduced to *e* in the Ml. period, especially in verbal forms and proper names; as in *adwen* for *adwaen* 'I know', *chware* for *chwarae* 'to play', *Ithel* for *Ithael*, O.W. *Iudhail* (≡ *iüð-hail*).

Pan aeth pawb allan ŷ **chware** R.M. 116 'When everybody went out to play'; see also R.M. 15, 38, 84, 87, 153, etc.

Lloches adar i **chwarae**,
Llwyn mwyn, llyna'r llun y mae.—D.G. 37.

'A retreat for birds to play, a pleasant grove, that is the manner [of place] it is.' See also D.G. 40, 58, 465 (misprinted *-au* in 169).

Nid gŵr heb newid **gware**:
Nid llong heb fyned o'i lle.—G.Gl. c. i 197.

'He is not a man, who does not change his pastime; it is not a ship, that does not move from its place.'

For examples of *adwen*, see § 191 ii (2).

ii. (1) The simplification of final unaccented *ai* and *au* to *e* are dialectal and late. Such forms as *llefen* for *llefain*, *gwele* for *gwelai* are avoided by the Early Mn. bards in their rhymes, but they begin to appear in MSS. in the late 15th cent., and were common in the 16th and 17th cent. But the literary forms never fell out of use, and ultimately supplanted the dialectal forms in the written language, though some of the latter have crept in, as *cyfer* for *cyfair*, Ml. W. *kyveir* § 215 iii (9), *ystyried* for *ystyriaid* § 203 iii (2).

(2) The levelling in the dialects of the sounds mentioned gave rise to uncertainty as to the correct forms of some words. The word *bore* 'morning' began to be wrongly written *boreu* or *borau* in the 15th cent.[a]; see G. 190. The forms *camrau*, *godreu*, *tylau* are later blunders for the literary forms *camre* 'journey', *godre* 'bottom edge', pl. *godreon*, R.M. 147, and *tyle* 'hill; couch'. The new *ychain* for *ychen* 'oxen' § 121 iii is due to the idea that *-en* is dialectal. In Gwynedd *ychain* is heard, but is a dialectal perversion like *merchaid* for *merched*.

Tesog **fore** *gwna'r lle 'n llon,*
Ac annerch y tai gwynion.—D.G. 524.

'On a warm morning make the place merry, and greet the white houses.' See *bore* B.B. 31, 55, 82, 92, 108, W.M. 56, 73, etc.

Ni adewais lednais le
Ynghymry ar fy **nghamre**.—I.G. 201.

'I left no noble place in Wales on my journey.' See *kamre*, R.P. 1269.

Lluwch ar fre a **godre** *gallt,*
A brig yn dwyn barŵg-wallt.—D.G. 508.

'Snowdrift on hill and foot of slope, and branch bearing hair of hoar-frost.' See also R.P. 1036.

A phan edrychwyt y **dyle** R.M. 146 'And when the couch was examined.'

§ **32.** The diphthong **ai** is wrongly written *ae* by most recent writers (under the influence of Pughe) in the words *afiaith*

[a] There is one example in C.M. 5, which stands quite alone in the R.B., and so is prob. a scribal error.

'delight', *araith* 'speech', *cyffaith* 'confection', *disglair* 'bright', *goddaith* 'conflagration', *gweiniaith* (or *gweiniaith*) 'flattery', *rhyddiaith* 'prose', *talaith* 'crown; realm'. See § 202 iv (1). The word *diffaith*, Ml. W. *diffeith*, 'waste, wild, evil' (from Lat. *defect-us*) is generally written so in the good periods (e.g. *diffeith* B.B. 106, R.M. 183); but some early examples occur of a new formation from *ffaeth* 'cultivated' (from Lat. *factus*), R.P. 1047, l. 2.

Yn y nef mae'n un **afiaith**
Yn sôn archangylion saith.—Gr.H. G. 101.

'In heaven in pure rapture there speak archangels seven.' See D.G. 358, where *afiaith* is printed *afiaeth* in spite of its rhyming with *gobaith*. See also G. 122.

Ef a gâr awdl ac **araith**,
Ef a ŵyr synnwyr y saith.—H.D. P 99/469.

'He loves song and speech, he knows the meaning of the seven [sciences].' See G. 118; *areith* B.B. 9, 15.

Disgleir *ðiweir Veir vorwyn.*—Ca., R.P. 1247.

'Bright chaste virgin Mary.'

Coed osglog, caeau **disglair**,
Wyth ryw ŷd, a thri o wair.—D.G. 524.

'Branching trees, bright fields, eight kinds of corn and three of hay.' See D.G. 54, 120, 209, 404. See B.CW. 8, early editions of Bible, etc.

Fal **goddaith** *yn ymdaith nos.*—D.G. 13.

'Like a bonfire on a night's march.' See *goðeith* R.P. 1042, B.B. 73.

Gwenwyn ydiw eu **gweiniaith**,
Gwynt i gyd gennyt eu gwaith.—I.F. M 148/721.

'Their flattery is poison, to thee their work is all wind.'

Twysog yw, enwog i waith,
Teilwng i wisgo **talaith**.—E.U.

'He is a prince whose work is famous, worthy to wear a crown.'

Troes dilyw tros y **dalaith**,
Torri ar rif tyrau'r iaith.—Gu.O. A 14967/62.

'A deluge has overflowed the realm, thinning the number of the nation's towers.' See G. 80, 87, 199, 218, 257.

Tro'n d'ôl at yr hen **dalaith**;
Digon yw digon o daith.—E.P. IL 124/283 R.

'Turn back to the old country; enough is enough of travel.'

§ 33. Late Contractions. i. (1) We have seen that **a-e** and **o-e** were contracted early into **ae** and **oe**; § 29 ii (2). This contraction also took place later, as in *Cymráeg* 'Welsh'; *Groeg*

'Greek', and in verbal forms such as *aed* 'let him go', *rhoed* 'let him give', *rhoes* 'he gave'; see § 185.

In R.P. 1189 *Gro-ec* is a disyllable rhyming with *chwec, ostec, Cym|ra|ec, tec*; in the R.G. 1119 it is stated to be a monosyllable; D.G. uses it as a monosyllable, 53, as well as *rhoes* 6 'gave', *troes* 68 'turned', *gwnaed* 149 'let her do', *doed* 145, 228 'let him come', *ffoes* 191 'fled', but *ffô|es* 61. He uses *Cym|rá|eg* as a trisyllable rhyming with *teg*, 2, 179; so G.Gr., D.G. 243. This form persisted in the 15th cent.; as

Cymro da i **Gym|rá|eg**,
Cymered air Cymru deg.—G.Gl., M 146/281.

'A Welshman of good Welsh, let him take the praise of fair Wales.'

In the 15th cent., however, we meet with the contracted form; see T.A. G. 251. Later, this was usual:

Da i **Gym|ráeg**, *di-gymar ŏedd*,
Di-dlâwd ym mhob dadl ŷdoedd.—W.IL. 120 (m.S.B.).

'Good [in] his Welsh, incomparable was he, resourceful in all debate.'

(2) The contraction of the accented penult with the ultima results in an accented ultima § 41 iii. But in newly-formed compounds, contracted forms such as *maes, troed* are treated like other monosyllables, and the accent falls on the penult; thus *glŷn-faes* D.G. 135 'vale', *méin-droed* do. 262 'slender foot', *déu-droed* 'two feet'.

ii. The R.G., 1119, states that *ey* is always a disyllable. This is not necessarily the case in the penult, for in such forms as *keyryδ*, § 122 ii (3), pl. of *kaer* 'fort', *treythych* R.P. 1153 from *traethaf* 'I treat', etc., it is an old affection of *ae*. In other cases, however, the diphthong is late, and the disyllabic form is used in poetry down to the 16th cent. Thus:

Lloer yw a dawn llawer dŷn,
Lleuad rhïanedd **Llë|ųn**.—G.Gl., M 148/191.

'She is the moon and the grace of many women, the moon of the ladies of Lleyn.' See also I.G. 388, 405.

Salbri ieuanc sêl **brë|ųr**
Sydd i gael swyddau a gwŷr.—Gu.O. A 14967/94.

'Young Salesbury of the stamp of a chieftain [is he] who is to have offices and men.'

Nid âi na chawr na dyn chwyrn,
Heb haint Duw, a'n pen **të|ųrn**.—T.A. c. ii 81.

'Neither a giant nor a violent man, without the scourge of God, could take our liege lord.' See G. 176, F. 14, 33. See **hë|ųrn** / **të|ųrn** / *kedyrn* R.P. 1226.

The contracted form sometimes occurs; as

Penfar **heyrn** *pan fo'r hirnos.*—D.G. 267.

'A head-dress of iron spikes when the night is long.'—To the holly.

The name *Lleyn* is now pronounced *Llīn*, and regarded as an exception to the rule that Welsh is written phonetically. *Llŷn*, as the name should be spelt, is a contraction of *Llyyn*, which also occurs, R.B.B. 307, 342; and has been written in the contracted form from the 16th cent. The contraction is as old as the 14th, for we find *llyyn* in R.P. 1360, where the metre proves the sound to be *llīn*.

O **Llŷn** *i Dywyn, yn dau,*
O Dywyn i dir Deau.—W.Ll., G. 297.

'From Llŷn to Towyn, we two, from Towyn to the land of the south.'

iii. (1) The Mn. W. diphthongs **oi**, **ou** and **ow** are always late contractions; as in *rhoi* for *rho|ï* from *rhoddi* 'to give'; *ymarhóus* C.C. 330 for *ymarho|us* 'dilatory'; *rhowch* for *rho|wch* 'give ye'; *rhoist* for *rho|eist* 'thou gavest'; *rhôi* for *rho|ei* 'he gave'.

These contractions occur in common words in the 14th cent.; see *roi* R.P. 1206, 1210, *rhoi* D.G. 206, 521, 524. *rhois* do. 206, *rhoist* do. 2, R.P. 1211; *rout* (printed *roit*) D.G. 206, *rôi*, *rown* do. 243. But uncontracted forms occur even later; *trô|ais* D.G. 307, *trô|ï* I.G., *cyffrô|ï* L.G.C., D. 16.

(2) The diphthong *ow* is pronounced with the *o* unrounded, thus *ɔw*, where the *ɔ* is closer than the first element in the Eng. *ow*, and is scarcely distinguishable from the obscure *y*; in fact the *yw* in *cywydd* and the *ow* in *rhowch* are identical. Hence in the 15th, 16th and 17th cent. the old diphthong *yw* was often written *ow*; as in *cowydd* or *kowydd* for *cywydd*, see Mostyn R. pp. 2, 3, etc., 26, 27, etc. etc.

iv. A late contraction may take the form of one of the old diphthongs, or even of a simple vowel; as *gla|nháu* for *gla|nhá|u* 'to clean'; *plau* R.P. 1222 for *plá|eu* 'plagues'; *di|léu* for *di|lé|u* 'to delete'; *awn* for *á|wn* 'we go'; *gla|nhắd* for *gla|nhá|ad* 'cleansing'; *(g)wnai* W.M. 54, 250 for *gwna|ei* 'did', cf. B.B. 64; *cy|tún* for *cy|tú|un* 'united'; *bûm* for *bú|um* 'I have been'; *gwy|bûm* for *gwy|bú|um* 'I knew'; *cau* for *cáe|u* 'to shut'. These forms occur uncontracted in Ml. W.: *gunaun* B.B. 81 (≡*gwna|wn* rhyming with *wn*) 'I would do'; *yn gyttuun* R.B.B. 238; *cayu* Ll.A. 167 (≡*cáy|u*), *kaeu* W.M. 24 (≡*káe|u*). Uncontracted forms are met with as late as the 16th cent.

Dy garu a **wybŭ|um**;
Darllain dy bylgain y bûm.—H.S. 5.

'I have known [what it is] to love thee; I have been reading thy vigil.' See D.G. 38.

v. A late contraction usually takes place when a word ending in a vowel is followed by **i** 'his' or 'her', Ml. **y**, and often when it is followed by the preposition **i** 'to', Ml. **y**. **Ac**, **ag** lose their final consonant and form a diphthong with the former, as **a'i̯** Ml. W. *ae*, *ay* 'and his, with his', but not with the latter: **ac i** 'and to'.

Ancr wyf fi'n cyweirio i̯ fedd.—7 syll. § 44 vi.
Da i̯ Gymraeg, di-gymar oedd.—7 syll., i above.
Nos da i̯ walch onest y Waun.—7 syll. G. 177.
'Good night to the honest fellow of Chirk.'

Rising Diphthongs.

§ 34. i. The rising diphthongs in the Mn. language are as follows:—

i̯a as in *cani̯ad*, *i̯âr*;
i̯e as in *i̯echyd*;
i̯o as in *rhodi̯o*, *i̯ôr*;
i̯w as in *i̯wrch*, *rhodi̯wn*;
i̯y as in *i̯yrchell*;
u̯a as in *anu̯ar*;
u̯e as in *adu̯en*;
u̯i as in *cedu̯ir*;
u̯o as in *gwatu̯or*;
u̯u as in *galu̯ut*;
u̯ụ as in *edu̯ụn*;
u̯y as in *penu̯ynni*.

In Ml. W. *i̯* is generally written **y**, § 17. The combinations *i̯i*, *i̯y*, *i̯u*, *u̯w* do not occur in Mn. W. They occur in verbal forms in Ml., W. but are generally simplified; see § 36 i, ii.

ii. When **i̯** or **u̯** comes before a falling diphthong the combination becomes a mixed triphthong; as **i̯ai** in *i̯aith* 'language'; **i̯au** in *teithi̯au* 'journeys'; **u̯aw** in *gu̯awd* 'song, mockery'; **iu̯y** in *meddyli̯u̯yd* 'it was thought', *neithi̯u̯yr*, D.G. 424 (now generally *neithi̯wr* § 78 i (2)) 'last night'.—We have a tetraphthong in the old pronunciation of *gu̯au̯* (or *gu̯aew*) § 30.

iii. When an unaccented **i** comes before any other vowel the two are frequently contracted into a rising diphthong; thus *di|ó|ddef* 'to suffer' becomes a disyllable *di̯ó|ddef* D.G. 137. Some early examples occur, as *er|i̯ŏed* 'ever' for **er| i |ŏed* 'since his time'. *di̯ŏer* 'by heaven' § 224 iv (2) is a monosyllable, as the metre shows in R.P. 1206, D.G. 46, 51. *di̯áwl* 'devil' must have been contracted into a monosyllable in O.W.

when the accent fell regularly on the ultima; otherwise it would have become **dí|awl*.

iv. The rising diphthongs **ŵa** and **ŵo** are frequently interchanged; as *gŵatŵar* W.M. 185, *gŵatŵor* D.G. 136 'to mock'; *marŵar* LL.A. 39, *marŵor* 'embers' (cf. *maroryn* § 36 iii); *caŵad*, *caŵod* 'shower'; *pedŵar*, *pedŵor* 'four'.

Pedŵor *trysor tir Iesu.*—H.R., C 7/114.

'The four treasures of the land of Jesus.'

The change takes place both ways; *ŵa* becomes *ŵo* in *caŵad* R.M. 180, R.P. 1223, D.G. 57 (rhyming with *brad*) and *caŵodydd* or *cafodydd* D.G. 305 (penult rhyming with *bod*); *ŵo* becomes *ŵa* in *cynaŵan* C.M. 21 for *cynaŵon* pl. of *ceneu* § 125 iii; *dywad* for *dywod* from *dyfod* § 193 ix (3).

v. (1) The rising diphthongs *ẏŵ* and *ẏẏ* are of course not distinguished in ordinary writing, both being represented by **wy**; see § 82 ii (5). Note then that **wy** represents three distinct diphthongs, the falling *ŵŷ* as in *mŵyn* 'gentle', *swŷno* 'to charm'; the rising *ẏŵ*, short in *gẏŵynn* 'white', long in *gẏŵŷr* 'men'; the rising *ẏẏ* as in *tyẏẏnnu* 'to shine'. See § 38.

(2) In ordinary writing the falling *iŵ* and the rising *i̯w* are also not distinguished. See § 37.

§ 35. i. Many stems end in i̯, which appears before all inflexional endings beginning with a vowel (with the exceptions mentioned in § 36), but is dropped when the stem has no ending; thus *myfyri̯af* 'I meditate', *myfyri̯ant* 'they meditate', *myfyri̯o* 'to meditate', *myfyri̯ol* 'meditating', but *myfyr* 'meditation'.

In words borrowed from Lat. the i̯ can be traced to its source in short *ĭ*; thus *myfyr* < *memoria*; *synn*, *syni̯af* < *sentio*; *ystyr*, *ystyri̯af* < *historia*. In native words it represents original i̯, as in *dŷn* 'man' pl. *dyni̯on* from Kelt. **doni̯os*: Ir. *duine* § 100 iv; cf. also § 201 iii (6).—In a few new formations the i̯ is ignored as in *di-ystyru* 'to ignore', *dynol* 'human' a new formation which has replaced Ml. W. *dynẏawl* LL.A. 12, 24, 38, etc.

ii. (1) In Mn. lit. W. i̯ generally appears after syllables having *ei*, as in *ysbeiliaf* 'I rob' (*ysbail* 'spoil' < Lat. *spolium*); *teithi̯af* 'I journey' (*taith* 'journey'), *geiri̯au* 'words' (*gair* 'word'), *neithi̯w(y)r* 'last night', Ml. W. *neithwyr* § 98 i (3). In these cases the i̯ is omitted in S. W. dialects and most Ml. MSS., as

keinhauc B.B. 54 ≡ *keinhawc* B.T. 28; but the oldest Ml. prose MSS. (the early MSS. of the laws) and Mn. lit. W. follow the practice of the N. W. dialects and insert the i̯, as *keynẏauc* A.L. i 24 MS. A., cf. 22 MSS. B., D., Mn. W. *ceiniog* 'penny'.

(2) There are, however, several exceptions to this rule besides those mentioned or implied in § 36. The i̯ is omitted before the substantival terminations *-en, -es, -edd*; as *deilen* (M.Ll. i 155 has the unusual *deiliẹn*) 'leaf', *bugeiles* 'shepherdess', *cyfeilles* (printed *cyfeillies* in D.G. 75) 'amie', *meithedd* 'lengthiness'; before endings of comparison, as *meithed, meithach, meithaf* (*maith* 'long'), *meined, meinach, meinaf* (*main* 'slender'), except *rheit-i̯ed, -i̯ach, -i̯af* § 149 i, stems in *-eidd-* as *manweiδẏach* Ll.A. 8 'finer', *pereiddi̯af* 'sweetest', and some stems in *-eith-* as *perffeithi̯af* 'most perfect'; before the pl. endings *-edd, -oedd*, as *ieithoedd* 'languages'; in a few isolated words as *teilo* 'to manure' (but *teẏlẏaw* in B.CH. 102), *adeilad* 'building' (but *adeilẏat* in R.P. 1220), *cymdeithas* 'society', *eiddo* 'property'.

(3) Medial *ei* before a consonant originally simple must be due to affection by i̯ after the consonant; and the i̯ in *ysbeili̯af* etc. is the affecting i̯ preserved. *-eith-* generally represents **-ekt-* a verbal noun and adj. formation, as in *perffeith* 'perfect', and the i̯ in *perffeithi̯o* is probably analogical, § 201 iii (6). From these the i̯ has tended to spread. But there is necessarily no original reason for it when *ei* comes from *-ek-* or *-eg-*; hence the exceptions *meithach, cymdeithas, teilo* (*tail* < **tegl-* § 104 ii (1)), etc.

iii. i̯ is also added to many stems having *i* or *u*; as *cil* 'back', pl. *cili̯au, cili̯af* 'I retreat'; *tir* 'land', old poetic pl. *tiri̯on* B.B. 26, R.P. 1144, *tiri̯o* 'to land', *tiri̯og* 'landed' (but pl. *tiredd, tiroedd*); *grudd* 'cheek', pl. *gruddi̯au*; *llun* 'form', pl. *lluni̯au, lluni̯o* 'to form', *lluni̯aidd* 'shapely'; *ystudẏaw, llavurẏaw* Ll.A. 11 'to study', 'to labour'. In some of these cases also the i̯ is lost in S. W. dialects.

iv. Many stems end in u̯ which forms rising diphthongs with the vowels of all endings, except with *w* § 36 i; thus *galu̯* 'to call', *galwaf* 'I call', *gelwaist* 'thou calledst', *gelwynt* 'they called', etc.

§ 36. i. u̯ drops before *w*, and i̯ drops before *i*. The semivowel is sometimes written (as **w** or **y**) in Ml. W., but is often

omitted. Thus while R.M. 51 has *mi a gadwwn, mi ae kadwwn*, the older W.M. 71 has in the same passage *mi a gadwn, mi ay cadwn*. Similarly we have *vedyðẏit* in LL.A. 48 but *bedyðir* earlier, p. 42.

The syllable closed by the *w̥* or *i̥* remains closed after its loss; thus *ead|w̥wn, be|dydd|i̥ir* became *căd|wn, be|dẏdd|ir* (not *cā|dwn, be|dẏ|ddir*). By re-formation the *w̥* is sometimes restored in the spoken lang. in forms like *ber|w̥wch* 'boil ye' impve., on account of the strength of the analogy of *ber|w̥i, ber|w̥af, ber|w̥oð*, etc. But the lit. and ordinary form is *běr|wch*, and the absence of *w̥w* in the traditional pronunciation accounts for the well-known W. pronunciation of E. *wood* as *'ood*, etc.

ii. *i̥* drops before *y* and *u* in monosyllables and final syllables; as *yrch* A.L. i 20, LL.A. 67 for **i̥yrch* pl. of *i̥wrch* 'roebuck'; *udd* 'lord' < O. W. *I̥ud-* ('*warrior'); *peidynt* R.M. 90 (from *peidẏaw* 'to cease', cf. *peidẏ͡wẏs* R.M. 98); *Mareduð* R.P. 1194 for **Mared i̥uð*, O. W. *Morgetiud* GEN. xiii (≡ *Morʒeti͡uð*), *Gruffudd* < O. W. *Griphiud* (≡ *Griffi̥iuð*). It is often found written in Ml. W., as *ystyrẏych* R.P. 1153 'thou mayst consider', *hilẏynt* LL.A. 11 'they would breed', *llafurẏus* do. 28 'laborious', *meðylẏut* W.M. 103 'thou wouldst think'; but the spelling is perhaps theoretical; see below.

Initial *i̥u* in polysyllables has given i, as in *Iddew* 'Jew' for **i̥uðew*; *Ithel* < **i̥uð-hael*, O. W. *Iudhail*.

See *Iðew* P 14/1 R. (13th cent.); *itewon* (*t* ≡ ð) B.B. 102; so in LL.A. see its index, and in R.B., see R.B.B. index. Salesbury wrote *Iuddew*, which he inferred from the derivation. The Bible (1588 and 1620) has *Iddew*; but late editors have adopted Salesbury's unphonetic spelling. D. includes *i̥u* among rising diphthongs; but his only example is the artificial *Iuddew*.

It is seen that *i̥u* became *u* in the syllables which were accented in O. W., and *i* in syllables unaccented at that period, § 40. The simplification must therefore have taken place before the shifting of the accent; and Ml. W. forms with *i̥u* (≡ *i̥u*) are analogical formations, and perhaps artificial.

iii. *w̥* sometimes drops before *o*; as in the prefixes *go-, gor-* for *gwo-, gwor-*; thus Ml. and Mn. W. *goleuni* 'light', O. W. *guolleuni* JUV. But analogy has tended to restore it; thus while we find *athraon* M.A. i 256, ii 319 for *athrawon* LL.A. 112, R.M. 19, R.P. 1234 'teachers', *canaon* B.A. 38, M.A. i 261, 315 for *kanawon* R.B.B. 147 'whelps', *lleot* H.M. ii 234, 235 for *llewot* LL.A. 10

'lions', *maroryn* LL.A. 25 for *marworyn* D.G. 363 'ember', it generally remained in these words. Late examples of its loss: Ml. W. *etwo* (varying with *etwa* by § 34 iv) gives *etto* R.P. 1357, Mn. W. *eto* (≡ *etto*) 'again'. So *penwag* became **penwog* whence *pennog* 'herring', the pl. retaining the *w̥*: *penw̥aig* L.G.C. 158, Ml. W. *penw̥eic* A.L. i 66.

gwolchi* 'to wash' gave *golchi*, whence *gylch* 'washes'; but in Ml. W. the latter was *gwylch*, as *y dwfwyr a* **wylch *pob peth* LL.A. 18 'water washes everything.'

Môr a **wylch** *mwyn amgylch Môn.*—Ca., R.P. 1244.
'The sea washes the sweet coast of Môn.'

iv. i̯ drops before *w̥* owing to the extreme difficulty of pronouncing the combination, but it remains before vocalic *w*; thus *gweithi̯wr* 'worker', *gweithi̯wyd* 'was worked', but *gweithw̥yr* 'workers' (not **gweithi̯wyr*).—Of course vocalic i remains in all cases: *ysbí-wr* 'spy', pl. *ysbí-w̥yr*.

v. i̯ drops after *w̥* following a consonant, or following a diphthong; thus *ceidw̥ad* for **ceidwi̯ad* 'keeper, saviour', *geirw̥on* for **geirwi̯on*, pl. of *garw* 'rough', *hoyw̥on* for **hoywi̯on*, pl. of *hoyw* 'sprightly'. But when *w̥* follows a simple vowel the i̯ remains, as in *glewi̯on*, pl. of *glew* 'bold', *glawi̯o* 'to rain'.

It is kept in *gwi̯alen* when contracted (as in D.G. 60) for *gwi|á|len*, § 75 vi (2).

vi. i̯ drops after *u*, as in *duon* for **dui̯on*, pl. of *du* 'black', *goreuon* for **goreui̯on* pl. of *goreu* 'best'.

vii. i̯ drops after *r* or *l* following a consonant, as *meidrol* for *meidri̯ol* 'finite' (*veidrỳawl* R.P. 1233, *veidrawl* do. 1234), *budron* for **budri̯on*, pl. of *budr* 'dirty', *crwydrad* for *crwydri̯ad* 'wanderer', *meistraid* for *meistri̯aid* 'masters', *teimlo* for **teimli̯o* 'to feel', *treiglo* for *treigli̯o* 'to roll'.

This rule is not always observed. In some late Bibles *crwydrad* has been altered into *crwydriad*. We also find *meistriaid* in Mn. W.; *dinistri̯o* always retains i̯, and *mentri̯o* occurs for *mentro*.

Ambiguous Groups.

§ 37. i. As above noted **iw** in ordinary writing represents both the rising diphthong *i̯w* and the falling diphthong *iw̥*.

ii. **iw** in the ultima followed by a consonant is **i̯w**, as *i̯wrch* 'stag', *rhodi̯wch* 'walk ye', *cofi̯wn* 'we remember', *myrddi̯wn* 'a myriad'. The only exceptions are the Mn. forms *iw̯ch* for Ml. *ɣw̯ch* 'to you', and *niw̯l* for Ml. *nɣwl* § 77 v, § 90.

The Demetian disyllabic *ni|wl* (D.D. s.v., D.G. 150 *nī́-wl / nā́-wyr*) is < **niw̯wl* < **niw̯ɣl* < *nɣwl* with irregular epenthetic vowel § 16 v (3) (*y* > *w* after *w̯* § 66 ii (2)). *Nifwl* existed beside **niw̯wl*. But the standard form appears to be a monosyllable (D.G. 70 *nī́w̯l / nṓs*); and all the derivatives are from *niw̯l-*, as *niwliog* or *niwlog* 'misty', *niwlen* 'a veil of mist'.

Initial *i̯ŵ* became **ü̯ŵ* and then *üw̯* in *uwd* 'porridge' < Ml. W. *iwt* (≡ *i̯ŵd*) R.B. 1061, Bret. *iot*; but *i̯wrch* remained because it is easier so than if another consonant were added to the group at the end of the syllable.

iii. In all other cases **iw** is **iw̯**; thus (1) finally, as in *i'w̯*, Ml. *yw̯* 'to his', *rhiw̯* 'hill', *briw̯* 'wound', *edliw̯* 'to reproach', *heddiw̯* 'to-day'.

There is no exception to the rule in lit. W. In the Powys dialect *heddiw* is sounded *heddi̯w*, and in Gwynedd *heiddi̯w*; but the Demetian *heddi'* implies *heddiw̯*. The bards always rhymed it as *heddiw̯*, till it came to be written *heddyw* in the 15th cent. (one example in R.P. 1286), an artificial restoration, see § 77 v.

Nid oes fyd na rhyd na rhiw̯
Na lle rhydd na llawr **heddiw̯**.—D.G. (to the snow), 408.

'There is no world or ford or hill or any free place or ground to-day.' See also D.G. 16, 26, 82, 86, 126, 153, 194, etc.

Ni fu hawdd nofio **heddiw̯**
I un a ffrwd yn i ffriw̯.—T.A., F. 22.

'It has not been easy to swim to-day for one with the stream in his face.'

(2) In the penult or ante-penult, as *diw̯edd* 'end', *ni|w̯eidio* 'to harm', *ciw̯dod* 'race, people'. Exceptions are the borrowed words *si̯wrnai* 'journey', *si̯ŵr* 'sure', and *di̯wrnod* 'day' when contracted, as in Gr.O. 88, for *di|ẃrnod* for Ml. W. *diw̯yrnawd*, w. 1*a* (generally in Ml. W. *diw̯arnawt*, a S. W. form).

iv. **iw** is disyllabic when it is formed by adding a syllable beginning with **w** to a syllable ending in **i**; thus *gweddi* 'prayer', *gweddī́-wn* 'let us pray', *gweddī́-wr* 'suppliant'. In such words the **i** is generally written in Mn. W. with a diaeresis—*gweddïwr*.

v. The combination **iwy** has four sounds: (1) the mixed triphthong *i͡wy*, as in *neithi͡wyr*, § 34 ii. It occurs in verbal forms when the terminations *-wyf*, *-wyd*, *-wys* are added to stems in *i*, § 35; as *rhodi͡wyf* 'I may walk', *tybi͡wyd* 'it was thought'.

(2) *i͡wy* disyllabic. It occurs when the above endings are added to stems in vocalic *i*, as *gweddi͡wyf* (3 syll., see example in § 201 ii (2)); and in compounds of *di-* with stems having *wy*, as in *di-wyr* 'not bent' (*gŵyr* 'bent').

(3) *iw̭y*, or (4) *iwy*, according to position, as in *liw̭ydd* G. 164 'painter', pl. *liw̭yddion*; *diw̭yd* 'diligent' spv. *diw̭ytaf*. These sounds may occur either when *iw* is followed by *y* or *y* or when *i* is followed by *w̭y* or *wy* in word-formation.

§ 38. i. The distinction between the falling diphthong **wy** and the rising diphthong **w̭u**, both written **wy**, is an important one. The difference between them is seen most clearly in monosyllables such as *gŵyr* 'he knows', *gw̭ŷr* 'men'. In other positions they are liable to be confused in the dialects, and in a few cases we find confusion even in lit. W.

In ordinary written W. the falling diphthong when long is denoted by *ŵy* (only used initially and after *g*, *ch*), but when short or unaccented there is no method in ordinary use by which it can be distinguished; in that case it is printed *wy*, where necessary, in this book. The rising diphthong is indicated by marking the *w* a consonant.

ii. In monosyllables **wy** represents the falling diphthong except when preceded by *g* or *ch*; thus *dŵyn* 'to bring', *brŵyn* 'rushes', *cŵyn* 'complaint', *clŵyd* 'hurdle', *llwybr* 'path', *hŵynt* 'they, them', *cwymp* 'fall'. Words beginning with *g* or *ch* have usually the rising diphthong, as *gw̭yn* 'white', *gw̭yrdd* 'green', *gw̭ŷdd* 'trees', *chw̭yrn* 'roaring', *chw̭ŷth* 'blows'; the exceptions are *Gŵy* 'the Wye', *gŵydd* 'goose', *gŵydd* 'presence', *gŵyl* 'vigil, holiday', *gŵyl* 'modest', *gŵyll* 'goblin', *gŵyr* 'knows', *gŵyr* 'a bend', *gwrystl* 'pledge', *gŵyth* 'anger', *chŵydd* 'swelling'.

Note the following words which conform to the rule, though spelt like some of the above-mentioned exceptions: *gw̭ŷdd* 'trees', *gw̭ŷl* 'sees' § 173 iv (1), *gw̭ŷll* 'darkness'.

iii. When a word has the falling diphthong *ŵy* in its simple form, the diphthong remains so in all derivatives; thus *mŵyn*

'gentle', *mŵynach* 'gentler', *mŵynhau* 'to enjoy'; *cŵyn* 'complaint', pl. *cŵynion*, v.n. *cŵyno* 'to complain'. Similarly the rising diphthong remains rising, the *ŵ* becoming *y* according to rule, § 82 ii (5); thus *gwŵyn* 'white', *gwynnach* 'whiter', *gwynnu* 'to whiten'.

In N. W. dialects **wy** has come to be sounded *ŵŷ* in the penult after *c*, *g* or *ch*, as *cŵŷno* for *cŵyno* 'to complain'; *gŵŷddau* for *gwŵyddau* 'geese'; *chŵŷddo* for *chwŵyddo* 'to swell'. But original *ŵŷ*, which in the penult is properly *ŵy*, has become *w* in all dialects, as *chwthu* for *chŵythu* 'to blow', *chwrnu* for *chŵyrnu* 'to roar', *gwnnu* for *gwynnu* 'to whiten'; see § 66 ii.

iv. When a word in its radical form begins with **wy** the diphthong is the falling one; thus *ŵy* 'egg', *ŵyth* 'eight', *ŵythnos* 'week', *ŵybr* 'sky', *ŵylo* 'to weep', *ŵyl* 'weeps', *ŵyneb* 'face'.

ŵybr, *ŵylo* and *ŵyneb* are frequently mispronounced; and in N. W. dialects the *w* of *ŵyneb* having been made consonantal a *g* has been prefixed to it giving *gŵyneb*. This vulgarism hardly occurs before the 19th cent.

*Rhaid im ddŵyn pridd ar f'***ŵyneb** [a]
Rhag bod i'm adnabod neb.—D.G. 307.

'I must bear earth upon my face, so that no one shall know me.' See *wrth f'ŵyneb* D. G. 23, *yn f'ŵyneb* do. 442.

Amlwg fydd trŵyn ar **ŵyneb**; [a]
Afraid i ni nodi neb.—E.P. 212.

'Plain is the nose on a face; we need mention no one.'

A'r anadl oll a'r **ŵyneb** [b]
Fal aroglau siopau Siêb.—D.G., 330.

'And all the breath and face like the perfume of the shops of Cheapside.' See also G. 49.

Os **ŵyneb** [b] *iarll sy 'n y bedd,*
Iarll a aned erllynedd.—D.N., C. i 161.

'If an earl's face is in the grave, an earl was born last year.'

So always in the Bible; see *fy ŵyneb*,[c] Gen. xliii 3, Ex. xxxiii 20, Lev. xvii 10, etc.; *eu hŵynebau*,[c] Gen. xlii 6, etc. An early indication of the mispronunciation is found in *y wynebeu*, B.CW. (1703), p. 7, which should be *yr ŵynebeu*, but has not yet become *y gŵynebeu*.

v. Final **wy** is always the falling diphthong; as *pŵy* 'who?' *Conŵy*, *Myfanŵy*, *arlŵy* 'a spread', *dirŵy* 'fine', *llywŷ* 'beautiful',

[a] Pronounce the *wyn* of *wyneb* so that it rhymes with the *wyn* of *ddŵyn*, *trŵyn* as the cynghanedd lusg demands.
[b] Not *a'r gwyneb*, *os gwyneb*, the *g* being ruled out by the cynghanedd.
[c] Not *fy ngwyneb*, *eu gwynebau*.

Taẃy; also medial **wy** followed by a vowel, as *mẃyar* 'blackberries', *gẃyar* 'gore'.

Tlawd a ŵyr talu **dirẃy**:
Ni thelir math Lowri mŵy.—T.A., A 14879/20.

'The poor are accustomed to pay forfeit; they will never more forfeit such a one as Lowri.'

But in the Ml. 2nd sg. pres. ind. of verbs with *w* stems, as in *gelwy* 'thou callest', *kedwy* 'thou keepest' § 173 iii (1), Mn. W. *gelẃi*, *cedẃi*, the diphthong is of course the rising one.

vi. When a word has **wy** in the last syllable and **a** in the penult, the **wy** is the falling diphthong; thus *arẃydd* 'sign', *arglẃydd* 'lord', *annẃyd* 'cold', *addẃyn* D.G. 355 'gentle', *cannẃyll* 'candle', *gwanẃyn* 'spring', *cadẃyn* 'chain', *annẃyl* 'dear'; *aẃyr* 'air', *aẃydd* 'desire', see x below. Except in compounds, such as *tanwydd* 'firewood', etc.; see § 83 iii.

Rhaid i'r gwan ddal y **gannẃyll**
I'r dewr i wneuthur i dŵyll.—E.P. 235.

'The weak must hold the candle for the bold to do his deceit.'

Oer gennych eira **gwanẃyn**:
Oerach yw 'myd er ych mŵyn.—T A., c. i 342.

'Cold you deem the snow of spring: colder is my plight because of you.' See D.G. 321, 408, 525.

Aur a gâd yn ddwy **gadẃyn**,
A'i roddi'n faich i'r ddyn fŵyn.—D.G. 64.

'Gold was brought in two chains, and laid as a burden on the gentle maiden.' See also G. 250.

Dyfynnodd i'w dai f' **annẃyl**—
Da o le mae'n dala i ŵyl.—H.D., P 99/430

'He has summoned to His mansions my dear one—it is a good place where he is keeping his holiday.' See § 54 i (3).

vii. **wy** is the falling diphthong when it is derived from Kelt. **ei** corresponding to Irish *ia* or *ē*, as in *pŵyll* 'thought', Ir. *cīall*, *gŵydd* 'goose', Ir. *gēd*, *gẃystl* 'pledge', Ir. *gīall*, etc.; or when it is derived from Latin **ē**, **ig** or **ī**, as in *rhŵyd* 'net' from *rēte*, *cŵyr* 'wax' from *cēra*, *eglẃys* 'church' from *ecclēsia*, *egẃyddor* 'alphabet' from *ābēcēdārium*, *gwénẃyn* 'poison' from *venēnum*, *dŵys* 'intense' from *dēnsus*, *sŵyn* 'charm' from *signum*; *sýnnẃyr* 'sense' from *sentīre*. Rule vi may be verified in many words

by applying the test of derivation; e. g. *cannŵyll* from *candēla*, *cadŵyn* from *catēna*,[a] *parádŵys* from *paradīsus*.

Geiriau da a gwŷr i'w dŵyn
A ddinistr y ddau **wenŵyn**.—D.I.D., F. 11.

'Good words and men to bring them will destroy the two poisons.'

Y doeth ni ddywaid a ŵyr;
Nid o sôn y daw **synnŵyr**.—G.I.H., G. 144.

'The wise does not say what he knows: it is not from talk that sense comes.' See also G. 111, 175, 234, 296.

viii. **wy** is the falling diphthong in the substantival terminations *-rŵydd* '-ness', *-ŵys* '-ians', and in the verbal terminations *-ŵyf*, *-ŵys*, *-ŵyd*, but is the rising one in *-wyr* pl. of *-wr* '-er'.

The ending *-ŵys* '-ians' added to names of places is probably derived from the Latin *-ēnses*.

Hyd Iork y bu hydref dŵys,
A'r gwanwyn ar y **Gwennŵys**.—L.G.C. 421.

'As far as York it has been a very autumn, while it was spring to the men of Gwent.'

ix. The following words may be mentioned as those most commonly mispronounced: **wy** is the falling diphthong in *cerŵyn* 'vat', *disgŵyl* 'look, expect', *Gŵynedd* 'Venedotia', *Gŵyndyd*, id., *morŵyn* 'maiden', *terŵyn* 'fervent'; it is the rising diphthong in *oherwydd* 'because of', *cychwyn* 'rise, start', *erchwyn* 'protector, [bed]-side', *dedwydd* 'happy'. See **terŵyn** / *gŵyn* / *brŵyn* R.P. 1206; **cerŵyn** / *coll-lŵyn* D.G. 347.

Y ferch addfŵyn o **Wynedd**,
Sy ymysg osai a medd.—D.G. 314.

'The gentle maid of Gwynedd, who lives in the midst of wine and mead.' See also L.G.C. 219.

Mi a euraf bob **morŵyn**
O eiriau mawl er i mŵyn.—D.G. 281.

'I will gild every maiden with words of praise for her sake.' See also D.G. 126, 236, 297, 298, 356, and G. 119, 229, 243.

Ar i farch yr âi f' **erchwyn**
Yn y llu ddoe'n llew o ddŷn.—T.A. G. 234.

[a] Pughe, deriving *cadwyn* from *cadw*, made it *cadwyn*, and asserted that it was masculine. He then inferred a fem. *cadwen*, which (as *cadwyn* is fem.) was unfortunately adopted by many 19th cent. writers. But no one has had the courage to write *cadwenni* for the pl. *cadwyni*. There is an old word *cadwen* or *cadwent* which means 'a battle', from *cad*.

'On his steed went my protector in the host yesterday, a man like a lion.' See also L.G.C. 143, D.G. 510.

The word *kyfrwys* 'shrewd' (rhyming with *henwerys* and *ymys* in B.T. 78, and with *prisc* ≡ *prys* and *chuis* ≡ *chwŷs* in B.B. 57) is now sounded *kyfrŵys* on account of the difficulty of the consonantal group *frw*. The word *celwydd* has undoubtedly the rising diphthong; see *kelwyδ / kynnyδ* R.P. 1223, cf. 1251, and D.G. 338; probably *gŵydd / gelŵydd*, D.G. 256, is a misreading, but this form occurs in the 16th cent., see F. 36.

x. **wy** after a vowel has generally been changed to **ẘ**, except in verbal terminations. Thus *aŵyr / hŵyr / llŵyr* R.P. 1029, and generally so rhymed, see D.G. 395, 416, is now pronounced *awyr*, and the rhyme with *yr* occurs already in the 13th cent.: *awyr / syr* B.T. 23, G.Y.C. R.P. 1418. Similarly *aŵyδ / rŵyδ / arŵyδ* R.P. 1180 is later *a-wydd*. *Powys* L.G.C. 381 is pronounced *Powys* § 192 ii (2); *tywyll* as in *tywill / canvill* B.B. 30, *tywyll / gannwyll / pŵyll* R.P. 1045, *tywyll / amwyll* D.G. 267, *tŵyll / tywyll* do. 117, 283 is now *tywyll*, and already in D.G. rhymes with *hyll* 71, 285, 421, and with *cyll* 173, 185; *ewyn* R.P. 1036, later *ewyn* 'foam'. On the other hand *glanhâ-wyd* 'was cleansed' and all similar inflected forms are still so pronounced. Lat. *ăvĭdus* would have given **ewydd* in Welsh; *awydd* cannot be derived from it, see § 76 iii, iv.

Accentuation.

§ 39. i. In a polysyllabic word, one syllable is always pronounced with more emphasis than the others; this is called the syllable bearing the principal accent, or, simply, the accented syllable. In Welsh the accent is a stress accent.

A syllable may be emphasized either by raising the tone of voice or by a more forcible utterance. The two things may go together; but speakers of various languages unconsciously adopt one or the other as their principle of accentuation. The first produces musical or pitch accent, the second produces expiratory or stress accent. In Pr. Aryan the accent before the dispersion is believed to have been predominantly pitch, though vowel gradation, § 63, points to the working of a strong stress accent. In Keltic, as in Italic and Germanic, the accent became predominantly stress, and has remained so, though its position has varied greatly.

☞ The syllable bearing the principal accent is denoted by an acute accent ′ placed above its vowel.

ii. The remaining syllables of the word are also pronounced with varying emphasis, but this may generally be disregarded, and they may all be considered as unaccented syllables. In

some cases, however, one of them may attain a decided prominence in comparison with the others; such a syllable may be said to bear a secondary accent.

☞ The vowel of the syllable bearing the secondary accent is denoted where necessary by the grave accent ˋ.

iii. Most monosyllables are stressed, but many frequently-recurring monosyllables bear no stress, but are pronounced in conjunction with another word. These are proclitics, which precede the accented word, and enclitics, which follow it.

The Welsh proclitics are the article *y, yr*, the prefixed pronouns *fy, dy*, etc., which are always unstressed. Usually also the relatives *a, yð, yr, y*, the negative, interrogative and affirmative particles, most conjunctions as the *a* in *bara a chaws* 'bread and cheese', and often prepositions as the *rhag* in *rhag ofn* 'for fear'.

The Welsh enclitics are the auxiliary pronouns *i, di*, etc. They are often written in MSS. where they do not count in the metre, as in *Arduireaue tri* B.B. 36 (*Arðwyrĕaf-i dri*) for *Arddwyreaf dri* (5 syll.) 'I will exalt Three'. These may however be accented for emphasis.

§ 40. i. In Mn. W. all polysyllables, with a few exceptions named in § 41, are accented on the penult; as *cá|naf* 'I sing', *cán|iad* 'a song', *can|i̯á|dau* 'songs'.

ii. The position of the accent was certainly the same in the Late Ml. period. This is proved by the fact that in the 14th cent. the cynghanedd was fully developed in its modern form in which the penultimate accent plays an important part, ZfCP. iv 123 ff.

iii. (1) But certain vowel values point to a period when the accent fell generally on the ultima. The evidence seems to show that this was the case in O. W., and that the transition took place in the Early Ml. W. period.

(2) The clear sound *ŷ* occurs in the ultima only; the obscure sound *y*, which must have been the sound when unaccented, occurs in all other syllables. Hence the ultima must at one time have borne the accent. In monosyllables which have always been unaccented such as the article *yr, y*, the sound is *y*; but in those which have always been accented, such as *dyð* 'day', it is *ŷ*. There has been no shifting of the accent in *y dýŷð* 'the day', which therefore preserves the accentuation that resulted in the vowel sequence *y . . . ŷ*. Hence a word like *mýnŷð*, which contains this sequence, must once have been accented **mynýŷð*.

Similarly Brit. *ŭ* remains (written *w*) in the ultima; but appears as *y* in other syllables, § 66 i;—*ęi* remained and became *ai* in the ult., but became *ęi* giving *ei* (≡ *əi*) in the penult, § 79;—Brit. *ā* is *aw* in the ult., *o* in the penult, § 71 i;—*uw* in the ult. is *u* in the penult, § 77 x; from *i̯ŭ* we find *ŭ* in the ult. and monosyllables, the easier *i* in the penult, § 36 ii.

(3) In one or two words the vowel of the old penult has dropped since the separation of W. and Bret.; thus W. *crŷδ* 'shoemaker' < **cerŷδ* < Brit. **kar(p)i̯ō̯*: Bret. *kere*, § 86 i (5);—W. *ysbryd* < **spryd* < **spyrýd* < Lat. *spiritus*: Bret. *spered*.

On the other hand in some words an intrusive vowel developed before the accented syllable; Ml. W. *dyly* 'deserves, owes' comes through **dylý* < **dlyg*, § 199 ii (2); the *y* spread from this to other forms of the verb.—Ml. W. *taraw* 'to strike', *tereu* 'strikes' < **taráw*, **teréu* < **traw*, **treu*. The vowel did not spread from these to *trawaf*; the late Mn. *tarawaf* is an artificial lit. form, § 202 i (3).

(4) The accent in *ýsgol*, *ýstrad*, etc., now falls on a syllable that at one time had no existence. It is obvious that the shifting took place after the introduction of the prosthetic vowel. There is no evidence of that vowel in O. W. In the earliest Ml. W. we find *Istrat* and *Strat*, § 23 ii. The latter may be an archaic spelling, but it seems to show that the accent was on the *a*. We may therefore infer that the transition took place in the Early Ml. period. In some words the prosthetic vowel was never firmly established; and the accent remains in its original position in these, § 41 i.

iv. In Brit. the accent was apparently free as in Pr. Ar. As unaccented *ā* was shortened, it is seen that in **bráteres* (> *broder*) the accent was on the ante-penult; as *ā* which remained accented gives *aw*, the accent to give *o* must have shifted to the *er* in O. W., according to the general rule at that period. By the second shifting it went back to its original position, the new penult. Two shiftings must be assumed to explain such a form as *ýsbryd*, which involves a shifting from **(y)spryd*, which in turn implies a shifting from *spírit-us*.—It will be seen in the following pages that British cannot have shared the fixed initial accentuation of Goidelic.

§ 41. In some words in Mn. W. the accent falls on the ultima. These are

i. A few disyllables in which the first syllable is (1) *ys-* or (2) *ym-*; as (1) *ysgrín* 'shrine, coffin', § 23 ii, *ystrŷd* 'street', *ysgrêch* 'screech', *ystôr* 'store'; (2) *ymwél* 'do thou visit', *ymád* 'do thou leave'. But most words with these initial syllables are accented regularly, as *ýsgol* 'school', *ýsbryd* 'spirit', *ýsgwyd* 'to shake', *ýmdaith* 'journey', *ýmgudd* D.G. 374 'hides'. In some cases we have both accentuations, see *ýmwel* below;

occasionally with different meanings, as *ýmladd* 'to fight', *ymlâdd* 'to tire one's self'; *ýmddwyn* 'to behave', *ymddŵyn* 'to bear'.

Y dydd a'r awr, ni'm dawr, dod;
ýmwel *â mi dan ámod.*—G.I.H., TR. 91.

'Fix the day and hour, I care not [when]; visit me under [that] condition.'

Arthur o'i ddolur oedd wan,
Ac o **ýmladd** *cad Gámlan.*—L.G.C. 450.

'Arthur was weak from his wound, and from fighting the battle of Camlan.' See also T.A., C. ii 78.

Y ferch wéddw ddifrychéuddeddf
Wedi'r **ymlâdd** *a'r drem léddf.*—D.E., P 112/840.

'The widowed woman of spotless life after the prostration and disconsolate aspect.'

ii. The reduplicated pronouns *myfí*, *tydí*, etc. Rarely these are accented regularly; see § 159 ii (2).

iii. (1) Words in which the last syllable has a late contraction, § 33, such as *pa|ra|tói* for Ml. W. *pa|ra|tó i* 'to prepare', *cy|tún* for Ml. W. *cy|tú un* 'united', *Gwr|théyrn* for *Gwr|thé yrn*, *Cym|ráeg* for *Cym|rá|eg*, *pa|rhád* for *pa|rhá|ad* 'continuance'. It is seen that in these words the accent in Ml. W. was regular, and kept its position after the ultima was merged in the penult.

(2) In the word *ysgolháig*, Ml. W. *yscolheic* 'scholar', the contraction in the last syllable seems to have taken place early in the Ml. period, as *Nid vid iscolheic nid vid eleic unben* B.B. 91 (10 syll.; read *scol|heic*, § 23 ii), but it was necessarily subsequent to the fixing of the present accentuation; in B.B. 81 the uncontracted form occurs, rh. with *guledic*. A similar form is *pen-áig* 'chief'. The word *ffelaig* seems to have been accented regularly; thus in R.P. 1221 we have *ffeleic / ffilij*, the latter being the Lat. *filii*.

Tudur waed Tewdwr ydoedd,
A **phenáig** *cyff Ieuan oedd.*—Gu.O., G. 196.

'He was Tudor of the blood of Tudor, and chief of the stock of Ieuan.'

iv. A few words recently borrowed from English; as *apél*, 'appeal'.

v. Disyllables in which *h* stands between two vowels are accented regularly; thus *cýhyd* as in *Cýhyd a rhai og háearn* D.G. 386 '[spikes] as long as those of an iron harrow'; and *hyd gýhyd* C.C. 312 'full length'; *cýhoedd* 'public', as in *gýhoedd/gáeat*, R.P. 1283; *gwéheirdd* D.G. 20 'forbids'. Contraction has taken place in some of these, thus *cýhoedd* > **cóhoedd* > *coedd*, D.G. 524; so *gwáhan* > *gwân*, which gave rise to *gwahân*. This appears to be the reason for *gwahân, cyhŷd, gwahárdd*, etc. in recent W.

§ 42. In Ml. and early Mn. W. final **w** after *d*, *ð*, *n*, *l*, *r*, *s* was consonantal, § 26 iv; thus *meddw̆* 'drunk', *marw̆* 'dead', *delw̆* 'image', were monosyllables, sounded almost like *meddf*, *marf*, *delf*. Hence when a syllable is added the **w** is non-syllabic for the purposes of accentuation; thus *méddw̆on* 'drunkards', *márw̆ol* 'mortal', *márw̆nad* 'elegy', *délw̆au* 'images', *árddelw̆* 'to represent, to claim'. The w̆ is usually elided between two consonants, as *médd-dod* 'drunkenness', for *méddw̆dod*. In B.B. 84 we have *uetudaud* (≡*feðw̆dawd*), but in Ml. W. generally such words were written without the w̆, as *meðdawl*, R.P. 1217, 1245, 1250, 1269, IL.A. 147; *gweðdawt* B.T. 31, R.P. 1261 'widowhood'. The *w* inserted in these words in recent orthography is artificial, and is commonly misread as syllabic *w*, thus *médd|w|dod*, the accent being thrown on the ante-penult, a position which it never occupies in Welsh. The correct form *médd-dod* is still the form used in natural speech. When final, in polysyllables, the w̆ is now dropped, and is not written in late W., so there is not even an apparent exception to the rule of accentuation; thus *árddelw̆* 'to claim', *sýberw̆* 'proud' are written *árddel*, *sýber*. In *gwárchadw̆* 'to guard', *ymóralw̆* 'to attend (to)', metathesis took place about the end of the Ml. period, giving *gwárchawd*, *ymórawl*, which became *gwárchod*, *ymórol* in Mn. W.

In all standard cynghanedd the w̆ in these words is purely non-syllabic:

Da **arðelw̆ kýnnelw̆ Kýnðelw̆** *kéinðawn.*—R.P. 1229 (9 syll.) 'A good representation of the exemplar of Cynddelw exquisitely gifted.' The accentuation of **Kýnðelw̆** corresponds to that of *kéinðawn*. Cf. *kývarch* / **kýfenw̆**, 1230.

I llórf a'm pair yn **llẃyrfarw̆**
O hud gwir ac o hoed **garw̆**.—D.G. 208.

'Its [the harp's] body makes me faint away from real enchantment and sore grief.'

Dyn **marw̥** *a allai f'árw̥ain*
Weithian drwy eithin a drain.—D.I.D., G. 182.

'A dead man might lead me now through furze and thorns.'

F'enaid hoen **geirw̥** *afonydd,*
Fy nghaniad dy **fârw̥nad** *fŷ ld.*—IL.G., F.N. 30.

'My beloved of the hue of the foam of rivers, my song thy dirge shall be.' Cf. *i fárw̥nad efŏ* D.I.D., G. 184.

Marw̥nad *ym yw awr yn d'ôl.*—T.A., A 14894/35.

'It is a lament to me [to live] an hour after thee.'

Pwy a'th **eilw̥** *pe â'th wayw onn?*—T.A., A 14975/102.

'Who will challenge thee if with thy ashen spear?'

The last example shows that **eilw̥** could still be a pure monosyllable at the end of the 15th cent., for the present disyllabic pronunciation mars the cynghanedd. Even stronger evidence is afforded by the accentuation *dêu-darw̥/dŏdi* B.Ph.B., Stowe 959/98*b*. Although final **w̥** was non-syllabic, *yn* or *yr* following it was generally reduced to *'n* or *'r*, being combined with the *w̥* to form *w̥n* or *w̥r*, § 26 iii.

A'ch gwaed, rhyw ywch gadw̥'r hĕol.—T.A., A 14965/46.

'With your blood it is natural to you to guard the road.'

Murnio da, marw̥'n y diwedd.—D.IL., F. 31.

'Stowing away wealth, [and] dying in the end.'

In a compound like *marw̥nad* the *w̥* was not difficult, for *w̥n* (rounded *n*) is common in Welsh, § 26 iii. But the colloquial pronunciation is now *maw̥rnad*, with metathesis of *w̥*. In 16th and 17th cent. MSS. we also find *marnad* and *barnad*. The combination is more difficult in such compounds as *dérw̥goed* 'oak-trees', *márw̥ddwr* 'stagnant water', *chwêrw̥-der* 'bitterness'; and though the etymological spelling persisted in these, the pronunciation *dér-goed*, *már-ddwr*, *chwêr-der* is doubtless old.

Lle dírgel gerllaw **dérwgoed**.—D.G. 321.

'A secret place near oak-trees.' Cf. *dérw̥gist*, T.A., G. 232.

Tro fy **chwer'der** *yn felysdra.*—Wms. 657.

'Turn my bitterness into sweetness.'

Gyr **chwérw̥der** *o garchárdai;*
Newyn y lleidr a wna'n llai.—D.W. 112.

'[Charity] drives bitterness from prisons; it makes less the hunger of the thief.'

NOTE 1. The rule that such words as *marw*, *delw* are monosyllabic was handed down by the teachers of cynghanedd, but the bards of the 19th cent. hardly knew what to make of it. Thus R.G.D. 97 uses *marw* and *delw*, and E.F. 185 uses *enw* and *garw* as monosyllables, while at the same time rhyming them. They no more rhyme as

monosyllables than if they were *marf, delf*, or *enf, garf*. In standard cynghanedd, *marw* rhymes with *garw, tarw* only, and *delw* with *elw, gwelw* only; see below. The disyllabic pronunciation may be traced as far back as the 15th cent. In a couplet attributed to D.G. (see D.G. 322) *bw* rhymes with *galw*, a rhyme condemned by S.V. because *galw* is a monosyllable whose vowel is *a*, P.ll. xcii.

Some old rhymes are *syberw/hirerw/derw/chwerw*, B.B. 69; *agerw/chwerw/syberw/gochwerw*, B.A. 19; *helw/delw*, ib.; *dyweinw/dyleinw*, B.T. 21; *divanw/llanw*, M.A. i 475; *ymoralw/salw*, do. 466; *cadw/achadw/bradw*, I.G. 422; *enw/senw*, do. 407; *geirw/teirw*, D.G. 500; *syberw/ferw*, E.P. 203.

Note 2. In *hwnnw, acw* (earlier *raccw*) the *w* was vocalic; also probably in other forms in which it is a reduction of *-wy*, see § 78 i (2).

§ 43. i. No Welsh word or word fully naturalized in Welsh is accented on the ante-penult. Such forms as *Sáesoneg, Sáesones* are misspellings of *Sáesneg, Sáesnes*.

A'r gyfreith honno a droes Alvryt vrenhin o Gymraec yn **Saesnec** R.B.B. 79 'And that law did king Alfred turn from Welsh into English.' See ib. 64, 95, 96, etc.

The following words for different reasons are now sometimes wrongly accented: *cathólig, oméga*,[a] *penígamp* 'masterly', *periglor* 'parson', *lladmérydd* 'interpreter', *ysgelérder* 'atrocity', *oléwydd* 'olives'.

A thálu'r ffin **gathólig**.—S.C.

'And to pay the catholic fine.' Cf. C.C. 25; I.G. 491; L.M., D.T. 196.

Cyngor **periglor** *églwys*.—M.R., F. 12.

'The counsel of a church parson'.

Penáig y glod, **penígamp**—
Pennod i chompod a'i champ.—M.B. (m. D.G.), A 14967/183.

'Master of the [song of] praise, supreme—the height of its compass and achievement.'

Alpha ac **Oméga** *máwr*.—A.R. (1818), E.G. p. xiii.

'Great Alpha and Omega.' Cf. ll.m. 2. See Wms. 259, 426, 869.

ii. A few words recently borrowed from English are accented on the ante-penult, as *mélodi, philósophi*; but derivative forms of even these are accented regularly, e.g. *melódaidd, philosóphydd*.

[a] This word has been naturalized in Welsh as in other languages, and the natural Welsh pronunciation is probably nearer the original than the *ómega* now sometimes heard from the pulpit in imitation of the English fashion. The adjective is not an enclitic in ὦ μέγα. The natural accentuation, as used by the hymn-writers, is unconsciously adopted by those like A. Roberts who are not affected by a little learning.

§ 44. i. In a regularly accented word of three syllables the first syllable is the least stressed; thus in *can|ia|dau* the stress on *can* is lighter than that on *dau*, both being unaccented as compared with *ia*. Hence the vowel of the first syllable is liable to drop when the resulting combination of consonants is easy to pronounce initially; as in Mn. W. *pladur* 'scythe', for Ml. W. *paladur*, C.M. 95 (*paladurwyr* W.M. 425, 426); Mn. W. *gwrando* 'to listen', for Ml. W. *gwarandaw*, R.M. 16, C.M. 29; Mn. W. *Clynnog* for Ml. W. *Kelynnawc*, IL.A. 124.

Some shortened forms are found, though rarely, in Ml. prose and verse: *gwrandaw*, C.M. 27; *kweirywyt* for *kyweirywyt* 'was equipped', R.P. 1276 (the *y* was written, and then deleted as the metre requires); *piniwn* R.P. 1225 from E. *opinion*; *grennyδ* do. 1055 for *garennyδ*.

For *dywedud* 'to say' we generally have *dwedud* in Early Mn. poetry (written *doedyd* in the 16th cent.); so *twysog*, E.U. § 32, B.CW. 71, for *tywysog* 'prince'; *cledion* C.C. 334, 390, pl. of *caled* 'hard'; *clonnau* for *calonnau* 'hearts', in *Tyrd, Ysbryd Glân, i'n clonnau ni*, R.V.

ii. In words of four or more syllables, when pronounced deliberately, the first syllable has a secondary accent, as *bèn|di|gé|dig* 'blessed', pl. *bèn|di|ge|díg|ion*. This also applies to trisyllables with the accent on the ultima, as *cỳf|iaw|nhâd* 'justification'. The least stressed syllable is the second; and this is often elided, in which case the secondary accent disappears; as in Mn. W. *gorchfygu* for *gòrchyfygu* IL.A. 15, and in Mn. W. verse *tragwyddol* for *trà|gy|wy|ddol* 'eternal', *partói* for *pà|ra|tói* 'to prepare', *llythrénnau* for *llỳthyrénnau* 'letters', *perthnásau* 'relations' for *pèrthynásau*, etc.

Gwaeddwn, feirdd, yn **dragwyddol**;
Gwae ni nad gwiw yn i ôl.—Gu.O., A 14967/120.

'Bards, let us cry for ever; woe to us that it is useless [to live] after him.' See G. 160, 255.

Yn ddyfal beunydd i **bartói**.—Wms. 259.

'Assiduously every day to prepare.'

iii. When a vowel is elided, as in i, ii, or v, the same vowel disappears in the derivatives of the word; thus *pladurwyr* 'mowers'; *twysoges* B.CW. 11 'princess', from *twysog*, for *tywysog*; *tragwyddoldeb* 'eternity', *ymbartói* 'to prepare one's self', *'wyllysgar* 'willing' (*ewyllys*, *'wyllys* 'will').

Wedi 'mrawd yma'r ydwyf;
Ato, Dduw, **ymbartói** *'dd wyf.*—L.Mor. (m. I.F.).

'After my brother I tarry here; to him, Oh God, I am preparing [to go].' (The metre proves the elision, but not its position.)

In *tragwyddoldeb* the lost syllable is the second, so that there is no departure from the general principle laid down in ii; but in *pladurwyr* the first is lost because the word is formed from the reduced *pladur*. If *paladurwyr* had been reduced directly it would have given **palduruwyr*; similarly *twysoges*, etc.

iv. Occasionally in Mn. W. haplology takes place, that is, a consonant, if repeated in the following syllable, is lost with the unaccented vowel; as *erledigaeth* for *erlidedigaeth* 'persecution', *crediniol* for *credaduniol*, § 132 (8), 'believing'. (Cf. Eng. *singly* for *single-ly*, *Bister* for *Bicester*, Lat. *stipendium* for *stipipendium*, etc.)

v. An unaccented initial vowel sometimes disappears, as in Late Ml. W. *pinŷwn* R.P. 1225 'opinion', borrowed from Eng.; *'wyllys* for *ewyllys* in verse; and in Late Mn. W. *machlud* 'to set' (of the sun) for Ml. and Early Mn. W. *ym-achludd*, D.G. 121, § 111 vii (3). As a rule, however, this elision only takes place after a vowel:

Tebig yw'r galennig lân
I **'dafedd** *o wlad Ifan.*—I.D., TR. 142.

'The fair new year's gift is like threads from the land of [Prester] John.' Another reading is *I edafedd gwlad Ifan*, I.D. 22.

Ac ef gyda'i ogyfoed
Yw gŵr y wraig oreu **'rioed.**—L.G.C. 318.

'And he with his mate is the husband of the best wife [that] ever [was].'

In the dialects it is very common: *morol* 'attend (to)' for *ymorol*, *molchi* for *ymolchi* 'to wash', *deryn* for *aderyn* 'bird', *menyn* for *ymenyn* 'butter', *mennyδ* for *ymennyδ* 'brain', etc.

vi. In a few disyllables the vowel of the final unaccented syllable is sometimes elided; thus *ónid* 'but' appears generally as *ond* in Mn. W. Other examples met with in Mn. (rarely in Late Ml.) verse are *mynd* for *mýned* 'to go', *tyrd* for *týred* 'come!' *gweld* for *gwéled* 'to see', *llond* for *llónaid* 'full (capacity)', *cans* for *cánys* 'because', *namn* for *námyn* 'but', all except the last two in common use in the dialects. Similarly *ér ys* becomes *ers*, § 214 vii.

Ancr wyf fi'n cyweirio i fedd,
Ond *aros* **mynd** *i orwedd.*—D.G. 295.

'I am an anchorite making ready his grave, only waiting to go to rest.'

Cans *ar ddiwedd pob gweddi,*
Cof cywir, yr henwir hi.—D.G. 235.

'For at the end of every prayer, unforgotten she is named.'

Maδeu, **kanys** *ti yw'r meδic.*—R.P. 1298 (7 syll.).

'Forgive, for Thou art the Healer.' The length of the line shows that *kanys* is to be read *kans*. It occurs written *cans* in W.M. 487.

Ni edrychodd Duw 'r achwyn;
Ni mynnodd aur, **namn** *i ddwyn.*—G.Gl., M 148/256.

'God did not regard the lamentation; He desired not [to have] gold, but to take him away.' See also I.G. 380.

See examples of *tyrd, dyrd* in § 193 viii (2).

vii. The vowel of a proclitic is often elided

(1) After a final vowel, *y* is elided in the article *yr*, § 114; the pronouns *yn* 'our', *ych* 'your' (now written *ein, eich*), § 160 ii (1); the oblique relative *y* or *yr*, § 82 ii (1), § 162 ii (2); the preposition *yn*, § 210 iv.

(2) Before an initial vowel, *y* is elided in *fy* 'my', *dy* 'thy', § 160 i (1).

(3) The relative *a* tends to disappear even between consonants, § 162 i.

(4) The vowel of *pa* or *py* 'what?' sometimes disappears even before a consonant, as in *p'le* 'where?' § 163 ii (2).

(5) After *pa, ryw* tends to become *rg* and *r'*, § 163 ii (6).

§ **45.** i. (1) Compound nouns and adjectives are accented regularly; thus *gwŝn-llan* 'vineyard', *cadéir-fardd* 'chaired bard', *gwág-law* or *lláw-wag* 'empty-handed'.

Gwáwd-lais *mwyalch ar* **góed-lwyn,**
Ac ëos ar lios lwyn.—D.G. 503.

'The musical voice of a thrush in a grove, and a nightingale in many a bush.'

Yn i dydd ni adai wan
Acw 'n **lláw-wag,** *Gwenllïan.*—L.G.C. 232.

'In her day she, Gwenllïan, left not the weak empty-handed there.'

(2) Even a compound of an adjective and a proper name may be so accented; as

Dágrau am **urddedíg-Rys**
Yw'r mẘr hallt, os gwir marw Rhys.—G.Gl., M 146/171.

'The salt sea is tears for noble Rhys, if it is true that Rhys is dead.'

See **Uchél-Grist**, D.G. 259. The name **Bendigéid-fran** 'Bran the Blessed', was so accented, and the *f* was lost, § 110 iii (3), giving *Bendigéidran* (corrupted into *Benegridran* in Emerson's English Traits, xi).

Bondo gwýdr **Bendigéidran**.—T.A., A 14976/166; C. ii 83.

'The glass eaves of Bendigeidran.'

(3) When the first element has one of the mutable sounds *ai, au, w, ẏ* it is mutated in the compound, becoming *ei, eu, y, y* respectively, because it is no longer ultimate when the compound is treated as a single word; thus *gweith-dy* 'workshop' (*gwaith* 'work'), *héul-des* 'heat of the sun' (*haul* 'sun'), *dryg-waith* 'evil deed' (*drwg* 'evil'), *melyn-wallt* 'yellow hair' (*melyn* 'yellow'). In old compounds *aw* also is mutated, as in *llôfrudd*, § 110 iii (1).

☞ A compound accented as above may be called a strict compound.

ii. (1) But the two elements of a compound may be separately accented; thus *cŏel gréfydd* 'false religion', *gáu bróffwyd* 'false prophet', *hĕn ŵr* 'old man' (sometimes accented regularly, *hénwr*, B.CW. 64).

(2) The difference between a secondary accent and a separate accent should be noted. A secondary accent is always subordinate to the principal accent; but when the first element of a compound has a separate accent it is independent of the accent of the second element and may even be stronger if the emphasis requires it. Again, the first element when separately accented has the unmutated *ai, au, w*, or *ẏ* in its final syllable; thus in *cỳd-nabýddiaeth* 'acquaintance' there may be a secondary accent on *cỳd* (short *y*), but in *cȳd gynúll-iad* there is an independent accent on *cȳd* (long *ȳ*). In fact, when there is a separate accent, the first element is treated as an independent word for all purposes of pronunciation (accentuation, vowel quantity, and vowel mutation).

☞ A compound accented as above may be called a loose compound.

(3) Sometimes the elements of a loose compound are now hyphened, thus *coel-grefydd*; but as any positive adjective put before a noun forms with it a loose compound, in the vast majority of such compounds the elements are written as separate words. See § 155 iii.

iii. An adjective or noun compounded with a verb or verbal

noun forms a loose compound, as *cýnffon lónni* 'to wag the tail', *prýsur rédant* 'they swiftly run'.

Fel y niwl o afael nant
Y **dison ymadáwsant**.—R.G.D. 149.

'Like the mist from the grasp of the valley have they silently passed away.'

iv. (1) Prefixes form strict compounds with nouns, adjectives, and verbs; as *áthrist* 'very sad' (*trist* 'sad'), *ám-gylch* 'circumference', *cýn-nal* 'to hold', etc., etc.

(2) But compounds with the prefixes *an-*, *di-*, *cyd-*, *go-*, *gor-*, *gwrth-*, *rhy-*, *tra-* may be either strict or loose; as *án-awdd* or *án háwdd* 'difficult', § 148 i (6); *án-aml*/*ýnys* G. 103, *án áml*, § 164 i (1); *dí-wair*, *dí wáir* 'chaste'; *rhý-wyr* 'high time' and *rhŷ hŵyr* 'too late'; *trá-mawr* Gr.O. 51, *trá máwr* 'very great'; *trá-doeth* do. 52, *trá dŏeth* 'very wise'.

Dí-dad, *amddifad ýdwyf*,
A **dí fráwd** *wedi i farw ŵyf*.—L.Mor. (m. I.F.).

'Fatherless, destitute, am I, and without a brother after his death.'

Y mae'r ddŵyais mor **ddíwair**.—D.G. 148.

'The bosom is so chaste.'

Fwyn a **dí wáir**—*f'enaid yw*.—D.G. 321.

'Gentle and chaste—she is my soul.' Cf. D.G. 306.

Trá dá *im y trŷ déu-air*.—I.F., C 18/11.

'Very good for me will two words turn out.'

In late Mn. W. new compounds are freely formed with these elements separately accented; thus *tra*, *go* and *rhy* are placed before any adjectives, and treated as separate words; § 220 viii (1).

When both elements are accented, the second has generally the stronger accent, unless the prefix is emphatic; in *gor-úwch* 'above', *gor-ís* 'below', the first element has lost its accent, though these are also found as strict compounds, thus *góruwch*, O.G., G. 257, Gr.O. 34.

§ 46. i. Expressions consisting of two words in syntactical relation, such as a noun and a qualifying adjective or a noun and a dependent genitive, are in some cases accented as single words. ☞ These may be called improper compounds. Mutable vowels are mutated (*y* > *y*, etc.) as in single words.

They differ from proper compounds in two respects: (1) the initial of the second element is not softened except where the ordinary rules

of mutation require it; (2) the words are arranged in the usual syntactic order, the subordinate word coming last, except in the case of numerals, ii (5) below.

Cf. in Latin the improper compounds *pater-familias, juris-dictio,* in which the first element is an intact word, by the side of the proper compounds *patri-cida juri-dicus* in which the first element contains the stem only.

ii. Improper compounds accented on the penult consist of—

(1) Some nouns qualified by *da,* as *gŵr-da* 'goodman', *gwrêig-dda* 'goodwife', *hín-dda* 'fair weather', *géir-da* 'good report'. Names of relatives with *maeth,* as *tád-maeth* 'foster father', *mámaeth* (for *mám-faeth,* § 110 iii (1)) 'foster mother', *máb-maeth, bráwd-maeth, chwáer-faeth.* A few other combinations, such as *héul-wen* 'bright sun'[a] (*haul* fem., § 142 iii), *cóel-certh* 'bonfire' (lit. 'certain sign'). See also (3) below.

A bryno tir â braint da
Yn i árdal â'n **ŵr-da**.—L.G.C. 249.

'He who buys land with good title in his neighbourhood will become a goodman.'

(2) Nouns with dependent genitives: *tréf-tad* 'heritage', *dýdd-brawd* or *dýdd-barn* (also *dŷdd bráwd, dŷdd bárn*) 'judgement day', *pén-tref* 'village', *pén-cerdd* 'chief of song', *pén-tan* 'hob'. See also (3) and (4) below.

(3) Nouns with adjectives or genitives forming names of places; as *Tré-for* or *Tré-fawr, Brŷn-gwyn, Mynýdd-mawr, Abér-maw, Mín-ffordd, Pén-tir, Pén-mon, Pén-mon Máwr.*[b]

Even when the article comes before the genitive, the whole name is sometimes thus treated, the accent falling upon the article; as *Pen-ý-berth* near Pwllheli, *Tal-ý-bryn* in Llannefydd, *Clust-ý-blaiδ* near Cerrig y Drudion, *Moel-ý-ci* (pron. *Moy|lýc|i*), a hill near Bangor, *Llan-é-cil* near y Bala, *Pen-é-goes* near Machynlleth, *Pen-é-berth* near Aberystwyth (*e* for *y,* § 16 iv (2)). Cf. (7) below.

Mi af i ganu i'm oes
I benáig o **Ben-é-goes**.—L.G.C. 429.

'I will go to sing while I live to a chieftain of Penégoes.'

(4) The word *duw* (or *dyw*) followed by the name of the day in the genitive; as *Dúw-sul* as well as *Dúw Súl* or *Dýdd Súl* 'Sunday'; so *Dúw-llun* 'Monday', *Dúw-mawrth* 'Tuesday', and *Díf-iau* for *Dúw Iáu* 'Thursday'. Similarly *dú(w)-gwyl* 'the day of the feast (of)'.

[a] It is often supposed that *heulwen* is a proper compound of *haul* and *gwên,* meaning the 'smile of the sun'; but erroneously, for *heulwen* is the 'sun' itself, not 'sunshine'.

[b] The common spelling *Penmaenmawr* appears to be due to popular etymology. Camden, 4th ed., 1594, p. 18, has *Pen-mon maur,* and the word is now pronounced *Pèn-mon-máwr.*

Echrỳs-haint, och, wir Iesu!
Ddyfod i Iâl **Ddíf-i̯au** *du.*—T.A., G. 235.

'A dreadful plague, Oh true Jesus! that black Thursday should have visited Yale.' See § 214 vii, ex. 2.

Both accentuations are exemplified in—

Bûm i'r gog swyddog **Dduw Súl**;
Wy' ddí-swydd, a hyn **Ddúw-sul**.—T.A., A 14976/108.

'I was an officer of the cuckoo on Sunday; I am without office, and this on Sunday.' (*Gwas y gog* 'the cuckoo's servant' is the hedge-sparrow.)

(5) A numeral and its noun, as *déu-lwys* '2 lbs.', *dwy-bunt* '£2', *cán-punt* '£100', etc. Cf. E. *twopence*, etc. Though the order is the same here as in proper compounds, and the mutation is no criterion, it is certain that most of these are improper compounds. In the case of *un*, proper and improper compounds can be distinguished: *ún-ben* 'monarch' is a proper compound, the second element having the soft initial, but *ún-peth* is precisely the combination *ún pĕth* 'one thing' under a single accent.

(6) The demonstrative adjective after nouns of time. See § 164 iii.

(7) Very rarely the article with its noun, as in *È-fenéchtyd* for *y Fenéchtyd* 'the monastery', in which the article, taken as part of the word, acquired a secondary accent.

iii. Improper compounds accented on the ultima consist of—

(1) A few combinations of two monosyllabic nouns, of which the second is a dependent genitive and the first has lost its accent; as *pen-rháith* 'autocrat', *pen-llâd* 'summum bonum', *pry-nhâwn* for *pryt nawn*.

Yr eog, rhỳwi̯og **ben-rháith**,
At Wên dos eto ún-waith.—D.G. 148.

'Thou salmon, gentle master, go to Gwen once more.'

A'm cêrydd mawr i'm cári̯ad,
Ac na'th gawn yn llâwn **ben-llâd**.—D.G. 513.

'And my great punishment for my love, and that I might not have thee as my whole delight.'

(2) A number of place-names of similar formation, as *Pen-tỳrch*.

Note.—(1) From this and the preceding section it is seen that accentuation does not always accord with the formation of words. A loose compound is etymologically a compound, but its elements are accented as separate words. An improper compound is etymologically a combination of separate words accented as one word. The accentuation of improper compounds is to be accounted for thus: in O. W. we may assume that *gwr da*, *Aber Maw*, *Pen y berth* were originally accented as they would be if they were formed now, with the main

stress in each case on the last word. When each combination came to be regarded as a unit, the main stress became the only accent; thus, **gwr-dā́, *Aber-máw, *Pen-y-bérth.* This was at that time the accentuation of ordinary words, such as **pechadȗr*, § 40 iii. When the accent shifted, and **pechadȗr* became *pechádur*, **gwr-dā́* became *gŵrda*, **Aber-máw* became *Abér-maw* and **Pen-y-bérth* became *Pen-ý-berth.* In most cases of a combination like the last, each noun retained its individuality, and the original accentuation remained; hence *Pèn-y-bérth*, which is a common place-name, is usually so accented, and the accentuation *Pen-ý-berth* is exceptional. In such a phrase as *prýt náwn* 'time of noon', each noun retained its meaning to the Ml. W. period; then, when the combination came to be regarded as a unit, the first element became unstressed, resulting in *pryt-náwn*, whence *pry-nháwn*, § 111 v (5).

(2) Improper compounds having thus become units could be treated as units for all purposes; thus some of them have derivatives, such as *gwr-dā́-aeth*, 'nobility', *tref-tád-aeth* 'heritage', *di-dref-tád-u* S.G. 306 'to disinherit', *prynháwn-ol* 'evening' adj.

(3) On the other hand, in some proper compounds each element was doubtless felt to preserve its significance; and the persistence of this feeling into the Ml. period resulted in loose compounds.

§ 47. i. In compound prepositions the elements may be accented separately, as *óddi ár*. But the second element has usually the stronger accent; and in some cases the first element becomes unaccented, as in Ml. W. *y gánn*, which became *gan* 'by' in Late Ml. and Mn. W. by the loss of the unaccented syllable.

On the analogy of *y gánn*, *y ŵrth*, etc., derivative and other old prepositional and adverbial formations retained the O. W. accentuation, as *odán*, *yr̥ŵng*, *yrháwg*.

The separate accent often persists in Mn. W., as in *óddi ŵrth* (Ml. W. *y wrth*), and in adverbial phrases like *óddi ýno* (in the dialects *ódd ýno* as in Ml. W.). In the latter the first element may become predominant, thus *ódd yno* 'from there' in the spoken language (often contracted to *ódno* and even *óno*).

ii. In prepositional and adverbial expressions formed of a preposition and a noun (whether written separately or not), the last element only is accented; thus *uwch-bén* 'above', *dra-chéfn* 'again', *ger-brón* 'before', *uwch-láw* 'above', *ymlā́en* 'forward', *ynghŷd* 'together', *i gŷd* 'together', *eri̯ŏed* 'ever'.

These expressions thus form improper compounds accented on the ultima. The adverb *achlán* (*achlân*) 'wholly' is similarly accented.

Héais fal orohían
I chlód yng Ngwynedd **achlán**.—D.G. 235.

'I have sown her praises like a paean through the whole of Gwynedd.'

iii. Many adverbial expressions of three syllables, consisting of a monosyllabic noun repeated after a preposition, form improper compounds accented on the penult; as *ol-ýn-ol* 'track in track', i. e. 'in succession',[a] *ben-drá-phen* 'head over head', *law-ýn-llaw* 'hand in hand', etc. The first noun may have a secondary or separate accent, as *blìth drá-phlith* 'helter-skelter'. The first noun being in an adverbial case has a soft initial.

A dau frawd ieuaf ar ôl
Eli énwog **ol-ýn-ol**.—G.Gl., c. i 201.

'And two younger brothers in succession after the famous Eli.'

Oes hwy no thri, Siôn, y'th roer,
Law-ýn-llaw *â'th lawén-lloer*.—T.A., A 14866/74*b*.

'For a life longer than three, Siôn, mayst thou be spared, hand in hand with thy bright moon.' See also E.P. 240.

Ael-ýn-ael *â'i elýnion*.—D.N., c. i 160.

'Brow to brow with his enemies.'

Dal-ýn-nal *rhwng dwy lánnerch*.—D.N., M 136/147.

'Face to face between two glades'; *ýnnal* for *ýn-nhal*, § 48 ii.

Daw o déidiau **dad-í-dad**,[b]
Gollwyn hen,—nid gwell un had.—W.H.

'He comes from forebears, father to father, like an ancient hazel-grove —there is no better seed.'

Arglwyddi **lín ó-lin** *ynt*.[c]—L.G.C. 460.

'They are lords from line to line.'

See *wers dragwers* H.A. 164 'reciprocally', *gylch ogylch* do. 166 'round about', *ddórn trá-dwrn*, *láw drá-llaw*, L.G.C. 18. In many cases the first noun also is preceded by a preposition, as

Marchog **o lín ó-lin** *oedd*.—L.Mor., I.MSS. 292.

'He was a knight from line to line.'

See *o lwyn í-lwyn* D.G. 141, *o law í-law* do. 145. Cf. Late Mn. W. *í-gam ó-gam* 'zig-zag'.

[a] The last *ol* of *olynol* was mistaken about the middle of the last century for the adjectival termination *-ol* (= *-awl*), and from the supposed stem *olyn* an abstract noun *olyniaeth* was formed to render 'succession' in 'apostolical succession'!

[b] In all the above examples the cynghanedd is either T2 or C2, which implies the accentuation indicated. See ZfCP. iv. 124, 137.

[c] The cynghanedd is S4, which implies the accentuation marked.

The ordinary accentuation is also met with in the bards:

O lẃyn i lẃyn, *ail Énid*.—D.G. 84.

'From bush to bush, [maiden] second to Enid.'

iv. When *pa* or *py* is followed by a preposition governing it, the latter only is accented: *pa-hám* (for *pa am*, § 112 i (2)) 'what for? why?' often contracted into *pam* by the loss of the unaccented syllable, § 44 vii. So were doubtless accented the Ml. W. *pahár* A.L. i 108, 134, *pa hár* do. 118 (for *pa ar*) 'what on?' *pa rác* B.B. 50, *pyrác* R.M. 126 'what for?'

§ 48. i. When the syllable bearing the principal accent begins with a vowel, a nasal, or r, it is aspirated under certain conditions, § 112 i (4); thus *ce|nhéd|loedd* 'nations', from *cenedl*; *bo|nhé|ddig* (*vonheðic* R.P. 1331) from *bonedd* 'gentry', § 104 iv (1); *cy|nháḷ|wyd*, from *cynnal* 'to support' from *cyn* + *dal* (*d* normally becomes *n*, not *nh*, § 106 ii); *di|háng|ol* from *di-anc* 'to escape'; *a phlannhédeu* R.P. 1303 'and planets', usually *planedau*; *kenhadeu* W.M. 184, oftener in Ml. W. *kennadeu* do. 42 'messengers'.

A'i aur a'i fedd y gŵyr fo,
Fonhéddig,[a] *fy nyh*ŭ*ddo*.—L.G.C. 188.

'With his gold and mead doth he use, as a gentleman, to comfort me.'

ii. On the other hand, an h required by the derivation is regularly dropped after the accent; as *cýnnes* 'warm', for *cýn-nhes* from *cyn* + *tes* (*t* gives *nh*, § 106 iii (1)); *bré|nin* 'king', for *brén|nhin* from *bre|en|nhin* from **breentin*, Cornish *brentyn*; *tán|nau* 'strings', for *tán|nheu* from O. W. *tantou* M.C.; *ẽang* 'wide', for *éh-ang* from **eks-ang-*; *ánawdd* H.A. 109 for *án-hawdd* 'difficult'; *áraul* 'bright', for *ár-haul*, which appears as *arheul* in R.P. 1168. The h is, however, retained between vowels in a few words, as *ẽhud* 'foolish', *dẽhau* and *dẽau* 'right (hand), south'; and in **nrh**, **nhr**,[b] **nghr**, and **lrh**, as *ánrhaith* 'spoil', *ánhrefn* 'disorder', *ánghred* 'infidelity', *ólrhain* 'to trace'.

The h is also dropped after a secondary accent, as in

[a] L. G. C.'s editors print *voneddig* in spite of the answering h in *nyhuddo*.

[b] *nrh* and *nhr* have the same sound but differ in origin: *nrh* = *n* + *rh*; *nhr* is from *n* + *tr*. They are often confused in writing.

brèninịáethau 'kingdoms'. So we have *cènedláethau* 'generations', *bòneddígaidd* 'gentlemanly' (*voneδigeiδ* R.G. 1129).

iii. Note therefore the shifting of the h in such a word as *diháreb* 'proverb', Ml. W. *dihaereb* R.P. 1326, pl. *dìarhébịon*, Ml. W. *diaerhebỳon* R.B. 974, 975, 1083. The word has etymologically two *h*'s: *di-haer-heb*, but only that is preserved which precedes the principal accent.

iv. The above rules may be briefly stated thus: an intrusive h sometimes appears before the accent, and an organic h regularly disappears after the accent. It is obvious that the rule cannot be older than the present system of accentuation; it is indeed the direct result of that system, and is probably not much later in origin. The first change was the weakening and subsequent loss of h after the accent, giving such pairs as *brenin, brenhinoedd*; *angen, anghenus* (< **n̥ken-*, Ir. *ēcen*); *cymar, cymharu* (< Lat. *compar-*): here h vanishes in the first word of each pair. Later, on the analogy of these, other pairs were formed, such as *bonedd, bonheddig*; *cenedl, cenhedloedd*; where an intrusive h appears in the second word of each pair.

In O. W., when the accent fell on the ultima, it was easy to say *bre|en|nhī́n*; but when the accent settled on the penult, it required an effort to sound the aspirate after the breath had been expended on the stressed syllable. Hence we find, at the very beginning of the Ml. period, *breenhineδ* and *breenin* L.L. 120. But the traditional spelling, with h, persisted, and is general in B.B., as *minheu* 12; *synhuir* (≡ *synnhwyr*) 17; *ag̃hen ag̃heu* 23; *breenhin* 62; though we also find a few exceptions, as *kag̃ell* 35. In R.M. it still survives in many words, as *brenhin* 2; *ag̃heu* 5 (but *angeu* ib.); *mwyhaf* 11; *minheu* 12; but more usually *vwyaf* 13; *minneu* 3; *gennyf* 8; *synnwyr* 13; *amarch* 36; *llinat* (for *llin-had*) 'linseed' 121. In the R.P. we find *ánawδ* 1227, 1264, 1270, 1299; *áneirdd, ánoew̥* 1226; *diagyr* (for *dí-hagr*) 1289; *lláwir* (for *llaw-hir* 'long-handed') 1207, 1226; *láwʰir* 1214, with *h* inserted above the line—an etymological correction; *áwrḥonn* 1271, with *h* deleted by the underdot—a phonetic correction.

Intrusive h makes its first appearance later, and is rarer in Ml. W. than lost h. In A.L., MS. A., we find *boneδyc* ii 6, 14, but in this MS. *n* may be for *nh*; in later MSS. *bonheδyc* i 176–8, MS. E.; *bonheδic* in Ml. W. generally. In other cases it is less usual; thus *kennadeu* is the form in R.M., though the older W.M. has sometimes *kenhadeu* 184, 249; *kenedloeδ* R.B.B. 259, IL.A. 169, so generally.

The orthography of the 1620 Bible generally observes the phonetic rule; thus *brenin, brenhinoedd* Ps. ii 6, 2; *cenedl, cenhedloedd* do. xxxiii 12, ii 1; *angeu, anghefol* do. vi 5, vii 13; *aros, arhosodd* Jos. x 12, 13; *bonheddig, boneddigion* Es. ii 9, 1 Cor. i 26; *ammarch, ammherchi* Act. v 41, Rhuf. i 24; etc. There are some irregularities and inconsistencies; e.g. *diharebion* Diar., title, i 1, and *anghall* Diar. i 4 beside the phonetic *angall* do. viii 5. The Bible spelling was

generally followed, and the use of **h** medially was fairly settled on phonetic lines, when Pughe introduced confusion by discarding it wherever his mad etymology failed to account for it. His wildest innovations, such as *glanâu, parâu* for *glanháu, parháu*, were rejected by universal consent; but his principle was adopted by the "new school" including T. Charles, Tegid and G. Mechain, who disregard the accent, and insert or omit **h** in all forms of the same vocable according to their idea of its etymology.[a] Silvan Evans (Llythyraeth, 68) writes as if the cogency of this principle were self-evident, and imagines that to point out the old school's spelling of *cyngor* without, and *cynghorion* with, an *h*, is to demonstrate its absurdity. In his dictionary he writes *brenines, boneddig*, etc., misquoting all modern examples to suit his spelling; under *ammeuthun* (his misspelling of *amheuthun*) he suppresses *h* in every quotation.

In spite of the determined efforts of the "new school" in the thirties, present-day editions of the Bible follow the 1620 edn. with the exception of a few insertions of etymological *h*, as in *brenin, ammarch*, which appear as *brenhin, ammharch*.

Quantity.

§ 49. In Mn. W. all vowels in unaccented syllables are short.

Unaccented syllables here include those bearing a secondary accent, in which the vowel is also short, as in *cĕnedláethau*, though before a vowel it may be long in deliberate pronunciation, as in *dèalltŭ̀rĭaeth*.

In Late Ml. W. the same rule probably held good, but not necessarily earlier. In O. W. it was clearly possible to distinguish in the unaccented penult the quantities preserved later when the syllable became accented, § 56 iv.

§ 50. Vowels in accented syllables in Mn. W. are either (1) long, as the *a* in *cân* 'song'; (2) medium as the *a* in *canu*; or (3) short, as the *a* in *cann* 'white', *cannu* 'to whiten'.

In monosyllables a long vowel (except *i* or *u*) is generally circumflexed before **n**, **r** or **l**, § 51 iv, and in any other case where it is desired to mark the quantity. Short vowels are marked by ` which is sometimes used instead of doubling the consonant, as in D.D. s.v. *càn* = *gan* 'with', and before *l* which

[a] G. Mechain (iii. 224) writing to Tegid, assents to *brenin, breninoedd* "though from habit I always read *brenhinoedd* with an aspirate; but the root does not warrant such reading." His pronunciation was correct; and it just happens that the "root" does warrant it; see § 103 ii (1).

cannot be doubled in writing; *dàl* B.CW. 91, *hèl* do. 95, *càlon* Hyff. Gynnwys (1749) pp. 3, 20, 319 bis.

☞ In this grammar the circumflex has been retained in most cases where it is, or might be, used in ordinary writing. But where the position of the accent has to be indicated, ´ is used; where there is no need to point out the accent, and the word is not usually circumflexed, ¯ is used. As every long vowel must be accented in Mn. W., it will be understood that ¯, ´ and ˆ in Mn. W. words mean the same thing. In Brit. and earlier a vowel marked ¯ is not necessarily accented. As ` is required to denote a secondary accent it would be confusing to use it to mark a short accented vowel; hence ˘ is used here for the latter purpose, where necessary. The accent mark ´ denotes accent without reference to quantity. A medium vowel can only be indicated by showing the syllabic division; thus *cá|nu*.

Note. The medium vowel, or short vowel with open stress, which occurs in the penult, is not heard in English where a penultimate accented vowel, if not short as in *fathom*, is long as in *father*. Silvan Evans calls the medium vowel "long", and J.D.R. often circumflexes it. But the *a* of *cá|nu* is not long, except in comparison with the *a* of *cán|nu*; beside the *a* of *cân* it is short. It is a short vowel slightly prolonged past the point of fullest stress, so as to complete the syllable, and the following consonant is taken over to the ultima.

§ 51. i. If a vowel in a monosyllable is simple its quantity is determined by the final consonant or consonants, the main principle being that it is long before one consonant, short before two, or before a consonant originally double; see § 56 ii.

ii. The vowel is short before two or more consonants, or before **p**, **t**, **c**, **m**, **ng**; as *cănt* 'hundred', *tŏrf* 'crowd', *pŏrth* 'portal', *bărdd* 'bard', *ăt* 'to', *llăc* 'slack', *căm* 'crooked', *llŏng* 'ship'.

Nearly all monosyllables ending in *p*, *t* or *c* are borrowed; some from Irish, as *brăt* 'apron', most from E. as *hăp*, *tŏp*, *hĕt*, *pŏt*, *cnŏc*, which simply preserve the original quantity. E. tenuis after a long vowel becomes a media, as W. *clôg* < E. *cloak*, W. *grôd* G. 157 < E. *groat*, re-borrowed as *grôt*; so the late borrowings *côt*, *grât* (but in S. W. *cŏt*).

W. *ăt* is an analogical formation, § 209 vii (2); *ac*, *nac* should be *ag*, *nag* in Mn. orthography § 222 i (1), ii (3).

Exceptions to the above rule are the following:

(1) In N. W. words ending in **s** or **ll** followed by another consonant have the vowel long; as *trīst* 'sad', *cōsb* 'punishment', *hāllt* 'salt' adj., etc., except in borrowed words, as *căst* 'trick'. In S. W., however, all such words as the above conform to the rule.

(2) The vowel is long when it is a late contraction, § 33 iv; as *ât* 'they go', for *a-ant*; *bûm* 'I have been', for *bu-um*; *bônt* 'they may be', for *bo-ont*; *rhônt* 'they give', for *rho-ant*. In *ŷm* 'we are', *ŷnt* 'they are', the vowel is pronounced long; it is marked long by J.D.R. 94; but E.P., PS. lxxv 1, rhymes *ynt* with *hynt*, and in Ml. W. it is written *ynt* (not **yynt*); hence the lengthening is probably due to false analogy.

Cânt 'they shall have' is for *ca-ant* and has long *a*; but *cant* 'sang' is for *can-t*, and is therefore short. Even *gwĕld*, § 44 vi, from *gwēl*, has the *e* shortened by the two consonants; a fortiori, in *cant* 'sang' where the final double consonant is older, the *a* must be short. Silvan Evans (s. v. *canu*) adopts the error of some recent writers, and circumflexes the *a* in *cant*, even where it rhymes with *chwant*, and in quoting Gr.O. 82, where no circumflex is used. The word never rhymes with *ânt*, *gwnânt*, etc.

☞ The vowel is circumflexed when long before two consonants, except where the length is dialectal.

(3) The mutated form *dēng* of *deg* 'ten' preserves the long vowel of the latter in N. W.

iii. The vowel is long if it is final, or followed by **b**, **d**, **g**, **f**, **dd**, **ff**, **th**, **ch**, **s**; as *tŷ* 'house', *llē* 'place', *māb* 'son', *tād* 'father', *gwāg* 'empty', *dōf* 'tame', *rhōdd* 'gift', *clōff* 'lame', *crōth* 'womb', *cōch* 'red', *glās* 'blue'.

Exceptions: (1) Words which are sometimes unaccented, vi below.

(2) Words borrowed from English, as *sād* 'steady', *tŭb*, *fflăch* (from *flash*), *lăch* (from *lash*). *Sŭd*, also written *sŭt*, 'kind, sort' from *suit* (cf. Chaucer, Cant. Tales 3241) is now short; but in D.G. 448 it is long, rhyming with *hud*.

(3) Some interjectional words, such as *chwăff*, *pŭff*, *ăch*. The interjection *och* is now short, but is long in the bards; see *Och / Gōch* D.G. 464. *Cŭff* is now sometimes incorrectly shortened.

☞ A long vowel need not be circumflexed before any of the above consonants. In the case of a contraction, however, the vowel is usually marked; thus *rhôdd* 'he gave' for *rhoodd* for *rhoddodd*. In such forms the circumflex is unconsciously regarded as a sign of contraction, and may be taken to indicate that the vowel is long independently of the character of the consonant.

The circumflex is also used in *nâd* 'cry' to distinguish it from *năd* 'that not'.

iv. If the vowel be followed by **l**, **n** or **r**, it may be long or

short: *tâl* 'pay', *dăl* 'hold', *cân* 'song', *căn* 'white'; *câr* 'relative', *căr* 'car'.

Each of these consonants may be etymologically single or double. *Dăl* is from **dalg-* § 110 ii (2), so that the final **l** represents two root consonants. In O. and Ml. W. final **n** and **r** when double in origin were doubled in writing, as in *penn*, 'head', Irish *cenn*, in other cases of course remaining single as in *hēn* 'old', Irish *sen*; thus the principle that the vowel is short before two consonants, long before one, applied. The final consonant is now written single even in words like *pen*, and only doubled when a syllable is added, as in *pennaf*, cf. Eng. *sin* (O. E. *sinn*) but *sinner* (though even medial *-nn-* is now sounded *-n-* in Eng.). It is therefore necessary now to distinguish between long and short vowels in these words by marking the vowels themselves.

☞ In a monosyllable, a long vowel followed by **l**, **n** or **r** is circumflexed; thus, *tâl* 'pay', *cân*, 'song', *dôr* 'door', *dêl* 'may come', *hŷn* 'older'. But *i* and *u* need not be circumflexed, since they are always long before these consonants, except in *prin*, and *in* (= Ml. W. *ynn* 'to us'), and a few words from English as *pĭn*, *bĭl*. The common words *dŷn*, *hĕn*, *ōl* are seldom circumflexed.

Ml. W. *-nn* is still written in some words, e. g. in *onn* 'ash' pl. *ynn*, as in the names *Llwyn Onn*, *Llwyn Ynn*. Doubling the consonant is preferable to marking the vowel when it is desired to avoid ambiguity, as in *cann* 'white', *a yrr* 'drives'. It is not sounded double now when final; but the consonant is distinctly longer e. g. in *pĕn* than in *hēn*. In Corn., *penn* became *pedn*.

Note. The *a* is long in *tâl* 'forehead, front, end', and was circumflexed down to the latter part of the 18th cent.; see D.D. s.v., G. 68. The **l** is etymologically single, as is seen in the Gaulish name *Cassi-talos*. In the spoken language the word survives only in place-names, and is sounded short in such a name as *Tàl-y-bónt* because this has become an improper compound accented on the ultima, § 46 iii, so that its first element has only a secondary accent, § 49. When the principal accent falls on it, it is long, as in *Trwyn-y-tâl* near the Rivals. *Tegiĝil o* **tâl**, *Edeirnaun*, *Iâl* B.B. 74 'Tegeingl to its end, Edeirnawn, [and] Yale.' The rhyme with *Iâl* shows the quantity of *tâl*.

Y fun araf, fain, eirian,
A'r **tâl** *fal yr aur mâl mân.*—D.G. 330.

'The calm, slender, bright girl, with the head like finely milled gold.'

v. When the word ends in **ll** the quantity varies. In N. W. it is short in all such words except *ōll*, *hōll*; in S. W. it is long, except in *găll* 'can', *dŭll* 'manner', *mŭll* 'sultry', *cŭll* 'loses', and possibly some others.

vi. Many prepositions, adverbs and conjunctions, which are long by the above rules, by being often used as proclitics have become short even when accented, more especially in N. W.; as *rhăg* 'against', *hĕb* 'without', *nĭd*, *năd* 'not', *dăn* 'under' (originally one *n*), *măl*, *făl*, *fĕl* 'like', *ăg* (written *ac*) 'and', *năg* (written *nac*) 'nor'; but *ág* 'with'.

The long vowel is preserved in some of these in S. W. The word *nes* 'until', § 215 i (2), was circumflexed even by N. W. writers as late as the 18th cent., see *nês* G. 237; it is now sounded *nĕs* (already *nes* in B.CW. 83, 115 beside *nês* 'nearer' 13, 109, 110). In D.G. *dan* 'under' has long *a*:

Serchog y cân **dān** *y dail.*—D.G. 225.

'Lovingly it sings under the leaves.'

§ 52. i. If the vowel in a monosyllable is the first element of a diphthong, its quantity depends chiefly upon the form of the diphthong.

ii. The vowel is long in *ae*, *oe*, *ŵy*; thus *trāed* 'feet', *ōen* 'lamb', *hŵyr* 'late', *cāe* 'field', *cāem* 'we might have', *dōe* 'yesterday', *mŵy* 'more', *cŵyn* 'complaint', *hŵynt* 'they', *blōesg* 'blaesus', *rhŵysg* 'pomp', *māent* 'they are', *tróent* 'they might turn'.

But except before *-sg*, *ŵy* is short before two or more consonants or *m*; as *tŭym*, *tŭymn*, 'hot', *rhŭym* 'bound' (also *rhūym*), *cŭymp* 'fall' (now pron. *cwŷmp* in N. W.), *llŭybr* 'path', *rhŭystr* 'hindrance' *brŭydr* 'battle', *pŭynt* 'point'; — *hŭynt* is influenced by *hŭy* 'they'. Similarly *māent* formed from, and influenced by *māe*. The other cases are examples of contraction: *cāem* < *cā-em*, *trôent* < *tro-ynt*.

iii. The vowel is short in all other falling diphthongs; as *băi* 'fault', *bŷw* 'alive', *trŏi* 'to turn', *llăid* 'mud', *brĭw* 'wound', *dŭw* 'god', *bŭwch* 'cow', *hăul* 'sun', *ăur* 'gold', *dĕwr* 'brave', *băwd* 'thumb', *măwl* 'praise', etc.

Exceptions: (1) In N. W. *aw*, *ew* are long when final only; as *tāw!* 'be silent', *bāw* 'dirt', *llēw* 'lion', *tēw* 'fat'; otherwise short as above. In S. W. the diphthongs are short in both cases.

(2) *au* is long in *trāul* 'wear, expense', *pāun* 'peacock', *gwāudd* 'daughter-in-law', *ffāu* 'den', *gwāun* 'meadow', *cāul* 'rennet', *pāu* 'country'. The form *gwaen* is a recent misspelling of *gwāun*. In West Gwynedd the word is pronounced *gwĕun* (*e* ≡ *ə*), Ml. W. *gweun*, O. W. *guoun*.

(3) The vowel is long in *âu* when contracted for *a-au*, as in *plâu* 'plagues'; but in *cău* for *cáe-u*, § 202 iii, it is short. It is long in *âi* for *a-ai*, and *ôi* for *o-ai* when final, as *gwnâi*, *trôi* 3rd sg. impf.; but

ŏi for *o-ai* not final, as in *trŏis* for *trô-ais*. On account of the long vowel *gwnâi*, *trôi*, etc. are generally sounded and often written *gwnae*, *troe*, etc.; but in the bards *-âi* rhymes with *ai*, see *wnâi / ehedai* G. 242. Both forms are seen in Ml. W. *gwnai* W.M. 25, 54, *gwnay* R.M. 237 (*ae=ay*, § 29 ii (1)).

(4) The vowel is long in *o'i*, *a'i*, *da i*, etc., § 33 v, of course only when accented. In Ml. W. *o'i*, *a'i* are written *oe*, *ae* or *oy*, *ay*.

§ 53. When the accent in a polysyllable falls on the ultima, the above rules apply as if the ultima were a monosyllable; thus, short, *pahăm* 'why?', *penăig*, § 41 iii (2), *parhău* 'to continue', *gŵyrdrŏi* 'to distort'; long, *Cymráeg*, *parhánt* (for *parhá-ant*), *gŵyrdrŏi* (for *gŵyrdro-ai*) 'he distorted', *penllăd* 'summum bonum'.

In *parhau*, *caniatau*, etc., some recent writers circumflex the *a*, possibly a practice first intended to indicate the long vowel in the uncontracted form *-ha-u*, § 54 iii. When contracted the *a* is short. In D.D. and Bible (1620) it is not circumflexed. J.D.R. 144 writes *cadarnhâu*. But see § 55 ii.

§ 54. In the accented penult—

i. (1) The vowel is short, if followed by two or more consonants, or by **p, t, c, m, ng, ll, s**; as *hărddwch* 'beauty', *plĕntyn* 'child', *cănnoedd* 'hundreds', *bŷrrach* 'shorter', *ĕstron* 'stranger', *ĕpil* 'progeny', *ăteb* 'answer', *ămeu* 'to doubt', *ăngen* 'need', *ăllan* 'out', *Iĕsu* 'Jesus', *glăndeg* 'fair', *glănŵaith* 'cleanly', *tănio* 'to fire', *tŷbiaf* 'I suppose'. There is no exception to this rule, though before *m* the vowel is sometimes wrongly lengthened in words learnt from books, such as *trămor* 'foreign', *ămwys* 'ambiguous'.

Silvan Evans marks many obsolete words, such as *amwg*, *amug* with long *ā*, for which there is no evidence whatever; it merely represents his own misreading of Ml. W. *-m-*, which always stands for *-mm-*.

(2) The consonants above named are each double in origin. In Ml. W. **t, c, s** were usually doubled in this position, as *atteb*, *racco* or *racko*, *messur*; but *-m-* is generally written single, owing to the clumsiness of *-mm-* and its frequency; possibly *-p-*, which is not very common, followed the analogy of *-m-*; *ll* and *ng* being digraphs can hardly be doubled in writing. In early Bibles **m** and **p** are doubled; and G.R. wrote *gallu*, doubling *l* (his *l* = *tt*). As however each is etymologically double (except in borrowed words), the double origin

is sufficiently indicated by writing the letter; thus *ateb* is necessarily the same as *atteb*; *mesur* is necessarily *messur*. So every medial or final **m, ng** or **ll** means *mm*, *nn*, or *tt* etymologically, and is so pronounced in the accented penult.

☞ But in the case of **n** and **r** the consonant is not necessarily double; hence a distinction must be made between single and double *n* and *r*. The *a* in *cannu* 'to whiten' is short because it is followed by **nn**, representing original **nd** (cf. Lat. *candeo*); the *a* in *canu* 'to sing' is medium because it is followed by a single **n** (cf. Lat. *cano*). The distinction is made in nearly all Ml. MSS., and generally in Mn. MSS. and printed books down to Pughe's time.

(3) The accented syllable is "closed" (stopped, blocked) by the first of the two consonants, thus *glăn|deg, plĕn|tyn, căn|nu*. Even **i** and **w** cause the preceding consonant to close the penult; thus *glăn|waith* from *glân* 'clean'. Ml. scribes, knowing that the syllable was closed by two consonants, and not knowing that the second in this case was **i** or **w**, sometimes doubled the first consonant, as in *dynnyon* W.M. 32, *(g)lannweith* R.M. 52; but as a rule, perhaps, it is written single, as in *dynyon* R.M. 21, *(g)lanweith* W.M. 72. A consonant originally double cannot be distinguished from one originally single in this case; thus *tăn-io* 'to fire', from *tân* 'fire', and *glăn-io* 'to land', from *glann* 'shore', form a perfect double rhyme. It is therefore unusual to double the consonant in the modern language in these forms; *glannio* and *torriad* are written *glanio* and *toriad*, which adequately represent the sound (cf. *pentref* for *penntref*, etc.). Thus in *ysgrifennwyd* 'was written' the double **n** indicates that the **w** is a vowel; in *ysgrifenwyr* 'writers', the single **n** indicates that the **w** is consonantal. Hence some words like *annwyl* C.M. 70, *synnwyr* R.M. 116 are now written with one *n* owing to a common, but by no means general, mispronunciation of *wy* as *wy*; see P.ll. XCVI, where *Llyr / ssynwyr* is condemned as a false rhyme.

ii. The vowel is medium if followed by **b, d, g, f, ff, th, ch, l,** single **n**, or single **r**; as *gó|baith* 'hope', *á|deg* 'time', *sé|gur* 'idle', *é|ffaith* 'effect', *é|thol* 'to elect', *pé|chod* 'sin', *cá|nu* 'to sing', *bó|re* 'morning', *cá|lan* 'new year's day'.

In this case the accented syllable is "open" (free), that is, it ends with the vowel, and the consonant is carried on to the next syllable. See § 50, Note; § 27 i.

In a few forms we have a short vowel before **l**, as in *Iŏl|o* (often mis-read *Ió|lo*); *căl|on* 'heart'; *cŏl|yn* 'sting', O. W. *colginn* JUV.; *bŏl|wst* 'colic' < **bolg-*; *dĕl|ir* 'is held' for *dĕl|ĭir* § 36 i < **dĕlĭir*. In Ml. W. such forms are written with double **l**, § 22 ii.

Double *l* cannot be from original *ll*, which gives the voiceless Welsh *ll* (*tl*). It occurs only in a new hypocoristic doubling as in *Iol-lo*, or where a consonant now lost closed the syllable before disappearing:

in *cǎlon* the lost consonant is *u̯*; in *cŏlyn* it is *i̯* < *g̑*; *u̯* drops before *o*, and *i̯* before *y* § 36 iii, ii;—*cǎlon* (Corn. *colon*, Bret. *kalon*, *kaloun*) <**kalu̯ond-* : W. *colwedd* B.A. 6 'heart', *coludd* 'entrail' : Skr. *kroḍá-ḥ* 'breast, interior' : Gk. χολάδες, O. Bulg. *želǫd-ŭkŭ* 'maw' with *gh-* (*q/gh* alternation).—For Early Mn. W. *cǎlyn* 'to follow' the Ml. *canlyn* has been restored in writing.

A short vowel also occurs in *cădwn*, *tŷbir*, etc. § 36 i.

iii. The vowel is long if followed by a vowel or h; as *ē|og* 'salmon', *dē-hau* 'right, south', *Gwen|llī|an*.

iv. It is short in all falling diphthongs; as *cǎe|ad* 'lid', *mŵy|af* 'most', *llĕi|af* 'least', *rhŵy|dau* 'nets', *llŵy|brau* 'paths', *hĕu|log* 'sunny', *tĕw|dwr* 'thickness', *bŷw|yd* 'life', *cnăw|dol* 'carnal'.

But in N. W. the vowel is medium in *aw*, *ew*, *iw* before a vowel, that is the *w* is heterosyllabic; thus *tá u̯el* 'silent', *té u̯i* 'to be silent', *llé|u̯od* 'lions', *nî|u̯ed* 'harm'. In S. W., however, these are sounded *tǎ̯w|el*, *tĕ̯w|i*, *llĕ̯w|od*, *nĭ̯w|ed*.

§ 55. i. The above are the quantities of the vowels in the Mn. language. They were probably the same in Ml. W. where the vowel is simple. Thus *map* or *mab*, *tat*, *gwac* had a long *ā* like their modern equivalents *māb*, *tād*, *gwāg*; for where the vowel was short and the final consonant voiceless (= Mn. *p*, *t*, *c*), the latter was doubled, as in *bratt* R.G. 1117, Mn. W. *bratt* D.D., or *brat* (≡ *brăt*) 'rag, apron'. In the case of Ml. single -t, both the long vowel and the voiced consonant are attested in the spelling of foreigners; thus the place-name which is now *Bōd Feirig*, which in Ml. W. spelling would be **Bot veuruc*, appears in Norman spelling in the Extent of Anglesey, dated 1294, as *Bode-ueuryk* (Seebohm, Trib. Sys.[1] App. 6), where *bode* doubtless means *bōd*, the Mn. W. sound. Again in the Extent of Denbigh, dated 1335, the Mn. W. *Rhōs* appears as *Roos* (op. cit. 72), showing the vowel to be long before s then as now. The N. W. long vowel before st is attested in 1296 in the Ruthin Court Rolls p. 15, l. 10 in the spelling *Neeste* of the name *Nest*. The distinction between medium and short in the penult is everywhere implied in Ml. spelling; and we are told in R.G. 1120 that the vowel is long when followed by another, as the i in *Gwenlliant*, Mn. W. *Gwen-llĭ-an*. Thus the quantity of a simple vowel was

generally the same in all positions in Ml. and Mn. W., even local usage agreeing; except in shortened words § 51 vi.

ii. But in diphthongs many changes must have taken place. As a "vowel before a vowel" was long then as now, *trṓ-ï* must have had a long *ō*, so that, when first contracted, it was still long; it remains long in Montgomeryshire; thus the short *o* in *tröi* is probably late. Similarly short *ĕi* for *e-i*, *ău* for *a-u*, *ŏu* for *o-u*. Other diphthongs also probably differ, and we can infer nothing as to Ml. W. quantity in diphthongs from the Mn. W. pronunciation.

§ 56. i. The quantity of a vowel in British determines its quality in Welsh; but its quantity in Welsh depends, as we have seen, on the consonantal elements which follow it in the syllable.

ii. A short accented vowel in Brit. or Latin followed by a single consonant was lengthened in Welsh; thus Brit. **tălos* gave *tâl*, § 51 iv Note, **rŏtā* (cognate with Lat. *rŏta*) gave *rhōd*, Lat. *sŏnus* gave *sôn*, etc. This took place after the change in the quality of long vowels, for while original *ā* gives *aw* § 71, long *ā* lengthened from *ā* remains *â*. It also took place after the reduction of *pp*, *tt*, *cc* into *ff*, *th*, *ch*, for the latter are treated as single consonants for this purpose; thus Lat. *saccus* became **saχos* with single *χ*, which gives *sach* (≡ *sāχ*) in Welsh. Long vowels remained long, as in *pûr* from Lat. *pūrus*. On the other hand, a vowel originally long was shortened before two consonants; thus the *ō* of Lat. *fōrma* became *ŭ*, which was shortened in the Welsh *ffŭrf*. Hence the general rule § 51 i, which probably goes back to Early Welsh and beyond; for the lengthening of short vowels originated at the time of the loss of the ending, and is due to compensation for that loss.

iii. There is no reason to suppose that this lengthening took place only in monosyllables. Thus O. W. *litan* 'wide' (: Gaul. *litanos* in Κογκο-λιτανος, *Smertu-litanus*, etc., Ir. *lethan*) was probably sounded **lly-dăn*, while *guinlann* was doubtless **gwinl*(*l*)*ănn*. In Ml. W. when the ultima became unaccented this distinction was lost, the *a* of *llýdān* being shortened, § 49, and the *nn* of *gwîn-llann* being simplified, § 27 ii. The rule forbidding the rhyming of such a pair was handed down from the older period, and is given in R.G. 1136; such a rhyme is called *trwm ac ysgawn* 'heavy [with 2 consonants] and light [with one]'. But the bard's ear no longer detected any difference in the unaccented ultima; he is therefore instructed to add a syllable to find out whether the syllable is "heavy" or "light": *kallonneu* (*ll* ≡ *l-l*) is given as an example to show that the *on*(*n*) of *kallon* [sic] is "heavy", and *amkaneu* to show that the *an* of *amkan* is "light". The Early Ml. bards avoid *trwm ac ysgawn*; but in the first poem in B.B., where the rhyme is *-ann*, several forms in *-an* occur, as *imuan* 1 (: *gwanaf* 'I wound'), *darogan* 7 (: *canaf* 'I sing'), which shows that

the distinction was beginning to disappear. The Late Ml. poets frankly give it up; e.g. Ca. *bychan / glan / kyvan(n) / diflan(n) / darogan/ . . . kalan(n) / kan / Ieuan(n)*, R.P. 1233–4. Yet in O. W. the distinction was a real one, for it is reflected in the ordinary spelling of words; as *bichan* OX. 'little' (cf. *vychanet* W.M. 44, R.M. 31), *atar* OX. 'birds' (cf. *adaren* B.B. 107), *scribenn* M.C. 'writing' (cf. *yscrivennu* IL.A. 2), *corsenn* OX., *guinlann* JUV., etc. The dimin. endings *-yn*, *-en* appear as *-inn*, *-enn*; the pl. ending *-i̯on* is always *-ion*.

iv. In the unaccented penult in O. W. the distinction between an open and a closed syllable was preserved; the vowel must have been shorter in the latter, as it was later when the penult became accented.

v. The diversity in the present quantity of vowels before *ll* and *s*, and the fixing of the present quantities of diphthongs, are due to complicated actions of analogy, which it would take too much space here to attempt to trace.

THE ARYAN VOWELS IN KELTIC

§ 57. Parent Aryan had the following vowel-system:

Short vowels	a	e	i	o	u	ə
Long vowels	ā	ē	ī	ō	ū	
Short diphthongs	ai	ei	oi	au	eu	ou
Long diphthongs	āi	ēi	ōi	āu	ēu	ōu
Short vocalic	l̥	m̥	n̥	r̥		
Long vocalic	l̥̄	m̥̄	n̥̄	r̥̄		

e and o were probably pronounced open; u has of course its Latin value ≡ Welsh *w* (not Welsh *u*); ə was an obscure vowel whose exact quality is uncertain, but which was probably not unlike W. *y*; vocalic l̥, m̥, n̥, r̥ arose from reduced *el*, *em*, *en*, *er*; when long they represent the contracted reductions of two syllables § 63 vii (2).

§ 58. i. The Aryan short vowels remained unchanged in Primitive Keltic, except ə, which became a as in all the other branches except Indo-Iranian, in which it became *i*, see vii below.

ii. Ar. a (Lat. *a*, Gk. α). Lat. *dacruma* (*lacruma*), Gk. δάκρυ, Goth. *tagr* : W. pl. *dagrau* 'tears' < Pr. Kelt. **dakruu̯a*.—Ar. **aĝō* > Lat. *agō*, Gk. ἄγω : Ir. *agaim* 'I drive', W. *af* for *a-af* for **aʒaf* 'I go' < Pr. Kelt. **ag-*.—Lat. *sāl*, *sălis*, Gk. ἅλς, Goth. *salt* : Ir. *salann*, W. *halen* 'salt' < Pr. Kelt. **sal-*.

iii. Ar. e (Lat. *e*, Gk. ε). Ar. **bher-* > Lat. *ferō*, Gk. φέρω, O. E. *beran* 'to bear' : Ir. *berimm* 'I bear', W. *ad-feraf* 'I re-

ē = a long wide e

store' < Pr. Kelt. *ber-.—Ar. *medhu- > Gk. μέθυ 'wine', O. H. G. metu 'mead', O. Bulg. medŭ 'honey', Skr. mádhu 'honey': W. medd 'mead', meddw 'drunk' < Pr. Kelt. *medu-*medu̯-.—Ar. *ek̑u̯os > Lat. equus, Skr. áśva-ḥ : Ir. ech 'horse', Gaul. Epo- (in Epo-redia, etc.), W. eb-ol 'colt' < Pr. Kelt. *eku̯-.

iv. Ar. i (Lat. i, Gk. ι). Ar. *u̯id- (√u̯eid- 'see, know') > Lat. video 'I see', Gk. Hom. ϝίδμεν, Goth. witum 'we know': Ir. fiss 'knowledge', W. gwŷs 'summons' < Pr. Kelt. *u̯iss-, § 87 ii.—Ar. *u̯liqᵘ- (√u̯eleiqᵘ- 'wet') > Lat. liqueo : Ir. fliuch 'wet', W. gwlyb 'wet' < Pr. Kelt. *u̯liqᵘ-.

v. Ar. o (Lat. o, Gk. ο). Ar. *ok̑tṓ(u) > Lat. octō, Gk. ὀκτώ : Ir. ocht, W. wyth 'eight' < Pr. Kelt. *oktō, § 69 iv (2). Ar. *logh- (√legh- 'lie') > Gk. λόχος 'bed, couch, ambush', O. Bulg. sŭ-logŭ 'consors tori': W. go-lo-i, R. P. 1040, 'to lay, bury' < Pr. Kelt. *log-.—Ar. *tog- (√(s)theg- 'cover') > Lat. toga : W. to 'roof', § 104 ii (2).

vi. Ar. u (Lat. u, Gk. υ). Ar. weak stem *k̑un- > Gk. gen. sg. κυνός, Goth. hunds, Skr. gen. sg. śúnaḥ : W. pl. cŵn 'dogs' < Pr. Kelt. *kun-es.—Ar. *sru-t- (√sreu- 'flow') > Gk. ῥυτός 'flowing', Skr. srutáḥ 'flowing', Lith. srutà 'dung-water': Ir. sruth 'stream', W. rhwd 'dung-water' < Pr. Kelt. *srut-.

vii. Ar. ə (see i). Ar. *pətḗr *pətér- > Lat. pater, Gk. πατήρ, Goth. fadar, Arm. hair, Skr. pitár- : Ir. athir 'father' < Pr. Kelt. *(p)atir.—Ar. *sət- (√sē- 'sow') > Lat. satus : W. had 'seed' < Pr. Kelt. *sat-, § 63 vi (1).

§ 59. i. The Aryan long vowels ā, ī, ū remained; but ē became ī; and ō in stem syllables became ā, in final syllables ū.

ii. Ar. ā (Lat. ā, Gk. Dor. ᾱ, Att. Ion. η). Ar. *bhrāt-ēr, -er-, -ōr, -or- > Lat. frāter, Gk. Dor. φρᾱ́τηρ 'member of a clan', Goth. brōþar, Skr. bhrā́tar- : Ir. brāthir, W. brawd 'brother', pl. broder, brodorion § 124 i < Pr. Kelt. *brāt-ir, -er-, -or-.—Ar. *māt-ēr, -er-, -r- > Lat. māter, Gk. Dor. μᾱ́τηρ, Skr. mā́tár- : Ir. māthir 'mother', W. modr-yb 'aunt' < Pr. Kelt. *māt-ēr, -r-.

iii. Ar. ē (Lat. ē, Gk. η). Lat. vērus, O. Bulg. vĕra 'faith' : Ir. fír, W. gwīr 'true' < Pr. Kelt. *u̯iros.—Lat. rēx, Skr. rā́j- 'king' : Ir. rí, Gaul. rīx, W. rhī < Pr. Kelt. *rīks, *rīg-.

iv. Ar. ī (Lat. ī, Gk. ῑ). Ar. *qᵘrīt- (√qᵘreiā- 'buy') > Skr. krītáḥ 'bought' : Ir. crīthid 'inclined to buy', W. prīd

'precious' < *Pr. Kelt. *q̑ʷrīt-*.—O. H. G. *rīm*, O. E. *rīm* 'number': Ir. *rīm*, W. *rhīf* 'number' < Pr. Kelt. **rīm-*.—Ar. suffix **-īno-*, as in Lat. *su-īnus* : W. *-in* § 153 (10) < Pr. Kelt. **-īno-*.

v. Ar. ō (Lat. *ō*, Gk. *ω*). Lat. *ōcior*, Gk. *ὠκύς*, Skr. *āśúḥ* 'quick': Ml. W. *di-awc*, Mn. W. *di-og* 'idle' < Pr. Kelt. **āk-us*. —Lat. *ignōtus*, *nōtus*, Gk. *γνωτός* : Ir. *gnāth* 'known, accustomed', W. *gnawd* 'customary' < Pr. Kelt. **gnātos*.—Lat. *flōs*, O. H. G. *bluot* 'bloom': Ir. *blāth*, Ml. W. *blawt* 'blossom' < Pr. Kelt. **blāt-*.

In final syllables Ar. ō > Kelt. ū; this became *ūi*, later *ī* in Brit., and affected a preceding vowel, § 69 i; it remains as *-ī* in W. *cī* 'dog' § 132 (1). But when followed by a final nasal *ō* became *o* in Pr. Kelt.; thus Ir. gen. pl. *fer* 'of men' implies **u̯irōn* from **u̯irōm* (**-ōm* : Gk. *-ων*).

vi. Ar. ū (Lat. *ū*, Gk. *ῡ*). Lat. *tū*, Gk. *τύ-νη*, O. Icel. *þū*, Avest. *tū* : Ir. *tū*, W. *tī* 'thou' < Pr. Kelt. **tū*.—O. H. G. *rūna*, O. Icel. *rūn* 'secret, rune' : Ir. *rūn*, W. *rhīn* 'secret' < Pr. Kelt. **rūn-*.—Lat. *cūlus* : Ir. *cūl*, W. *cīl* 'back' < Pr. Kelt. **kūl-*.

§ 60. The Aryan short diphthongs remained in Pr. Kelt.; see examples in §§ 75, 76. In the long diphthongs the long vowels developed as elsewhere; thus **āi**, **āu** remained; **ēi** > **īi̯**; **ōu** > **īu**; in syllables not final **ōi**, **ōu** became **āi**, **āu** respectively; in final syllables **ōi** > **ūi**, later doubtless **ū**, but seemingly still written *-ovι* in Gaulish, Rhys CIG. 5; **ōu** > **ūu̯**; §§ 75, 76.

§ 61. i. (1) Aryan *l̥*, *r̥* (Lat. *ul*, *or*; Gk. *αλ*, *λα*, *αρ*, *ρα*; Germ. *ul*, *ur*; Skr. *ṛ*, *ṝ*) probably remained in Pr. Kelt., but developed in all the groups as **li**, **ri**. Thus Ar. **mlk̑-t-* (√ *melg̑-* 'milk') > Lat. *mulctus* : Ir. *mlicht*, *blicht*, W. *blith* 'milch' < **mlikt-* < Pr. Kelt. **mlkt-* (W. *ar-mel* 'the second milk', *mel-foch* 'suckling pigs' < F-grade **melg̑-*).—Ar. **kl̥-t-* (√ *kel-* 'hide') > Lat. *oc-cult-us* : Ir. *clethi* 'celandum', W. *clyd* 'sheltered' < Pr. Kelt. **klt-*.—Ar. **pr̥t-* (√ *per-*) > Lat. *portus*, O.H.G. *furt* : Gaul. *-ritum*, O. W. *rit*, Mn. W. *rhyd* 'ford' < Pr. Kelt. **(p)rt-*.—Ar. **q̑ʷr̥m-is* 'worm' > Skr. *kr̥mi-ḥ*, Lith. *kirmis* : Ir. *cruim*, W. *pryf* 'worm' < Pr. Kelt. **q̑ʷrmis*.—Ar. **dr̥k̑-* (√ *derk̑-*) > Gk. *ἔδρακον* 'I saw', Skr. *dr̥ś-* 'look' : Ir. *drech* 'aspect', W. *drych* 'appearance', *e-drychaf* 'I look' < Pr. Kelt. **dr̥k-*.

Ir. *cru* comes from *q*ᵘ*ri* before *i*, *e* or *u*, as shown by *cruimther* 'priest' which appears in ogam as *q*ᵘ*rimitir* < Early W. *primter*, Thurneysen Gr. 135; therefore this proves nothing as to Kelt. *r̥*. But Kelt. **r̥k* gave Brit. **r̥kk* > W. *rych* as in *drych* above, *rhych* < **pr̥k-* § 101 iii (1), Zupitza KZ. xxxv 256, while Kelt. *rik* gives W. *ryg* as in *cryg* § 101 ii (2).

(2) Before vowels and *i̯* and *u̯*, Ar. preserved an older form of these sounds, which we may write $_{e}$**l**, $_{e}$**r**, where $_{e}$ represents an indistinct or murmured vowel. These give Kelt. **ar**, **al**, see § 63 iii.

ii. Ar. **l̥̄**, **r̥̄** (Lat. *lā*, *rā*; Skr. *īr*, *ūr* for both) appear in Pr. Kelt. as **lā**, **rā**. Thus Ar. **pl̥̄-no-* 'full' (√*pelē-*) > Skr. *pūrṇá-ḥ* : Ir. *lān*, W. *llawn* 'full' < Pr. Kelt. *(*p*)*lānos*.—Ar. **ml̥̄-t-* (√*melā-* 'grind') > W. *blawd* 'flour' < Pr. Kelt. **mlāt-*.—Ar. **ĝr̥̄n-* (√*ĝerāˣ-* 'rub, grind') > Lat. *grānum*, Skr. *jīrṇá-ḥ* 'worn out': Ir. *grān*, W. *grawn* 'grain' < Pr. Kelt. **grān-*. See § 63 vii (2).

§ **62.** i. (1) Ar. **m̥**, **n̥** (Lat. *em*, *en*; Gk. *α*; Germ. *um*, *un*; Skr. *a*) remained in Pr. Kelt., and appear as **am**, **an** in Brit. and Gaul., and **em*, **en* in Ir. (becoming *ē* before *c*, *t*, and *im*, *in* before *b*, *d*, *g*). Thus Ar. *k̂m̥tóm* 'hundred' > Lat. *centum*, Gk. *ἑ-κατόν*, Goth. *hund*, Lith. *szim̃tas*, Skr. *ŝatá-m*: Ir. *cēt*, W. *cant*.—Ar. **dn̥t-* 'tooth' > Lat. *dent-*, Goth. *tunþus*, Skr. *dat-* : Ir. *dēt*, W. *dant*.—Ar. **n̥-* negative prefix > Lat. *in-*, Gk. *ἀ-*, Germ. *un-* : Ir. *in-gnath* 'unwonted', *ē-trōcar* 'unmerciful', W. *an-* § 156 i (5).

(2) Before vowels and *i̯* and *u̯*, the forms were $_{e}$**m**, $_{e}$**n**, see § 61 i (2); these gave **am**, **an** in Kelt., and appear so in Ir. and W.; thus W. *adanedd* 'wings' < **p*$_{e}$*t*$_{e}$*níi̯ās*; O. W. *-ham*, W. *-(h)af* spv. suffix < **-is*$_{e}$*mos*. But when $_{e}$*n* followed the accent it seems to have become *ann* in Kelt. (through *n̥n*?); thus Ir. *anmann* 'names' < **án'm*$_{e}$*na* < **ánəm*$_{e}$*nə* § 121 iv, § 63 v (2);—Ir. *Ērenn* 'of Ireland' < **ēriann* < **iu̯erii̯*$_{e}$*n-os* beside W. *Iwerδon* 'Ireland' < **iu̯éri̯on-*;—Brit. *Britann-* < **q*ᵘ*rít*$_{e}$*n-* § 3 iii; with the same suffix W. *pell-enn-ig* 'stranger';—W. *griddfan* 'groan' pl. *griddfannau* § 203 ii (4);—W. *Gofannon*, Gaul. *Gobannicnos*, Ir. *goba* 'smith', gen. *gobann*; etc.—Final *-ann* either remains as *-an*, or is reduced to *-a* § 110 v (2), or tended to become *-ant* (through *-and*?) § 121 iv, § 203 ii (4).

This development is precisely parallel to that of the R-grade of $e\underset{\smile}{i}$ after the accent in Brit., which gave $a\underset{\smile}{i}\underset{\smile}{i} >$ W. *-oeδ*, the second $\underset{\smile}{i}$ becoming δ. Similarly $o\underset{\smile}{u}$ after the accent gives W. *-e$\underset{\smile}{u}$*, prob. from *'-o$\underset{\smile}{u}\underset{\smile}{u}$-* § 76 iii (2).

ii. Ar. $\bar{n}$, $\bar{\underset{\circ}{n}}$ were doubtless **mā**, **nā** in Pr. Kelt. Thus Ar. *$*s\bar{\underset{\circ}{n}}$-* ($R^2$ of *√senē-*, see § 63 vii (2)), > Ir. *snā-that*, W. *no-dwydd* 'needle'.—Ir. *gnāth*, W. *gnawd* 'known, accustomed' might be from *$*\hat{g}\bar{\underset{\circ}{n}}$-* like Lat. *gnā-rus*, but is more probably from *$*\hat{g}n\bar{o}$-* like Lat. *nōtus*, *√ĝenē-*. The Gaul. *-gnatus* 'born' is assumed to have *ā*, in which case it may be from *$*\hat{g}\bar{\underset{\circ}{n}}$-*; but it may have *ă* from *ə*, like W. *ynad* 'judge', Early Ml. W. pl. *hyĝneid* B.B. 10, 84 < *$*hyn$\underset{\smile}{g}nat < *$*seno-gnat$- 'elder' < *$*\hat{g}nə$-t-, *√ĝenē-* 'give birth'.

ARYAN VOWEL GRADATION

§ 63. i. In Parent Aryan, while the consonants of any morphological element were comparatively stable, its vocalism varied according to circumstances; this variation is called "vowel gradation" or "ablaut". The system is similar to, but less highly developed than, that of the Semitic languages, in which the only fixed elements of a word are its consonantal skeleton. In Aryan what may be regarded as the standard vowel was *e*; this is the full grade, and may be denoted by F. It interchanged with *o*; this grade may be denoted by F°. In either case the vowel might be lengthened, becoming $\bar{e}$ or $\bar{o}$; the lengthened grades may be denoted by L and L°. The vowel might become more or less indistinct; in this case we write it below the line thus $_{e}$; this is the reduced grade, R. Lastly it might vanish altogether; this is the vanishing grade, V. The same syllable in different combinations may occur in any or all of these grades.

ii. Taking the root *$*sed$- 'sit' as an example, the system is as follows (for *z* in V-grade see § 97):

V	R	F	F°	L	L°
zd	*$s_{e}d$*	*sed*	*sod*	*sēd*	*sōd*

Examples: V *$*-zd$-: W. *nyth*, Lat. *nīdus*, E. *nest*, etc. < Ar. *$*ni-zd-os$ § 97 ii, W. *syth* < *$*si-zd$-, ibid. — R *$*s_{e}d$-: W. *hadl* < *$*s_{e}d-lo$- § 111 vii (1).—F *$*sed$-: W. *gorsedd* 'high seat' < Kelt. *$*\underset{\smile}{u}er-en-sed$-; *eistedd* 'to sit' met. for *$*eitsedd$ < *$*at\underset{\smile}{i}-en-sed$-; Gaul. *esseda* 'war-chariot' < *$*en-sed$-; W. *annedd* 'dwelling' for *ann-hedd* < *$*\underset{\circ}{n}do-sed$-, *cyntedd* 'porch' < *$*kintu-sed$-; *heddwch* 'peace' < *$*sed$-; Lat. *sedeo*, etc.—F° *$*sod$-: W. *hudd-ygl*, Ir. *suide* 'soot' § 100 v; W. *aros* 'to stay' < *$*p_{e}ri-sod-t$- § 187 iii.—L *$*sēd$-: Lat. *sēdēs*, whence W. *swydd* 'office'.—L° *$*sōd$-: W. *soddi* 'to sink', *sawdd* 'subsidence' < *$*sōd$-, O.E. *sōt*, E. *soot*.

√*ed-* 'eat':—V **d-*: W. *dant*, Lat. *dent-*, etc. < **d-n̥t-* (participial stem) '*eater'.—F **ed-*: W. *ŷs* 'eats' < **et*ˢ*ti* < **ed-ti*, Lat. *edo, est*.—L **ēd-*: Lat. *in-ēdia*, Skr. *ādyáḥ* 'eatable'.

√*ret-* 'run':—F **ret-*: W. *rhedaf* 'I run', *gwa-redaf* 'I succour', Gaul. *Vo-reto-*.—F° **rot-*: Ir. *roth*, W. *rhod* 'wheel', Lat. *rota*.—L° **rōt-*: W. *rhawd* 'troop', Ml. W. *gwarawt* 'he succoured' < **u̯o-rāt-* < **upo-(re)rōte*.

In Kelt. $_e$ becomes *a* before explosives, as well as before *l, r, m, n*, see iii below. Thus W. *adar* 'birds' < **p*$_e$*t*$_e$*r-*; *adanedd* 'wings' < **p*$_e$*t*$_e$*níi̯ās*; beside *edn* 'bird' < **petn-*, √*pet-* 'fly'. In Italic also we seem to have *a* for it, as in Lat. *quattuor* < **q*^{u}$_e$*tu̯ores*; in Gk. *ι* in *πίσυρες*; Hirt, Abl. 15, Meillet, Intr.[2] 73.

iii. When the vowel is followed by one of the sonants *l, r, m, n*, the scheme is as follows, *er* being taken as the example:

V	R	F	F°	L	L°
r	*r̥* $_e$*r*	*er*	*or*	*ēr*	*ōr*

Examples: suffix **-ter-*:—V **-tr-*: W. *modryb* 'aunt' < *mā́-tr-əq*^{u}*-ī*, Lat. gen. *mā-tr-is*.—R **-tr̥-*: Skr. *mā-tr̥-kā* 'grandmother'.—F **-ter-*: W. *bro-der* 'brothers', Gk. acc. *πα-τέρ-α*.—F° **-tor-*: W. *bro-dor-ion* 'brothers, clansmen', Gk. acc. *φρά-τορ-α*.—L **-tēr-*: Gk. *πατήρ*.—L° *-tōr-*: Gk. *φρά-τωρ*.

√*bher-* 'bear':—R **bhr̥-*: W. *cymryd* 'to take' < **kom-bhr̥-t-*—F **bher-*: W. *cymeraf* 'I take' < **kom-bher-*; Lat. *fero*, Gk. *φέρω*, etc.

√*k̂el-* 'hide':—R **k̂l̥-*: W. *clyd* 'sheltered' < **k̂l̥-t-*, Lat. *occultus* § 61 i (1).—F **k̂el-*: W. *celaf* 'I conceal'.—L **k̂ēl-*: Lat. *cēl-o*.

Before these sonants $_e$ appears as *a* in Kelt., giving *al, ar, am, an*. In other branches thus: Ar. $_e$*l*, $_e$*r* give Gk. *αλ, αρ*, Lat. *al, ar*, Germ. *ul, ur*, Skr. *ir ur* (for both), Lith. *il ul, ir ur*; Ar. $_e$*m*, $_e$*n* give Gk. *αμ, αν*, Lat. *am, an* or *em, en* (*venio* § 100 i (4), *tenuis* below), Germ. *um, un*, Skr. *am, an*, Lith. *im um, in un*.

The V-grade occurs only before vowels. The form *r̥, n̥*, etc. of the R-grade occurs only before consonants; the form $_e$*r*, $_e$*n*, etc. before vowels, and before *i̯* and *u̯*. Where in the derived languages the latter appears before other consonants, a vowel following it has been elided since the Ar. period. I use ' to mark this elision.

Examples: V-grade of *el* in W. *glas* 'green' see vii (3); of *er* in *rhann* vii (2); of *en* in *glin* vii (4).

R-grade before consonants, *l̥, r̥, m̥, n̥*, see examples in §§ 61, 62.

R-grade before vowels: W. *malaf* 'I grind' < **m*$_e$*l-*, √*melā*^{x}*-* 'grind';—*araith* 'speech', Ir. *airecht* < *$_e$*req-t-*, √*ereq-* 'speak': O. Bulg. *reką* 'I speak' (with V-grade of 1st syll.);—*archaf* 'I ask', Ir. *arco* < Kelt. **ar'k-* < **p*$_e$*r*$_e$*k̂-*, √*perek̂-*: Lat. *precor* (with V-grade of 1st syll.);—*carr* 'car', Ir. *carr*, Gaul. (-Lat.) *carr(-us)* < Pr. Kelt. **kar'sos*: Lat. *currus* < **qr̥s-os*;—*darn* 'fragment' < **d*$_e$*r'n-* < **d*$_e$*rə-n-*: Skr. *dīrṇáḥ* 'split, divided' < **dr̥̄n-* < **d*$_e$*rə-n-*, √ *derā-*

'split';—so *sarn* 'causeway' : Skr. *stīrnáḥ* 'strewn', √*sterō-*;—*carn* 'hoof', Galat. *κάρνον* 'trumpet' : √*ḱerāˣ(u)-*;—*teneu* 'thin', Corn. *tanow*, Ir. *tana* : Gk. *ταν-*, Lat. *tenuis*, Skr. *tanú-ḥ*, all < Ar. **t̥nu-*;—*hafal* 'like, equal', Ir. *samail* 'likeness' < **sm̥l-* : Lat. *similis*;—*ganed* 'was born' < **ĝn-*, √*ĝenē-*.

R-grade before *u̯* : W. *carw* 'deer' < **ḱr̥u-os* : Lat. *cervus* < **ḱeru-os*;—*marw* 'dead' : Lat. *mortuus* § 204 ii (5);—before *i̯* : W. *myned* § 100 iv.

The forms *l̥*, *r̥*, *m̥*, *n̥* are generally classed as V-grade; but the vowel of the syllable cannot be said to have vanished when it has converted the consonant *r* into the vowel *r̥*. In fact *r̥* is the form that *ₑr* takes before a consonant, and must therefore be the same grade.

iv. The treatment of the diphthongs *ei*, *eu* (properly *eḭ*, *eu̯*) is parallel, *i̯* and *u̯* corresponding to *l*, *r*, *m*, *n*, and vocalic *i*, *u* to vocalic *l̥*, *r̥*, *m̥*, *n̥*. Thus:

V	R	F	F°	L	L°
i̯	*i*, (*ₑi* >) *ii̯*	*eḭ*	*oḭ*	*ēḭ*	*ōḭ*
u̯	*u*, (*ₑu* >) *uu̯*	*eu̯*	*ou̯*	*ēu̯*	*ōu̯*

The R-grade forms *i*, *u* occur before consonants only; the forms *ₑi*, *ₑu*, which became *ii̯*, *uu̯*, occur before vowels.

Examples: V-grade: W. *berwi* 'to boil', Lat. *ferveo* < **bheru-*, √*bhereu-*;—W. *duw* 'god' < **dīwyw*, Lat. *deus* both < **deiu-os*, √*deieu-*, vii (4).

√*u̯eid-* 'see, know':—R: *gwedd* 'aspect' < **u̯id-ā*; *gŵys* 'summons', *gŵys* 'it is known', both < **u̯itˢt-* < **u̯id-t-*; Lat. *vid-eo*;—F: *gŵydd* 'presence' < **u̯eid-*, *arwydd* 'sign' < **pₑri-u̯eid-*; Gk. *εἶδομαι*;—F°: Gk. *οἶδα* < **u̯oid-a*.

√*ḱleu-* 'hear':—R: *clod* 'praise' < **ḱlu-tó-m* § 66 v; Gk. *κέ-κλυ-θι*;—F: *clust* 'ear' < **ḱleu-t-st-* § 96 ii (3).

√*deu̯k-* 'lead':—R: *dyg-af* 'I bring', *dwg* 'brings' < **duk-*; *dwyn* 'to bring' < **duk-n-*;—F: Lat. *dūco*, O. Lat. *douc-o*, Goth. *tiuh-an* < **deuk-*;—L°: *dug* 'brought' < *(*du*)-*dōuk-*, § 182 ii (2).

The V-grade disappears between consonants; see √*qoneiḭd-* vii (4) √*geneu̯-* ib.; see viii (2) and § 100 ii (2).

v. (1) As seen above, Ar. had the vowel *e* interchanging with *o*; the vowels *i* and *u* are secondary, being vocalized forms of *i̯* and *u̯*.

(2) *a* occurred in Ar. only in special cases, which Meillet, Intr.² 139 gives thus: 1. in child-language, as Skr. *tata*, Gk. *τάτα*, Lat. *tata*, W. *tada*; 2. in certain isolated words, possibly borrowed, as Lat. *faba*; 3. in a few endings, as 3rd sg. mid. **-tai*, Gk. *-ται*, Skr. *-te*; and 4. initially, interchanging with zero, as Gk. *ἀστήρ*: Lat. *stella*, W. *seren*, E. *star*.

As shown by Meillet (ib. 140) initial *a-* may coexist with the F- or L-grade of the following syll., as in Gk. *ἀ(F)έξω* with F **u̯eg-* beside *αὔξω*, Lat. *augeo* with V **u̯g-*; cf. *ἀστήρ*. This seems to imply that *a-* might be a movable preformative, but it does not prove that it was

outside the ablaut system; in fact, the common gradation $\bar{a} : \partial$ necessarily implies the ablaut of *a*, as $\bar{e} : \partial$ does that of *e*; see vi.

Many indications point to *a* being an Ar. survival of a pre-Aryan sole vowel *a*, which ordinarily split up in Ar. into *e* and *o*. It is preserved in child-language because this is conservative; thus while Ar. **tata* gives W. *tad* 'father', in W. child-speech it remains as *táda*. In the ordinary language *a* stands side by side with *e/o*, or occurs where we should expect *e/o*, in the following cases: 1. initially; 2. before $*\underset{\circ}{\partial}$ or $\underset{\circ}{i}$; 3. before gutturals. Thus 1. *at-*, *ati-* : *et-*, *eti-* pref. and adv. 'beyond, and, but' § 222 i (3); O. W. *anu*, Ir. *ainm* 'name' < $*án(\partial)m\underset{\circ}{n}$, Armen. *anun* 'name' : Gk. ὄνομα < $*\bar{o}n\partial m\underset{\circ}{n}$, √*onō-/anō-*. —2. The ending of the neut. pl. nom.-acc. is $*\text{-}\partial$; now the neut. pl. of *o/e*-stems is *-ā* from $*\text{-}a\partial$, where $*\text{-}a\text{-}$ represents the stem vowel instead of *-o-* (or *-e-*); similarly the fem. of *o/e*-stems is formed with *-ā-* for $*\text{-}a\partial\text{-}$; but $\underset{\circ}{i}o/\underset{\circ}{i}e$-stems have beside $\text{-}\underset{\circ}{i}\bar{a}\text{-} < *\text{-}\underset{\circ}{i}a\partial\text{-}$ the fem. form $\text{-}\underset{\circ}{i}\bar{e}\text{-} < *\text{-}\underset{\circ}{i}e\partial\text{-}$. Cf. also $\bar{a} : \bar{o}$ ix below. In the dat. sg. of cons. stems both *-ai* and *-ei* occur, as Gk. infin. suff. *-μεναι* : Osc. *diúvei*, *patereí*, Solmsen KZ. xliv 161 ff.

In the positions indicated, *a* has R- and L-grades. Thus, 1. Initially: F **am-* in Gk. ἀμφί, Lat. *ambi-*: R $*\underset{\circ}{m}\text{-}$ in Ir. *imb*, *imm*, W. *am*, *ym-*, Skr. *abhí-taḥ* (*a-* < $*\underset{\circ}{m}\text{-}$) 'on both sides'; F **ar-* in W. *arth*, Gk. ἄρκτος : R $*\underset{\circ}{r}\text{-}$ in Lat. *ursus*, Skr. *ṛ́kṣaḥ* § 98 i (2); F **aĝ-* in Lat. *agō*, Gk. ἄγω : L **āĝ-* in Lat. *amb-āges*.—2. Before $\underset{\circ}{\partial}$ or $\underset{\circ}{i}$: F **ā* (< $*a\partial$) : R $*\partial$, see vi; F **ai-* in Gk. αἴθω, Ir. *aed* 'fire', W. *aelwyd* : R **i-* in Skr. *idh-má-s* 'firewood'. For the fem. of $\underset{\circ}{i}o/\underset{\circ}{i}e$-stems there is beside $\text{-}\underset{\circ}{i}\bar{a}\text{-}$ and $\text{-}\underset{\circ}{i}\bar{e}\text{-}$ a form *-ī-*; this may be explained thus: RF $*\underset{\circ}{i}ia\partial$, $*\underset{\circ}{i}ie\partial$ give $\underset{\circ}{i}\bar{a}$, $\underset{\circ}{i}\bar{e}$: RR $*\underset{\circ}{i}\underset{\circ}{i}\partial > \bar{\imath}$, vii (2). Cf. vii (5).

3. Before gutturals: √*aḱ-* : *oḳ-* 'sharp, rugged', as Gk. ὄκρις, ὀξύς, Lat. *ocris*, W. *ochr*: Gk. ἄκρος, Lat. *acus*, W. *(h)agr* 'ugly';— √*deḱ/ǵh-* 'to seem good, acceptable; to apprehend, teach'; *e* in Lat. *decus*, *decet*, Ir. *dech*, *deg*, 'best' : *o* in Lat. *doceo*, Gk. δοκέω, δόγμα : *a* in Gk. διδάσκω (< $*\text{διδακσκω}$), διδαχή, W. *da* 'good' < $*dag\text{-}$, Gaul. *Dago-*, Ir. *dag-* 'good'.

vi. (1) The long vowels $\bar{e}$, $\bar{o}$, $\bar{a}$ had R- and V-grades; $\bar{e}$ had also the F°-grade $\bar{o}$. The R-grade of each is ∂. Before a vowel ∂ regularly disappears, giving the V-grade, as in Skr. *dá-d-ati* 'they give', where *-d-* is the V-grade of √*dō-*. It also occurs before consonants, as in Skr. *da-d-máḥ* 'we give' beside Gk. δί-δο-μεν; but the disappearance of ∂ between consonants is believed to be due to analogy or elision after the Ar. period. It is however lost in syllables not initial or final in Germ., Balt.-Slav., Armenian, Iranian; Meillet, Dial. 63.

∂ appears to come from a guttural spirant resembling ȝ (§ 110 ii (2)), which played the same part as the sonants, so that the ablaut series of $\bar{e}$ is parallel to that of $e\underset{\circ}{i}$ or *er*, the F-grade $\bar{e}$ being for $*e\underset{\circ}{\partial}$; thus V ($\underset{\circ}{\partial}$ non-syllabic, lost); R ∂ (syllabic); F $\bar{e}$ for $*e\underset{\circ}{\partial}$; F° $\bar{o}$ for $*o\underset{\circ}{\partial}$; corresponding to V $\underset{\circ}{i}$ (non-syllabic); R *i* (syllabic); F $e\underset{\circ}{i}$; F° $o\underset{\circ}{i}$. This explains why ∂ is the R-grade of all the long vowels.

In cases where the F-grade has not survived, or has survived only in Indo-Iranian, where *ă̄*, *ĕ̄*, *ŏ̄* all appear as *ă̄*, so that the quality of the vowel is unknown, it is usual to write it $\bar{a}^x$.

Examples: *√dō-* 'give':—F: *dawn* 'gift' < **dō-n-*; Lat. *dō-num*; Gk. *δί-δω-μι*.—V: *rho-δ-ant* 'they give' < **pro-d-n̥ti*; Skr. *dá-d-ati* < **dé-d-n̥ti*.— —*√dhē-* 'put':—F: Gk. *τί-θη-μι*;—V: *rho-δ-ant* 'they put'. See § 179 ii.

√sthā- 'stand':—R: *gwa-sta-d* 'level' < **upo-sthə-t-*; Lat. *stă̄-tus*; W. *sa-f* 'stand' < **sthə-m-* § 203 vii (5);—F: *saw-dl* 'heel' < **sthā-tl-*.

√sē- 'sow':—R: *had* 'seed' < Ar. **sə-t-*; Lat. *sā-tus*.—F: *hīl* 'progeny', Ir. *sīl* < **sē-l-*; Lat. *sē-vi, sē-men*.

(2) *ə* generally appears as *a* in the European languages, as in the above examples. (Cf. § 110 ii (2).) But in Gk. if the F-grade is *ē* or *ō*, the R-grade often appears as *ε* or *o*. Elsewhere *e* beside *a* is probably to be explained as due to a variant of the root, with short vowel; thus W. *tref*, O. W. *treb* 'homestead' < **treb-*; Lat. *trabs* < **trəb-*; Gk. *τέρεμνον, τέραμνον* both < **terəb-*; *√terĕ̄b-*.

vii. (1) As a rule the same morphological element could not contain two F-grade syllables, though, of course, a word, made up of more than one element, might. The diversity in different languages of words of the same origin is largely due to the preservation of various groupings of grades; see for example **qᵘetu̯er-* in (4) below.

(2) A large number of roots were disyllabic. A characteristic form of Ar. root had a short vowel in the first syllable and a long in the second. A very common form of reduction was RR, i.e. R-grade of both syllables. When the consonant between the vowels was one of the sonants *i̯, u̯*, RR was $_{e}i̯ə$, $_{e}u̯ə$, which gave *iə̯, uə̯*; these were generally contracted to *ī, ū* respectively; we may call this contraction R^2. On the analogy of these it is assumed that RR $_{e}lə$, $_{e}rə$, $_{e}mə$, $_{e}nə$ gave respectively R^2 *l̥, r̥, m̥, n̥*, § 61 ii, § 62 ii. The uncontracted RR forms also survived, as in Gk. *παλάμη* < **pₑlə-mā*, *√pelā-*, beside W. *llaw(f)*, Ir. *lām* < Kelt. **lā-mā* < **pl̥-mā*;—W. *taradr* 'auger', Ir. *tarathar* < RR **tₑrə-tr-*, beside Gk. *τέρετρον* < FR **terə-tr-*, *√terē-* 'bore';—W. *rhaeadr* 'cataract' < RR **riə̯ə-tr̥-*, beside Lat. *rīvus* < R^2 **rī-*, *√reiə̯ā-* 'flow'. In many cases the *ə* dropped, see vi (1), as in Lat. *palma* < **pₑl(ə)-mā*; we may denote this by R(R). Beside these we also have VR forms *lə, rə, mə, nə*; thus beside W. *gwaladr* 'ruler' < RR **u̯ₑlə-tr-*, we have W. *gwlad* 'country', Ir. *flaith* 'lordship' < VR **u̯lə-t-*, *√u̯elē(i)-* (: Lat. *valēre*, E. *wield*);—W. *gwlân* 'wool' < VR **u̯lən-ā*, beside Lat. *lāna*, Skr. *ū́rṇā* < R^2 **u̯l̥n-ā*;—W. *rhann* 'share', Ir. *rann* id. < VR **prə-t-snā*, beside Lat. *part-* < R(R) **pₑr(ə)-t-*, beside Skr. *pūr-t-ám* 'reward' < R^2 **pr̥-t-*, *√perō-*;—W. *ystrad* 'dale', Gk. *στρατός* < VR **strə-t-*, beside W. *sarn* 'causeway' < R(R) **stₑr(ə)n-*, beside Skr. *stīr-ṇá-ḥ* 'strewn', Lat. *strā-tus* < R^2 **str̥-*, *√sterō-* 'spread out'.—When the long vowel after *l, r, m*, or *n* was *ā* or *ō* we cannot distinguish in Kelt. between

R² and VF, since in Kelt. $\bar{l}$, *lā*, *lō*, all give *lā*; we can only infer the probable original from a comparison of cognates; thus O. E. *flōr* 'floor' < VF **plā-r-* suggests that Ir. *lār*, W. *llawr* 'floor' contain VF **plā-r-*, √*pelā-*; and Gk. *παλάμη* < RR as above suggests W. *llaw* < R². But where the vowel was *ē* as in √*pelē-* 'fill', we know e. g. that W. *llawn*, Ir. *lān* 'full' come from R² **pl̥-n-*, since VF **plē-n-* as in Lat. *plēnus* would give W. **llīn*, which does not exist, and does give Ir. *līn-*, which is seen in *līnaim* 'I fill'.

R(R) is postulated instead of RV because the loss of *ə* is late; this agrees with the fact that we have *ar* in W., implying **ₑr* the form before a vowel, the loss of which is therefore secondary, and not *ry* from **r̥* the form before a consonant. Similarly *i* may be taken as R(R) of *eiē*; thus RR *iə̯* > R(R) *i̯(ə)* > *i*. Where *ry* occurs in W. beside forms implying an original long vowel we may assume that the former comes from a variant with short vowel of the root; thus W. *gwryṣg* 'boughs, twigs' < **u̯rd-sq-*, RV of √*u̯erod-*; Lat. *rādīx* < **u̯r̥d-*, R² of √*u̯erōd-*, O. E. *wrōt* < **u̯rōd-*, VF of √*u̯erōd-*.

(3) A few examples are appended:

√*ĝhelē-* 'green, yellow': VR **ĝhlə-* > Kelt. **gla-st-* > Brit. *-glasos* 'tawny' (Gildas), W. *glas* 'green'; FV **ĝhel-* > Lat. *hel-us*.

√*gelāk/g-* 'milk': RR **gₑlək-* > Gk. *γάλα, γάλακτος*;—VR **glək-* > Lat. *lact-* (whence W. *llaeth*); **glək-s* > Ir. *glass* 'milk', W. *glas-dwr* 'milk and water'.

√*qeu̯ēp-* 'blow': VF **qu̯ēp-* > Lith. *kvẽpti* 'blow';—RR **qₑu̯əp-* > W. *cawad* 'shower', Ir. *cūa*, gen. *cūad*;—VR **qu̯əp-* > Lat. *vapor*, Gk. *καπνός*.

√*g*ʷ*eiē-* 'live': R² **g*ʷ*ī-* > Lat. *vī-vu-s*, W. *buan* 'quick' < Brit. **bī-u̯o-no-s* § 76 ix (2);—R(R) **g*ʷ*i-* > W. *by-w* 'live', *by-d* 'world', Gk. *βίος*;—VF **g*ʷ*i̯ē-* > Gk. *ζῆν*.

√*bheu̯ā-* 'be': R(R) **bhu-* > Lat. *fu-turus*, Gk. *φύ-σις*, Kelt. **bu-tā* > W. *bod* 'to be';—L°V **bhōu̯-* > W. *bu* § 189 iv (3);—VV **bh(u̯)-* > *f-* in Lat. *fīo*, *b-* in W. *byδ* § 189 iv (1).

(4) When the second syllable has a short vowel, the treatment is similar: RR *i̯ₑ* > R² *ī*, etc., as before; RV is *ĭ*. Examples:

√*deiu̯-* 'god, day': FV **dei̯u̯-os* > Lat. *deus*, W. **dwyw* > *duw* 'god';—R² **dīu-* > Lat. *dīv-us*;—RV **dĭu̯-* > W. *dyw* 'day';—RL **di̯ēu̯-* > Lat. *diēs*, W. *dydd* 'day'.

√*qonei̯d-* 'nit': FR **qonid-* > Gk. *κονίς* gen. *κονίδος* 'nit'; VR **qnid-* > O. E. *hnitu*, E. *nit*, O. H. G. *hniz* 'nit'; **s(q)nid-ā* > W. *nedd* 'nits', Ir. *sned* 'nit';—FV **qond-* > Lith. *kandìs* 'moth'; **sqond-* > W. *chwann-en* 'flea'.

√*ĝeneu̯-* 'knee': FR **ĝenu* > Lat. *genu*;—F°R **ĝonu* > Gk. *γόνυ*;—with *-en-*, *-er-* forming names of parts of body: base **ĝeneu̯-en-*: VR² **ĝnūn-*, by dissim. > Kelt. **glūn-* > Ir. *glūn*, W. *glīn* 'knee';—base **ĝeneu̯-er-*: RVV **ĝₑn(u̯)r-* > **ganr-* > W. *garr* 'knee' (*afal garr* 'knee cap').

√*qoru̯-*: FR **qoru-* > Gk. *κορυ-φή*;—VF **qru̯-* > W. *crug* 'heap, hillock'.

√*bhereu̯* 'boil': FV **bheru̯-*, see iv above;—VR **bhru-* > W. *brwd* 'hot, fervent', Lat. *dē-frŭ-tum* 'new wine boiled down'.

**q*etuer-* 'four': RF° **q*etu̯or-* > Lat. *quattuor*;—FR **q*etu̯er-* > W. *pedwar*, Ir. *cethir*, Gk. *τέτταρες*;—RL° **q*etu̯r-* > Skr. *catvā́raḥ*, Goth. *fidwōr*; FR (before cons.) **q*etu̯r-* > Gk. *τετρα-*, becoming by viii (1) **q*etru-* it gives Gaul. *Petru-*, W. *pedry-* as in *pedry-fan*.

(5) Long diphthongs must represent radical disyllables, and their reduced grades can only be explained from the disyllabic forms. Thus *ēi̯* must be FV of **eəei̯* or **eəai̯* (*ei*/*ai* v (2)); the R of the first syll. is *ə* which vanishes before a vowel, leaving *ei* or *ai* (properly VF of **eəei̯* or **eəai̯*); if the second is reduced we get *ii̯*, before a cons. *i* (properly VR of **eəei̯* or **eəai̯*). We know that *ēi̯* interchanges in roots with *ei̯ē* or *eiā*; this implies a metathesis of the sonants, for the latter forms represent **ei̯eə* or **ei̯aə*; the RR of these is **ii̯ə* which gives *ī*, see vii (2). Thus we have as reduced grades of *ēi̯* the forms *ei* or *ai*, *i*(*i̯*), *ī*; for convenience these may be distinguished thus: R_{1e} *ei*, R_{1a} *ai*, R_2 *ii̯*, *i*, R_3 *ī*. The same principle applies to the long *u̯*-diphthongs. [It has been assumed that *ai* is *əi̯* (with *ə* as R of *ē*), but Skr. has *ay* for it, whereas *ə* is *i* in Skr. Besides, we should expect *əi̯* like *ei̯* to give **ii̯*, as perhaps it does, for *ii̯* may also be for **əi̯* RV of **eəei̯*.] Examples:

√*sēi̯-* 'late, long': F **sēi̯-* > Skr. *sāyám* 'evening', before cons. **sē-* > Lat. *sērus*, W. *hīr* 'long', Ir. *sīr*;—R_{1e} **sei-* > W. *hwyr* 'late' (< **sei-ros*), *hwy* 'longer', Ir. *sīa* (< **seison* < **sei-isōn*);—R_2 **si-* > W. *hyd* 'length' (< **sit-*);—R_{1a} **sai-* > W. *hoedl* 'lifetime', Lat. *saeculum* 'age', both < **sai-tlo-m* § 75 i.

√*u̯erēi̯-* 'laugh (at), shame': VR_2 **u̯ri-* > **u̯ri-zd-* whence Lat. *vīdeo*, Skr. *vrīḍ-ā* 'shame';—(VF **u̯rē-* or else) VR_3 **u̯rī-* > Kelt. **u̯rī-t-* > W. *gwrīd* 'blush';—RR_2 **u̯ri-* > **u̯aritā* in W. *dan-wared* 'to mimic';—RR_2 **u̯rii̯-* > W. *gwarae* 'play' § 75 v (4).—From √*u̯erē-* (without *i̯*): RR **u̯rə-* > **u̯arat-* > W. *gwarad-ŵyδ* 'shame' (by dissim. for **gwarad-rŵyδ*);—R(R) **u̯r'-* > **u̯ar-t-* > W. *gwarth* 'shame'; **s-u̯ar-d-* > W. *chwarδ* 'laughs'; **s-u̯ar-tīn-ī* > W. *chwerthin* 'laughter' § 203 vii (3).

viii. (1) Certain combinations produced by the above laws are unstable; thus *u̯r* is liable to become *ru*, as in **q*etru-* vii (4); and *u̯er* may become *ur* as in **dhur-* for **dhu̯er-*: **dhu̯or-*, § 91 i. While *u̯e*, *le*, *re*, etc., may remain and give *u̯a*, *la*, *ra*, etc., in Kelt., they may be, and oftenest are, reduced to *u*, *l̥*, *r̥*, etc. Hence we are not obliged to postulate *eue*, *ele*, *ere*, etc., where there is no evidence of the first *e* in surviving forms. Thus:

√*su̯ep-* 'sleep': F **su̯ep-no-* > Lat. *somnus* (< **su̯epnos*), Skr. *svápnaḥ* 'sleep, dream';—R **sup-no-* > Gk. *ὕπνος*, W. *hun* 'sleep', Ir. *sūan*.

√*plethē-*: RR **pl̥thə-* > Gk. *πλάτα-νος*, Gaul. *-λιτα-νο-ς*, O.W. *lita-n*, W. *llyda-n* 'broad'; FV **pleth-* > Skr. *práth-aḥ* 'breadth', W. *lled* 'breadth';—RV **pl̥th-* > W. *llys* 'court' § 96 ii (5), Gk.

Ir 'lethan'.

πλατ-ύς;—RV *$p'_e th$- > Armen. *layn* 'broad';—(without *l*, § 101 ii (2)) RF *$p_e th\bar{e}$- > Lat. *patē-re*, etc.

(2) Other combinations are unpronounceable or difficult; thus *u̯i* cannot be sounded before a cons.; in that case *i̯* drops. Generally *i̯*, *u̯* drop between consonants, see iv above.

ix. Some roots have more than one ungraded form; thus radical *ā* may stand beside radical *ō*, as in **arā*- or **arō*- 'scratch, bite; plough, dig': Lat. *arā-re* has F **arā*- of the first, Gk. *ἄροτρον* has R **arə*- of the second. The F of both, with *-d-* extension, occurs in Lat. *rād-o*, *rōd-o*. Beside *ā* we have sometimes to assume *a*, as in Skr. *rádati* 'scratches, digs' (not *ə* here, which gives *i* in Skr.). In many cases all the forms cannot be explained without assuming an alternation of long and short vowel in the root; this may have come about by false analogy. Another common form of root alternation is **tēu̯*- : **teu̯ā*- or **ĝhēi̯*- : **ĝhei̯ā*- (Lat. *hiā-re*); see vii (5).

Note.—Ablaut is not to be confused with the changes due to accentuation or other causes in the derived languages, such as the shortening of unacc. *ā* in Brit. § 74, or the loss of a vowel in such a word as *cawr* § 76 iii (4), which would be **cur* if the loss were primitive § 76 ii (1).

KELTIC VOWELS IN BRITISH AND WELSH

§ 64. From what has been said in §§ 57–62 we arrive at the following vowel system for Pr. Kelt.:

Short vowels	**a e i o u**
Long vowels	**ā ī ū**
Short diphthongs	**ai ei oi au eu ou**
Long diphthongs	**āi ūi āu, īu**
Short vocalic	**l̥ m̥ n̥ r̥**

The Short Vowels.

§ 65. i. The short vowels **a**, **e**, **o** remain unchanged in W.; see examples in § 58; so Latin **a**, **e**, **o**; unless affected by other vowels §§ 67–70. The exceptions are the following:

ii. (1) Before a guttural *o* in many cases became *a*, apparently when unaccented in Brit.; thus W. *Cymro* <**kom-brógos*, but *Cymraes* 'Welsh-woman' <**kom-brogíssā* : **broy*-, W. *bro* 'border, region' < **mroy*-, VF of √*maroy*-, whose FV gave Lat. *mary-o*;—W. *troed* 'foot' < acc. **tróyet-m̥*, pl. *traed* < acc. pl. **troyet-áss* (< **-n̥s* : Skr. *-áḥ*), or from gen. pl. **troyet-ón* (< **-ōm* which was generally

accented in Ar.) as in *gwŷr traed* 'infantry'; √*t/dhregh-* : Gk. τρέχω, τρόχος; the √ had also *a* by Ar. *a/e/o* altern. § 63 v (2), as in Ir. *traig* 'foot' < **tragets*, but we can hardly suppose Ar. *o/a* in the same word in Brit.—Similarly in Lat. loanwords, as W. *achos* 'cause' < *occā́sio*.—W. *achub* < **occŭp-* for Lat. *occup-* § 73 ii (4).

(2) On the other hand *a* > *o* in Pr. Kelt. before Ar. *gʷh* in W. *oen*, Ir. *ūan* 'lamb' < **ognos* < **agʷhnos* : O. E. *ēanian* 'yean' § 101 iii (1).

(3) In Brit. *e* became *i* before *g* followed by a vowel; so partly in Gaul; as W. *ty* 'house' O. W. *tig* < **tigos* < **tegos*, Brit. *Cato-tigirni*, also spelt (in Cornwall) *Tegerno-mali* beside *Tigernomalum* Rhys LWPh.² 404, Gaul. *Tigernum*, Ir. *teg* 'house', *tigerne* 'lord', √*(s)theg-* § 92 i.—W. *hy* 'bold' < **segos* : Gaul. Σεγο-μαρος, √*seĝh-* : Gk. ἔχω < **seĝhō*, Skr. *sáhaḥ* 'might'.—W. *gwe-ly* 'bed' < **u̯o-leg-* : Ir. *lige* < **legiu̯o-* √*legh-*.—Where *e* appears it is due to *a*-affection; as in *bre* 'hill' < **brigā* § 103 ii (1); thus *lle* 'place' < acc. **ligan* < **leg-m̥*, √*legh-*;—*gre* 'herd' < **greg-m̥* = Lat. *gregem*;—*godre* 'bottom (edge of garment), foot (of hill)' < **u̯o-treg-m̥*, √*tregh-*, see (1), pl. *godryon, godreon*, both in R.M. 151.

But before a consonant *eg* remained: W. *gwair* m. 'hay' < **u̯egr-* : Ir. *fēr*;—W. *tail* 'manure' < **tegl-* § 104 ii (1);—W. *arwain* 'to lead' < **ari-u̯eg-n-* √*u̯eĝh-* : Lat. *veho*; *olŕein*, etc. § 203 iv (1);—W. *tew* 'thick' § 76 viii.

iii. (1) The mid vowels *e* and *o* were pronounced close in Brit. before nasal + explosive and became *i* and *u* respectively. Examples:

e before nas. + exp. > W. *y*; thus W. *hynt* 'way' Ir. *sēt* < **sent-* : O. H. G. *sind* 'way' < **sent-*.—O. W. *pimp*, Ml. W. *pymp* 'five', Gaul. πεμπε- < Pr. Kelt. **qʷenqʷe* < Ar. **penqʷe*.—W. *cy-chwynnu* LL.A. 133 'to rise', later 'to start', Ir. *scendim* < Ar. **sqend-* § 96 iii (2).—The *y* becomes *e* by *a*-affection, as *Gwent* < *Venta*; cf. E. *Wintchester* 'Venta Belgarum'. In Lat. loanwords we have *y*, as *tymp* < *tempus*; *tymor* < *tempora*; *cymynu(af)* < *commend-o*; *esgynn(af)* < *ascend-o*, etc.; but most nouns have *-enn*, Mn. W. *-en*, as *elfen* < *elementum*; *ffurfafen* < *firmāmentum*; *ysgrifen* < *scribenda*, all fem., having been treated like native nouns in *-enn* § 143 i; *mynwent* fem. 'graveyard' alone has *-ent* < pl. *monumenta*. (*Calan* is from Vulg. Lat. *Kaland-*, which occurs.)

o before nas. + exp. > W. *w*; thus *trwnc* < **tronq-* § 99 v (3);—*twng* 'swears': Ir. *tongim* 'I swear';—*hwnt* 'yonder': Pret. *hoñt* § 220 ii (5).—The change took place in Lat. loanwords, as *pwnn* 'burden' < *pondus*; *ysbwng* < *spongus*; except in fem. forms, as *llong* 'ship' < *longa* (*nāvis*). W. *pont* 'bridge' < Brit. acc. **pontan* (< *-m̥*) put for Lat. *pontem*, became fem. The 3rd pl. subjunct. *-ont* instead of **-wnt* is prob. due to the analogy of the other persons, which have *-o-*.

(2) The same change took place before a liquid and explosive, though here with less regularity.

e + liq. + exp. > W. *y*; thus Ml. W. *kymyrth* < **kombert-et*, with *a*-affection *kymerth* § 181 vii (1);—*gwyllt* 'wild' < Brit. **gu̯eltis*: Ir. *geilt* § 92 iv.—But usually it remains as *e*; thus for *nyrth* B.B. 68, the ordinary form is *nerth* m. 'strength'; so *perthyn* < Lat. *pertin-* owing to preference for the sequence *e* .. *y*.—*merch* 'maid', *perth* 'bush' are fem.; and *mellt* pl. 'lightning', *gwellt* pl. 'grass' may be neut. pl. in **-ā* or fem. pl. in **-ās*.

o + liq. + exp. > W. *w*; thus W. *i̯wrch* 'roebuck', Bret. *iourc'h*; O. Corn. *yorch*: Gk. ζόρξ;—W. *twrch* 'boar', Bret. *tourc'h*: O. Corn. *torch*, Ir. *torc*;—W. *swllt* 'money, shilling' < Lat. *sol'dus*.—*torch* 'torque' is fem.: Ir. *torc*. But other exceptions occur as *corff* 'body' < Lat. *corpus*; *porth* m. 'gate' f. 'harbour' has exchanged genders and keeps *o* in both. Formations like *gor-ffen* etc. are also exceptions.

(3) The same change took place before *rn*. Thus *e*: W. *chwyrn* 'whirling' < **spern-*, § 96 iv (1);—W. *Edyrn* beside *Edern* < *Eternus*. —W. *gwern* 'alder', and *cern* § 95 ii (3) are fem.; so *uffern* 'hell' < Vulg. Lat. *īferna*.—*o*: W. *asgwrn* 'bone' < **ast-korn-* § 96 ii (4); —W. *dwrn* 'fist': Ir. *dorn*.—But W. *corn* 'horn' < Lat.

e before *rr* > W. *y*; as *byrr* 'short': Ir. *berr*;—W. *gyrr* 'a drove' < **gerks-* § 95 iv (2). But *o* remains, as in *corr* 'dwarf', *torri* 'to break'.

(4) In many Lat. loanwords *e* or *o* before *r* + cons. became *a* (on the analogy of the R-grade in *sarn* etc.?); thus *sarff* < *serpens*; *carrai* 'lace' < *corrigia*; *parchell* B.B. 55 beside *porchell* A.L. i 276 < *porcellus*; *tafarn* < *taberna*; *Padarn* < *Paternus*; *Garmon* < *Germānus*.

(5) *e* before *ss* > *y*; as in *ỳs* (*ys*, *ýs* § 82 ii (1)) < **esti* 'is';—*ŷs* 'eats' < **essi* < **ed-ti*: Lat. *est*. Also before Lat. *st* as in *tyst* 'witness' < *testis*. But either affection or the sequence *e* .. *y* (or *e* .. *u*) causes it to be *e*, as in *ffenestr* 'window', *testun* 'text' < *testimōnium*.

iv. (1) In the present penult *y* appears for *e* and *o* before a nasal whether followed by another consonant or not; as in *cychwynnu*, *tymor* iii (1); *ffynnhawn*, now *ffynnon* < Lat. *fontāna*; *tyner* < Lat. *tenerum*; *myfyr* < Lat. *memoria*; *myned* 'to go': Bret. *monet*; *mynwent* beside *monwent* < Lat. *monumenta*. But many exceptions occur, as *cenedl* 'nation', *Conwy*; and derivatives like *gwenu* 'to smile' (: *gwên* 'smile'), *tonnau* 'waves' (: *tonn* 'wave') do not show the change (exc. *hynaf* 'oldest' assim. to the cpv. *hŷn*, § 148 i (11)).

(2) *o* > *y* in the prefixes **ko-*, **kom-*, **kon-*, **to-*, **do-*, **ro-*; as W. *cywir* 'correct' < Kelt. **ko-u̯īros*; *rhy-fawr* 'very great' < **(p)ro-māros*; see § 16 iii; except when the vowel of the root is lost, as in W. *cosp* 'punishment', Ir. *cosc* < **kon-sq\u*- § 96 iii (5); W. *rhodd* 'gift' < **(p)ro-d-* § 63 vi (1).—When separately accented *rhy* has acquired a new strong form *rhŷ*, as *rhŷ ddâ* 'too good'; similarly **dy*, **δy*, written *di* in O. W. (< **do* 'to'), as a preposition became **δy* > Ml. W. *y* > Mn. W. *i* 'to' § 16 ii (3). So *cyn* before the equative, now sounded *cyn*, and dialectally *kĭn*.

v. (1) *o* and *a* interchange after *u̯* § 34 iv. So we have *gwa-* beside *go-* for *gwo-* < **u̯o-* : Gaul. *vo-* < Ar. **u̯po*; thus *gwa-red-wr* 'saviour' < **u̯o-reto-uir-* : Gaul. *Voretovir-*;—W. *gwas* 'servant' : Ir. *foss* < **upo-st-* § 96 ii (2). The 15th cent. *pedwor* § 34 iv (so Salesbury's Dic. s. v.) has a new, perhaps local, *o* for *a* § 63 vii (4).

We also find the interchange after *ü* (cons. or voc.), as *breuan* for **breuon* § 76 iv (2); *bŭan* for **büon* § 76 ix (2); (Anglesey dial. *neuoδ* for *neuaδ*).

(2) After *m-* there is an older change of *a* to *o*, as in W. *môr* 'sea', Gaul. *Aremorici*, Ir. *muir* : Lat. *mare*;—W. *myned* < **monet-*, Bret. *monet* < **mami̯et-* § 100 iv;—W. *morwyn* < **marein-* § 125 v (1).

(3) *e* after *u̯* becomes *o/a* in the following cases: Ar. **u̯per* > Pr. Kelt. **u̯er* > Gaul. *ver-*, Bret. *war* 'on', W. *ar*, *gwar-*, *gwor-*, *gor-* § 36 iii;—W. *Cadwallon* < Brit. *Catu-vellaunos*;—W. *gosper* < Lat. *vesper-*. Probably the above show the influence of Brit. *u̯o-*; cf. Ir. *for-* < **u̯er-* on the analogy of *fo-* < **u̯o-*. Generally *u̯e* remains, as in *chwech* 'six' < **su̯eks*.

vi. (1) After *i̯* post-tonic *a* became *e*; thus *wyneb* 'face' < **éni̯-equ-*, §100 v, < **éni̯-aqu-* < **éni̯-əqu-*, √ $\bar{o}q^u$ = Skr. *ánīkam* 'face' < **éni-əqu̯om*. But when pre-tonic the *a* remained, as in *wynab-*, in composition, from **eni̯aqu-*; *gwyδi̯ad* < **u̯idi̯ətó* § 180 iv (1).

(2) Pre-tonic *i̯o* prob. became *i̯a*; thus we have *aea* < **-ii̯a-'*, but no **aeo* < **-iio-'*, so that the latter perhaps became **-ii̯a-'* § 75 vi (2). So the rel. *a* < **i̯a* < Ar. *i̯os*, § 162 vi (1).

§ 66. i. Pr. Kelt. i and u remained in Brit. Brit. *i* was open, and is transcribed ε by the Greeks, as in *Πρετ(τ)ανικὴ (νῆσος)* : W. (*ynys*) *Prydain*, but *i* by the Romans as in *Britannia* (Gk. *ι* was close, Lat. *i* open). Brit. i gave W. **y**, which is *ỳ* in the ult. and accented monosyllables, *y* in non-ultimate syllables and proclitics. Brit. u remains, now written **w**, in the ultima and monosyllables, and becomes **y** (≡ *y*) in all other syllables. See § 40 iii. Examples: W. *dryċh* 'appearance', *edrychaf* 'I look' < Pr. Kelt. **dṛk-*, § 61 i;—W. *cŵn* 'dogs', *cynos* 'little dogs' < Pr. Kelt. **kun-*;—W. *cybydd* 'miser' < Lat. *cupidus*;—W. *terfyn* 'end' < Lat. *terminus*.

ỳ and *y* may interchange with *e*, and *y* with *a*, § 16 iv.
u before a labial may develop irregularly, § 73 ii.

ii. (1) *y* in the penult, whether from *i* or *u* becomes *w* in Mn. W. before *w* in the ult., as in *cwmwl* 'cloud' for *cymwl* < **cumbul-* < Lat. *cumulus*; *swmbwl* < **stimbul-* < Lat. *stimulus*; *cwmwd* 'comot' < Ml. W. *kymwt*; *dwthwn* < *dythwn* < *dydd hwn* § 164 iii. When a syllable is added, both *w*'s become *y*, as *cymylau* 'clouds'.

(2) After *w̯* the obscure *y* became *w*; as (*g*)*wrthẏeu* IL.A. 83 'miracles' for *gw̯yrthi̯eu*. In the spoken lang. and frequently in MSS. we have *gwnnach* for *gw̯ynnach* 'whiter', *'wllys* for *ew̯yllys* 'will', etc. The *y* was artificially restored in most of these forms in the lit. lang. —G.R. 31 states that the rising diphthong always becomes *w* in the penult, the falling diphthong never, citing as examples *gw̯ynn*, *gwnnach*; *gwinw̯ydd*, *gwinwdden*; *celw̯ydd*, *celwddog*, but *cŵyn*, *cŵynaw*; *gŵydd*, *gŵyddau*, etc. J.D.R. writes *wy* in *gwynnach*, *gwyrddach* 63, but (*g*)*wrthieu* [xvii].

iii. (1) Unaccented initial *u̯i-* before sonants became **u̯u-* > **gw̯w-* > **gw-*, § 36 i. Thus *gŵr* 'man' < **u̯ur-os* < **u̯ir-ós*;—*gwrth-* 'contra-', *wrth* 'against' < **u̯urt-* < **u̯irt-* < **u̯ertó* : Ir. *frith* < **u̯r̥t-* § 211 iv (2);—*gwnn* 'I know' < **u̯indṓ*, § 191 iii (1). The *w* thus produced is not mutated to *y* in the penult, e.g. *gẃrol* 'manly', *gẃraidd* id., *ẃrthyf* 'by me'; and *gwnn* seems to show that it was not liable to affection; in that case *gw̯ŷr* 'men' is analogical.

(2) Before other consonants initial unaccented *u̯i-* or *u̯e-* became **oi-* giving W. *ü-*, as in Ml. W. *ugeint* 'twenty' < Kelt. **u̯iknti* : Ir. *fiche*;—W. *ucher* 'evening' < (**u̯isqer-* <) **u̯esper-* § 96 iv (2).

(3) Generally, however, initial *u̯i-* became *gw̯y-* regularly: as *gw̯ŷs* < **u̯id-t-* § 63 iv;—*gw̯ynt* < **u̯int-* < **u̯ent-* < **u̯ēnt-* : Lat. *ventus*;—*gw̯yw* 'withered', § 75 vii (3);—*gw̯yrth* 'miracle' < Lat. *virtus*. But *gw̯y-* later became *gw-*, ii (2) above.

iv. Ar. *i* in the ultima, or ending the first element of a compound gave Gaul. and Brit. *e*. Thus Gaul. *are-*, W. *ar-* < **are-* < **ari-* < **pₑri*; —W. *am* < **m̥be* < **m̥bhi* : Lat. *ambi-*, Gk. ἀμφί;—W. *môr* < **more*, Gaul. *more* < **mori* : Lat. *mare*. The reason that final unaccented short *i* does not affect a preceding vowel is probably that it had become *e*.

v. Pretonic *u* became *o*, as in *i̯ôn* 'lord' < **i̯ud-nó-s*, *i̯ôr* 'lord' < **i̯ud-ró-s* : W. *uδ* § 100 i (1); see § 104 iv (3); *bôn* m. 'base, stem' < **bud-nó-* § 104 iv (1); *clod* 'praise, fame' < *k̂lutóm* : Ir. *cloth* (gen. *cluith*) id. < **k̂lutóm*, Gk. κλυτόν, Skr. *ŝrutám* 'what has been heard, tradition', √ *k̂leu̯-* 'hear'.

Affection of Short Vowels.

§ 67. A short vowel (but no long vowel) was liable to be affected by a sound in a succeeding syllable. Affection is of two kinds in Welsh: 1. ultimate, when it takes place in the syllable which is now the last, having been brought about by a sound in a lost termination; 2. non-ultimate, when it takes place in the present penult or antepenult, the affecting sound being generally preserved in the ultima. Ultimate affection is caused by *a* or *i* sounds; non-ultimate by the latter only.

§ 68. Ultimate *a*-affection.—ĭ and ŭ became respectively **e** and **o** in the ultima when the lost ending had *a*; thus *gwedd* 'aspect' < **u̯id-ā* § 63 iv;—*bod* 'be' < Kelt. **bu-tā* § 189 iv (6);—*ciwed* 'rabble' < Lat. *cīvitās*;—*gramadeg* < Lat. *grammatica*; *colofn* < Lat. *columna*.

Hence adjectives having **u** (< *ĭ*) or **w** (< *ŭ*) in the ultima change these to **e** and **o** in the fem., the affection being due to the lost fem. ending *-ā*; thus Brit. **u̯indos*, **u̯indā* gave respectively *gwynn*, *gwenn* 'white'.

The adj. **briktos* had regularly fem. **briktā*, which by the rule became **brektā*; now **ikt* > *ūth* and **ekt* > *eith*, later *aith* § 108 iv (1); hence *brīth* 'speckled', f. *braith*, which is thus seen to be quite regular.

The affection is original only in adjectives of the *-os/-ā* declension; but after the loss of the inflexional endings, it spread by analogy to other stems; e.g. *crwnn* 'round' < Brit. **krundis* (: Ir. *cruind*) has f. *cronn* on the analogy of *trwm* < Brit. **trumbos* (: Ir. *tromm*) f. *trom*; and *gwyrð* < Lat. *vir'dis* has f. *gwerð* on the analogy of *ffyrf*, *fferf* < Lat. *firmus*, *firma*. Doubtless *deilien wyrdd* in M.H.L. i. 155 represents a local survival of the old fem., as in *tonn wyrt* (*-t* ≡ *-ð*) w. 9*a* 'green wave'.

§ 69. Ultimate *i*-affection. i. This was caused by *i̯*, *ī* (from *ī*, *ē*, *ō* or *ū*), or by accented *e̋* or *i̋*. Kelt. post-tonic *es* before a vowel became *i̯* and caused this affection § 75 vii (1), so *e(p)* see ib.; also Lat. *i*, and sometimes *e*, before a vowel.

ii. (1) **a** becomes Ml. W. **ei**, Mn. W. **ai**: *eil*, *ail* 'second' < **ali̯ós* : Lat. *alius*;—*yspeit*, *ysbaid* 'space' < Lat. *spatium*;—*rhaib* 'spoil' < Lat. *rapio*;—*beirdd* 'bards' < **bardī*;—*meib* 'sons' < Brit. **mapī*;—*ugeint*, *ugain* 'twenty' < **u̯ikantí* < Ar. *u̯ĭkm̯tí*;—*lleidr* 'thief' < Lat. *latrō*;—*deigr* 'tear' < **dakrū* § 120 iii (1).

(2) **ak** or **ag** before a consonant, which becomes **ae** in Ml. and Mn. W. § 104 ii (1), iii (1), § 108 iv (1), is affected to *ek* or *eg* which gives Ml. W. **ei**, Mn. W. **ai**, see ib. Thus *Saxones* > *Saeson* but *Saxō* > **Sex* > *Seis*, *Sais*;—**kaktos* 'serf' (< **qaptos*) > *caeth*, but pl. **kaktī* > *ceith*, *caith* 'serfs';—**dragnos* > *draen* 'thorn' § 104 ii (1), pl. **dragnesa* > **dragni̯a* > *drein*, *drain*.

(3) In disyllables before consonant groups containing *r*, and before *ch*, the affection of **a** appears as *y*, which alternates with *ei* in Ml. and early Mn. W. Thus *heyrn* B.T. 29, R.M. 121, R.P. 1362, R.B.B. 47, pl. of *haearn* 'iron';—*ŕeydyr* R.P. 1301 beside *ŕyeidyr* R.P. 1222, pl. of *rhaeadr* 'cataract';—*kedyrn* W.M. 51

beside *kedeirn* do. 40, pl. of *cadarn* 'mighty';—so *alarch* pl. *eleirch*, *elyrch* § 117 i;—*tywarchen* pl. *tyweirch*, *tywyrch* § 126 i (2);—*paladr*, pl. *peleidyr* W.M. 179, Mn. W. *pelydr*;—Mn. W. *bustych*, *menych*, § 117 i. Also in the proclitic *geir* > *gyr* 'near' § 214 ii.

The *ɥ* is probably the result of thickening the *i̯* before *r* + cons. and before *χ* in an unaccented syllable. (In accented syllables as *beirδ*, the *i* is still pure, but it has become *ɥ* before *χ* § 17 iii.) Thus *ei* > *yɥ* > *ɥ*. From *r* + cons. it spread to cons. + *r*. Probably *gwesgyr* (single *r*) for *gwasgar* § 173 iv (1) is due to false analogy.

(4) In polysyllables before a labial also, **a** is affected to *ɥ*; as in *modryb* < **mātr-aqᵘ̯-ī* § 122 iv (2); *cyffelyb*, *ethryb* also from **-aqᵘ̯-* < **-əqᵘ̯-* √*ōqᵘ̯-* 'face', cf. § 143 iii (8); *Caer-dȳ́f* 'Cardiff': *Taf.*—*-am-* becomes *-eu* or *-yf*, except in analogical formations; see § 76 vii (1).

iii. (1) **e** becomes **ɥ**: *engyl* 'angels' < Lat. *angeli*;—*cyllyll* 'knives' < Lat. *cultellī*;—so, *cestyll*, *gwëyll* § 117 i;—*erbyn* 'against' < Kelt. **ari qu̯ennōi* § 215 ii (4);—*gwŷl* 'sees' § 173 iv (1).

There appears to be no certain example of *e* becoming *ei*; *dyweit* 'says' may be from **u̯at-* § 194 i (1).

(2) **ek** or **eg** before a consonant when affected became *ik* or *ig* which gives *ī* regularly; as *nith* 'niece' < **nektí-s* § 86 ii (1);—*llith* 'lesson' < Lat. *lectio*.

iv. (1) **o** becomes **ei** (Mn. **ai**) or **ɥ**: *yspeil*, *ysbail* 'spoil' < Lat. *spolium*;—*seil*, *sail* 'foundation' < Vulg. Lat. *solea* for Lat. *solum*, cf. E. *soil*;—*myfyr* 'thought' < Lat. *memoria*;—*ystyr* 'meaning' < Lat. *historia*;—*dŷn* 'man' < **doni̯os* : Ir. *duine*;—*mŷr* 'seas' < **morī* § 122 ii (4);—*esgyb* 'bishops' < Lat. *episcopī*;—*Selyf* < *Salomō*;—*tair* Ml. W. *teir* for **ty-eir* 'three' fem. < **tisorés* § 75 vi (3);—*pair*, Ml. *peir* 'caldron': Ir. *coire* § 89 iii.

It is seen that *ei* occurs before *l* and *r*; but in disyllables we have *ɥ* before the latter.

(2) **ok** or **og** before a consonant, which gives **oe** in W., becomes **w͡y** when affected; thus *oen* 'lamb' < **ognos*, pl. *ŵyn* < **ognī*;—*ŵyth* 'eight' < **ok̂tō*.

v. **u** becomes **ɥ**: *Merchyr* § 16 iv (2) < *Mercurius*;—*cŷn* 'chisel' < Lat. *cuneus*;—*asgwrn* 'bone' pl. *esgyrn*;—*ŷch* 'ox' <

Ar. **uqsō*, whence O.H.G. *ohso*, Skr. *ukṣā* (Av. *vxš-* implies *-q-*); the pl. *ychen* (< Ar. **uqsénes*, whence Skr. *ukṣáṇaḥ*, E. *oxen*) has *y* from *u* unaffected, § 66 i.

u does not become *ei*; *deifr* as pl. of *dwfr* is doubtful (M.A. i 556) except as a late and artificial form; see Silvan Evans s. v.

vi. When any of the above changes takes place in the ultima, *a* in the penult becomes *e*; see *kedyrn, elyrch, pelydr, Selyf, esgyrn* above. *o* also became *e*, as *gosod* 'to set' *gesyd* 'sets', liable to become *y* before *st*, as Ml. W. *ebestyl, ebystyl* < *apostolī*, sg. *abostol* < *apostolus*. In Ml. W. the affection extended, as in the last example, to the ante-penult.

vii. The *ei* due to affection as above, also *ei* from *ek* or *eg*. had open *ę*, and was thus distinct from original *ei* which had close *ę*. The former (*ęi*) gives *ei, ai*; the latter (*ęi*) gives *ēy* § 75 iii (1).
On later modifications of *y, ei*, see §§ 77, 79.

§ 70. Non-ultimate affection. i. **a** and sometimes **o** in the syllable which is now the penult became **e** when the following syllable had *ī* or *ĭ* (now *i* or *y*), except where the *ĭ* was itself affected to *e*, § 68. Thus *cerydd* 'reprimand' < **karíio(s)* beside *caredd* 'fault', Ir. *caire*, < **karíiā*;—Ml. W. *gwedy* 'after', O. W. *guotig*;—Ml. W. *pebyll* 'tent' < **papílio* < Lat. *pāpilio*; —*Ebrill* < *Aprīlis*;—*cegin* < *coquīna*; *melin* < *molīna*; etc. In Ml. W. the affection extends over two syllables, as *ederyn* 'bird', Mn. W. *aderyn*, pl. *adar*.

o seems to undergo the change chiefly after a labial or before a guttural, where it might have become *a* if unaffected.
The restoration of *a* in the antepenult in Mn. W. is due to the vowel in that syllable becoming obscure because unaccented, in which case it was natural to re-form etymologically.

ii. (1) Before *i* the same change took place, and **a** and **o** appeared as **e** in O. W.; but the *e* was further affected by the *i*, and became **ei** in Ml. and Mn. W.; thus *Mariānus* > O. W. *Meriaun* GEN. iii. > Ml. W. *Meiryawn* R.B.B. 81, Mn. W. *Meirion*;—so O. W. *Bricheniauc* A.C. 895, Mn. W. *Brycheiniog*; —O. W. *mepion* GEN. xii, Mn. W. *meibion* 'sons'. See § 35 ii.

In the dialect of Powys *ceiliog* 'cock', *ceiniog* 'penny' are pronounced *celiog, ceniog*. This is perhaps a simplification of *ei*, § 78 v, rather than old *e* retained.

(2) Original e also became ei before *i̯*; thus *Eterniānus* > *Edeirnaun* B.B. 74 *Edeirnon* W.M. 50, R.M. 35, Mn. W. *Edeirnion* (now wrongly spelt *Edeyrnion*);—so *pencerdd* 'chief of song' Ml. pl. *penkeirdẏeit* R.P. 1230, Mn. W. *penceirddiaid*;—*anrheg* 'gift' pl. *anfeigẏon* R.P. 1221 (generally *anfegẏon* R.B.B. 394, R.M. 257, now *anrhegion*); *un-ben* 'mon-arch', *unbeẏnẏaeth*, A.L. i. 34, 382, 'sovereignty' (now *unbennaeth*, new formation); *gorwedd* 'to lie', *gorweiddiog* 'bed-ridden'; *gweiniaith* § 32 for *gweniaith* 'flattery'.

(3) In later formations *i̯* does not affect the vowel; forms like *personnẏeit*, *Albanẏeit* etc. § 123 iv, and *cariad*, *meddiant*, etc., are extremely common in Ml. and Mn. W. Also forms like *arian* 'silver' in which *i̯* is not original, but comes from *g*.

iii. The Ml. and Mn. diphthong *ae*, whether from *ak-* or *ag-* before a consonant, or from *a-e*, becomes *ei* before *i* or *i̯*, as in Ml. W. *keithiwet* < Brit.-Lat. **kaktiuitās*; *saer* 'craftsman' pl. *seiri*; *gwaedd* 'cry', *gweiddi* 'to cry'; *draen* 'thorn', *dreiniog* 'thorny'. Similarly *og..ī* or *ug..i* > *ei..i*; as in *gweini* 'to serve' < **u̯o-gnīm-*; *heini* 'active' < **su-gnīm-* : *gnim-* § 203 vii (4). Before *ŋ* it becomes *eŋ*, as in *keyrydd* pl. of *kaer* 'fort'. But, except in a few cases such as the above, this affection is usually ignored in writing, especially in the Mn. period.

iv. The affecting sound has disappeared in *cenwch* 'ye sing' for an earlier **cenu̯wch* § 26 vi (5); in the Ml. forms *Edeirnon* etc. § 35 ii; and in such forms as *ceidwad* for *ceidwiad*, § 36 v.

v. The affection of *a* and *o* by a lost stem-ending *-i-*, *-i̯o-*, *-ū-*, of the first element of a compound is similar to ultimate affection: *a* > *ei* in *meitin* B.A. 18 'morning' (Mn. W. *er's meitin* 'some hours ago') < **matū-tín-* (treated as a compound) < Lat. *mātūtínum*;—*o* > *y* in *syl-faen* : *sail*, § 69 iv.

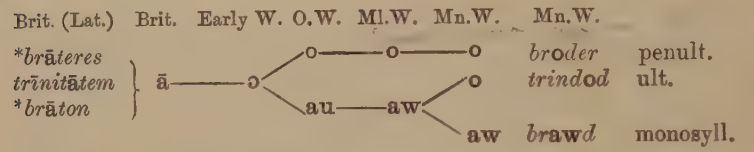
In Ml. W. *meinoeth* B.T. 68, *meinẏoeth* do. 45 'midnight' < *mediā nocte*, we seem to have early metathesis of *i̯*, thus *meinẏoeth* < **menẏoeth* < **meda-ni̯okte*. The forms *meinyð* B.T. 31, *meinðyð* do. 55 'mid-day' are formed on its analogy.

The Long Vowels.

§ 71. i. (1) Pr. Kelt. ā (from Ar. *ā* and *ō*) remained in Brit. In Early W. it became an open *ō* like Eng. *a* in *call*, which we may write *ɔ*; in O. W. this became *o* in unaccented syllables, *au*

(≡ *aw*) in accented syllables. Latin ā also shared this development.

The Early W. *ɔ* is attested in Bede's *Dinoot* (≡ *Dünɔt*), Ml. W. *Dunawt* < Lat. *Dōnātus*. In all syllables except the ultima it became *o*, as *broder* 'brothers' < Pr. Kelt. **brāteres*; in this position *aw* from *ā* occurs only in late formations like *mawrion* pl. of *mawr* 'great', and after *w* § 148 i (6). But in the ultima and in monosyllables *ɔ* > O.W. *au* ≡ Ml. W. *aw*, as O. W. *braut* ox. 'judgement' < Pr. Kelt. **brāton*, *trintaut* JUV. SK. < Lat. *trīnitātem*; Ml. W. *brawt*, *trindawt*. In Mn. W. *aw* remains in monosyllables, as *brawd*, but in the now unaccented ultima it has become *o*, as in *trindod*. The following table summarizes the history of Brit. (and Lat.) *ā*:



(2) *ā* when unacc. was shortened and gives *a* § 74 i (1); this might happen in monosyllables as *a* 'of' § 209 vii (5), *a* 'whether' § 218 iii. When acc. in Brit. and unacc. later, it gives *o*, as in *pob* § 168 i (3), *mor* § 151 i, *o* 'from, of' § 209 vii (5), *o*, 'if' § 222 v (1).

ii. (1) Ml. W. *aw* in the unaccented ultima (whether from *ā* as above, or from *ou* § 76 iii) survives in the spoken language in *canllaw* 'hand-rail', *darllaw* 'to brew', *distaw* 'silent', *eirlaw* 'sleet', *ysgaw* (also *ysgo*) 'elder-tree', *llysfrawd* 'brother-in-law'; in compounds with numerals, as *deunaw* '18', *dwyawr* '2 hours', *teirawr* '3 hours', etc. (except *dwylo* for *dwylaw* 'hands'); and in compounds of *mawr*, as *dŵrfawr* 'very great', *trystfawr* 'noisy' (except in place-names, *Trefor*, *Coetmor*). In a few book-words which have gained currency it is not a genuine survival: as *traethawd* 'treatise', *catrawd* 'regiment', *bydysawd* 'universe', *rhaglaw* 'deputy'; and the forms *lliaws* 'multitude', *cyfiawn* 'just', *Ionawr* 'January', *ansawdd* 'quality', are influenced by the written language, which, however, had also *llios*, *cyfion*, *Ionor*, *ansodd* Io.G. 187, formerly; see examples below. *Chwefror* has *o* always (generally sounded *Chwefrol* by dissimilation). The recent written language has been influenced by mechanical ideas of etymology in the substitution of *aw* for the regular *o* in *ffyddlon* 'faithful', *dwylo* 'hands', *union* 'straight', *cinio* 'dinner', *anodd* 'difficult', cpv. *anos* (§ 48 iv, § 148 i (6)); all these appear with *o* in early Mn. poetry, and are pronounced with *o* in the spoken language. On the misspelling *athraw* for *athro* see § 76 v (5).

Ni fyn cariad i wadu,
Na'i ddangos i **lios** *lu.*—D.G. 69.

'Love will not be disavowed, or manifested to many a host.'

Gwahawdd Saeson bob **Ionor**
I'r Deau maent ar hyd môr.—L.G.C. 155.

'They invite Saxons every January to the South across the sea.'

Anodd *rhyngu bodd y byd.*—T.A. A 14967/29.

'It is difficult to please the world.'

(2) *aw* in the ultima began to be reduced to *o* in the Ml. period; thus we find *Edeirnon* W.M. 50, *achos* LL.A. 4, *Meiryon* R.B.B. 13. But the bards even in the Mn. period continued to write the *aw* for the purposes of rhyme. In recent times, owing to ignorance of the older language, they have sometimes written *aw* for original *o*, as "*esgawb*" for *esgob* 'bishop', "*dyniawn*" for *dynion* 'men'. This is not due to a confusion of the sounds of *o* and *aw* (for the *a* in *aw* is a pure *a*, quite distinct from *o*), but to the blundering notion that as some *o*'s may be written *aw*, any *o* may. The Early Mn. poets generally use *aw* correctly, guided by a living literary tradition. The distinction is seen in Ml. W. *yscol* 'school', *iscol* B.B. 81 from Lat. *sc(h)ola* and *yscawl* W.M. 189 'ladder' < Lat. *scāla*, both *ysgol* in Mn. W.

(3) In a few cases *aw* comes from *o*: *praw(f)* beside *profi* < Lat. *prob-*; *mawl* beside *molaf* 'I praise', Ir. *molim*; *tymawr* R.P. 1244 for the usual *tymor* < Lat. *tempora*. In each case the *o* comes before or after a labial. In Vulg. Lat. there was a tendency to lower a vowel before a labial so that *prob-* might become **prɔb-* > *prawf*. But it is more likely that all these are due to false analogy.

In *awr* 'hour', and *nawn* 'noon' we have *aw* < Lat. *ō*. These have been explained as late borrowings; but historically this is improbable. Possibly the pronunciation of *hōra* varied in Lat., since Gk. *ω* (≡ *ǭ*) was popularly sounded *ǭ* (*γλῶσσα* > Ital. *chiǫsa*); *ǭ* would give *ɔ* > *aw*. For *nawn* see § 76 iii (4).

iii. **āg** > O. W. *oü*, Ml. W. *eu*, Mn. W. *eu*, *au*; thus *breuant* 'wind-pipe', O. W. *-brouannou* < **brāgn̥t-*: Ir. *brāge* gl. cervix, O. Bret. *brehant*;—W. *pau* 'country', O. Bret. *pou*, Corn. *pow* < Lat. *pāg-us*;—so **āk** or **āg** before a consonant: W. *gwaun*, O. W. *guoun* L.L. 156, 196 'lowland', Ir. *fān* < **u̯ākn-* < **u̯o-ak-n-* § 104 iii (1);—W. *ceulo* 'to congeal' < **cāgl-* < Lat. *co-āg'l-o*. But before *t* the *ā* is shortened § 74 iv.

iv. **-ān-** often gives *onn* in the present penult: *cronni* : *crawn* § 202 v (2);—*ffynhonnau* 'fountains' < *fontān-*;—*Meiryonnyð* G.C. 122, R.B.B. 263, beside *Meiryonyð* do. 303, 306, < *Mariān-*.

§ **72.** i. Pr. Kelt. ī (< Ar. *ē, ēi, ī*) remained in Brit., and Brit. and Lat. *i* remain in W., § 59 iii, iv. Further examples: W. *hir* 'long', Ir. *sīr* < Pr. Kelt. **sīros* < **sē-ro-s*: Lat. *sērus*; —W. *gwīn* < Lat. *vīnum*. It is, of course, shortened in W. before two consonants; as *gwĭn-llan* 'vineyard'.

ii. Lat. *ī* is treated as *ē* or Kelt. *ei* in W. *paradŵys* < *paradīsus* < Gk. παράδεισος; and *synnŵyr* < *sentīre*. In rustic Lat. *ī* was often sounded *ē*, but whether only in words with original *ei* is not clear, Lindsay, p. 29. In Lat. *ign* the *i* was often written long, or was written *e*; hence it probably differed little from Lat. *ē*, and so gives W. *ŵy*, as *sŵyn* 'charm' < *signum*.

§ **73.** i. Pr. Kelt. ū, which remains in Ir., and apparently remained in Gaul., as shown by the spelling *ov* in the second element of *Αὐγουστό-δουνον*, advanced in Brit. towards *ü*, for it appears as ī in W., while Lat. ū borrowed into Brit. gives u in W.; thus Pr. Kelt. **dūnom* > Ir. *dūn*, W. *dīn* 'fort', *dinas* 'city': O. E. *tūn*, E. *town*;—Pr. Kelt. **glūn-* > Ir. *glūn*, W. *glin* 'knee' § 63 vii (4);—Pr. Kelt. **kū* > Ir. *cū* 'dog', W. *cī*, § 89 iii.—But Lat. *pūrus* gives *pūr*, *mūtus* gives *mūd*, etc.

ii. Some irregularities occur in the development of Lat. *ū* and Brit. and Lat. *ŭ* before a labial:

(1) Lat. *ū* in *cūpa* gives ī in W. *cib*, Bret. *kib*. This seems to be the only example in W., and may be due to fluctuation between *ü* and *i* before a labial; cf. conversely W. *uffern* 'hell', Bret. *ifern* < Vulg. Lat. *īferna*, Lat. *inferna*.

(2) Brit. and Lat. *ŭ* before *b* followed by a vowel gave W. *u*; as *du* 'black' for **duv* < **dub-*: Ir. *dub* 'black'; W. *cuδygl* for **cufygl* < Lat. *cŭbic'lum*. But before *n*, *r*, *l*, *ub* gives *wf* regularly, as in *dwfn*, *dwfr*, § 90.

(3) *ŭ* before *m* is regular, as shown by W. *twf* 'growth', *tyfu* 'to grow' < **tum-* § 201 i (8). But Lat. *ŭ* in *numerus* gives *i* in *nifer*. This may be due to a dial. pronunciation of Lat. *u* as *ü*; cf. Osc. *Niumsieīs* 'Numerii', and the Oscanized Lat. *Niumeriis* 'Numerius'. Lat. itself had *ü* before *m* in an unacc. syll., as *maximus*, *maxumus* ≡ *maxümus*. The sound *ü* would be identified with Brit. *ü*, and prob. lengthened, giving the same result. W. *ufyll* 'humble' < Lat. *hŭmilis* may perhaps be similarly explained, but with *u* for *i* as in *uffern*.

(4) *ŭ* before *p* is regular, as seen in *cybyδ* 'miser' < Lat. *cŭpidus*, *syberw* 'proud' < Lat. *superbus*. In W. *achub* < Lat. *occŭpo* the *u* may be due to the lengthening of the *ŭ* when it came to be accented, as it did in Brit. § 65 ii (1).

For Lat. *ē* see § 75 iii (1); for Lat. *ō* see § 76 ii (1).

§ 74. i. (1) In Brit. *ā* was shortened when unaccented. Thus W. *pechadur* 'sinner' < **peccăt̄or-* < Lat. acc. *peccātōr-em* beside *pechod* 'sin' < *peccátum*;—W. *meitin* 'morning' < **meid-din* < **matū-tĭn-* < Lat. *mātūtínum*;—W. *agwŷdawr* for **afgwŷdawr* < Lat. *ābēcēdárium*;—W. *Madrun* < Lat. *mātrṓna* beside *modryb* 'aunt' < Kelt. **mắtraqᵘī*;—W. *ceiliagwŷdd* 'gander', Ml. W. *keỽlỽyacuyt* A.L. i 280 < **kaḷiako-géidos* beside *ceiliog* 'cock' < **kaḷiắkos*;—W. *paratói* 'to prepare', § 201 iii (5), beside *parod* 'ready' < Lat. *parátus*, etc., etc.

Naw mwy i frag na **cheiliagwydd,**
Naw gwell i synnwyr na gŵydd.—S. T., c 16/93.

'Nine times more boastful than a gander, nine times more sensible than a goose.' (The recent spellings *parotoi*, *ceiliogwydd* are false; the words are pronounced as spelt above.)

For the apparent exception in *Ionawr* a sufficient explanation is the secondary accent which was required to distinguish *Jànuárius* from *Fèbruárius*, and which for emphasis might even become primary.

(2) Words like *swyddogol* 'official' are formed in W., and mostly late, by adding *-ol* to *-og*, and are not derived in full from Brit., for Brit. *-āk-ál-* would give *-ag-ol*. The word *lluosog* is an old formation, but it is not formed from the original of *lliaws*; the latter has *ắ* from *ō*, the formation being **-ōs-tāts*, while the former has *ŏ*, the formation being **-os-tos*, extended to **-os-tākos*, § 75 iii (3).

ii. It is seen in the above examples that other long vowels remained long when unaccented; and that *ī* and *ū* need not have been accented to cause affection of a preceding vowel.

iii. In Ir. the shortening of long vowels is carried further and is independent of the Brit. shortening of *ā*. The latter had not set in in Pr. Kelt. as is shown by the development of *āu*, which when unaccented in Brit. gave *au*, while Kelt. *au* gave *ou* § 76 v (5).

iv. All long vowels were shortened before groups of sonant + explosive, as in *gwynt* 'wind' < **u̯entos* < **u̯ēntos*; so Lat. *ventus*. W. *dyall* < **diḭ̯ált-* < **diḭ̯ắlt-* § 75 vi (4). Also before two explosives; **-o-akt-* **-ākt-* > **-akt-* > *-aeth* § 203 i (4).

The Diphthongs.

§ 75. i. (1) Ar. **ai** remained in Kelt. It appears in Ir. as *āi*, *āe*, in Gaul. as *ai* or *e*. Before a consonant it appears in O. W. as **oi**, and in Ml. and Mn. W. as **oe** (**oụ**) § 29. Thus W. *coeg* 'empty' (as a nut without a kernel), *coeg-ddall* 'purblind', Ir.

caech 'one-eyed' : Lat. *caecus* 'blind', Goth. *haihs* 'one-eyed', Skr. *kekara-ḥ* 'squinting' < Ar. **qaiq-*;—W. *hoedl* 'lifetime, life', Gaul. *Setlo-ceni-(ae Deae)* : Lat. *saeculum* < **sai-tlo-m* § 111 vii (1);—W. *coed* 'wood, forest', Gaul. *Ceto-briga* < **kaito-* : Goth. *haiþi*, O. H. G. *heida*, E. *heath*, Lat. *bu-cētum* (*ē* for *ae* owing to confusion with the suffix *-ētum*).

(2) Before a vowel **ai** fell together with *i̯*, see iv below. But **as** in the penult, followed by *e* (or *i*), gave a new *ai* which gives W. **oe** > **o** § 78 i (1); thus Brit. **karaset* > **karoe*, *caro* 'may love'. Followed by *í* it falls together with *i̯* and gives *-ei*, as **u̯ornasím* > *arnei*; when the *ī* was unacc. it gives *-i* as **u̯órnasīm* > *erni* § 209 vii (1).

But in the ante-penult a vowel before *s* drops § 113 i (2); hence **kara-se-re* > *kar-her* 'may be loved'.

(3) Kelt. **āi** > W. **ŵy**, as in *mwy* 'greater' < **má-i̯ōs* or **máison* : Ir. *mao* for **man* < **māi̯ōs*. When unaccented it was shortened and so gives **oe**, as prob. in Ml. W. *moe* IL.A. 142 'more'.

A new *āi* was produced before a vowel in Brit. when **ās** was followed by *ī* or *e*; thus **karás-īt* > **karāi̯t* > *karwy* § 183 ii (1).

A new *āi* might be produced before a cons. by metath. of *i̯* § 100 v; thus Lat. *occásio* > W. *achos*, but Brit. pl. **accási̯ones* > **accáisones* > Ml. W. *achwysson*.

(4) W. **oe** > **ae** after *u̯* or *m*, etc.; **oe** > **u̯ae** after *g* § 78 ii (2).

ii. (1) Ar. **oi** remained in Pr. Kelt., and appears in Ir. as *ōi*, *ŏe*. In W. it became **u** before a consonant. Thus Ar. **oinos* 'one' > Gk. *οἰνός*, *οἰνή* 'ace', O. Lat. *oinos*, Lat. *ūnus* : Ir. *oen*, W. *un* 'one'.—W. *ud* in *anudon* 'perjury', Ir. *oeth* 'oath' : Goth. *aiþ-s* 'oath'.—W. *grug* 'heather' for **gu̯rug* (Pemb. dial. *gu̯rīg*), Ir. *froech* < **u̯roiko-s* : Gk. *ἐρείκη* < **u̯ereikā*.

Before or after *u̯* in Brit., *oi* became *ai* which gives W. *oe* (*oy*); as in *gloyw* 'shiny, glossy' < **gloi-u̯o-s* : Gk. *γλοιός* < **γλοιϝος*, § 92 1;—*ky(h)oeδ* 'public' < **ky-u̯oeδ* < **ko-u̯oid-* : W. *gŵyδ* 'presence' < **u̯eid-*, √*u̯eid-* 'see'; here *-u̯-* dropped; where it remained, *woe* again gave *wae* § 78 ii (2); thus *gwaethaf* for **gwoethaf* < **u̯aidisamos* < **u̯oidisamos* < **u̯o-ed-isamos* < **upo-ped-is̥mo-s* § 148 i (5).

(2) Before a back vowel **oi** gave W. **ŵy**; as **-oi̯an* > **-wy-n* > *-wn* § 180 iii (1); cf. § 76 v (4). But before *i* or *e* the *i̯*

dropped § 100 vi, and *o* before the vowel developed like *u* before a vowel, that is, as *ou̯*; thus **dó esō* > **dói̯ū̄* > **dóī* > **dóu̯ī* > **deu* § 76 v (1), whence *deuaf* § 193 x (5); and **do eset* > **doi̯et* > **doet* > **dou̯et* > *daw*, or without diphthongization **do-et* > *do*, see ib.; so **moi estō* > **mo estī* > **mo ys* > *moes* § 200 ii. Followed by *ī* after the accent it gives *-i*, as in *-δi* f. sing. 'to her' < **′-doi̯ī* < **′-do-sī* § 210 x (1).

(3) Ar. ōi gave Kelt. āi and developed accordingly.

iii. (1) Ar. ei remained in Pr. Kelt. In Gaul. it is written *e* or *ει*, as *Devo-gnata*, *Δειουονα*. In Ir. it appears as *ē* or *īa*. In W. before a consonant it became w͡y. Thus W. *gŵyδ* 'presence' for **gw̯ŵyδ* < Ar. **u̯eid-* § 63 iv;—*mor-dw͡y* 'sea voyage' < **mori-teig-* § 103 ii (1), etc.

In Brit. and Gaul. it was probably sounded as *ẹi̯*. Latin *ē* which was sounded *ẹ̄*, was identified with this sound in Brit., and shared its development in W., thus *rēte* > *rhwyd*, *rēmus* > *rhwyf*, *plēbem* > *plwyf*, *cēra* > *cŵyr*, etc. Lat. *oe* which seems to have varied from *ö* to *ẹ* appears in W. as *i*, *oe* or *w͡y*, as *ciniaw* 'dinner', *poen* 'pain', *cwyn* 'supper'.

(2) Before a vowel ei fell together with ii̯, see below.

(3) Ar. ēi before a vowel > Kelt. *ī* > W. i. Thus W. *dī́od*, Ml. *diawt* 'drink' < **dhēi-āti-s*, √*dhēi-* 'suck'.—W. *llī́aws* 'multitude', Bret. *liez* < Brit. **līā́ssās* < **līāstāts* < **(p)līōs-tāts*, a noun in **-tāt-* from the cpv. **plē-i̯ōs* : Lat. insc. *pleores*, Gk. πλείων. Before Kelt. *o* it becomes *u*, as in *llüosog*, Ml. *lluossauc* < Brit. **līu̯ossā́ko-s* an extension of **lī^{u}osso-s* < **(p)līos-to-s* an adj. formed from **plē-i̯ōs* like Lat. *honestus* from *honōs*; see § 76 ix (2), § 74 i (2), § 169 iii (3). Before a consonant *ēi* > *ē* giving Kelt. *ī*, W. *i*.

iv. ai and ei fell together with ii̯ before vowels. After the accent the i̯ became δ, in other positions it remained as i̯. Thus:

(1) Accented íi̯ (or ái̯ or éi̯), which is generally in the penult, but may be ante-penultimate, gives W. -yδ; thus W. *rhyδ* 'free' < **prí̯i̯os* : Goth. *freis*, Eng. *free*;—*trefyδ* 'towns' < **trebí̯i̯es*;—*trydyδ* 'third' m. < **trití̯i̯os*; with *-a* in the ult. it gives -eδ, as *trydeδ* 'third' f. < **trití̯i̯ā*. In the ante-penult -yδ-, as W. *ysbyδad* 'thorn': Ir. *scē*, gen. pl. *sciad*.

(2) Post-tonic ′-ii̯ gave **ai̯i̯*, which became oeδ, § 62 i (2);

thus *moroeð* 'seas' < **móriu̯n* : Lat. *maria* ;—Ml. W. *gu̯ladoeð* 'countries' < **u̯látiu̯es* ;—*dannoeð* fem. M.M. 8 'toothache' < **dántiu̯ā* ;—*oeð* 'would be, was' < **si̯ēt*, § 180 ii (3).

v. Before the accent, in the penult the result varies according to the quality of the accented vowel in the (now lost) ultima; thus:

(1) i̯é > W. **-i**, as in *tri* 'three' m. < **tri̯és* (accented like the f.) < Ar. **tréi̯es* (f. **tisorés*) see § 103 i (3) ;—W. *trefi* 'towns' < **trebi̯és*.

(2) i̯í > Ml. W. **-ei**, Mn. W. **-ai**, as in W. *ŕei, rhai* 'some' § 165 vi, *carai* 'would love' § 180 ii (2); cf. *nei, nai* vii (2).

(3) i̯ó > W. **-yw** as in *rhyw* 'some' § 165 vi; cf. *gwyw* vii (3).

(4) i̯á > O. W. **-ai**, Ml. and Mn. W. **-ae**, **-e**, also Ml. W. **ŵy** ; as in O. W. *guarai*, later *gwarae, gware, chwarae, chware* 'to play', Bret. *c'hoari*, Corn. *hwary* < Brit. **(s-)u̯ari̯á* < **u̯eri̯-*, √*u̯erēi* § 63 vii (3) ; a variant is *guarvy* B.B. 50 ≡ *gwarŵy*.

vi. Before the accent in the ante-penult the result varies according as the accent fell on the lost ultima, or on the penult.

(1) In the former case the penult had generally a reduced vowel *a* (< *ə* or *e*) ; the combination **-i̯a-**´ gave W. **-aea-** (also written **aya**), O. Bret. *-oia-*, Bret. *-oua-*, *-oa-*. Thus W. *claear* 'lukewarm', Bret. *klouar* : Gk. χλιαρός (Ar. alternation *k* / *gh*) ;—W. *gaeaf, gayaf*, Bret. *goañv* 'winter' < **ĝhi̯əmó-s* : Skr. *himáḥ*, Lith. *žëmà*, Gk. χειμών, χεῖμα, Lat. *hiems* : Gaul. *Giamon..*, Ir. *gem-red* (*e* for *ia*) ;—W. *traean* 'third part' : Ir. *trian* ;—W. *rhaeadr* 'cataract' < **ri̯ə-tró-* : Ir. *riathor* : Lat. *rīvus*, √*rei̯ā-* 'flow' ;—W. *daear* 'earth', Bret. *douar* < **ĝhðii̯ₑrā* § 98 iii.—**-isa-** or **-esa-** gives the same result: Pr. Kelt. **isarno-* (**is* R-grade of **ais* : Lat. *aes*) : Gaul. *Ysarno- Iserno-* : W. *haearn, hayarn* 'iron', O. W. *Gur-haiernn* GEN. xxiii, O. Bret. *hoiarn*.

Before the loss of the accented ending the accent must have shifted to the present penult, which had the next highest stress. In Gwent and part of Dyfed the unaccented *a* was generally lost; thus *daer* 'earth' now *dâr* § 29 ii (*da'r a nen* Wms. 785). The O. W. *dair, dayr* L.L. 120, *gaem* B.S.CH. 3 represent this dialect. The reduction is general in *claer* 'bright' beside *claear* 'lukewarm', with differentiation of meaning. From *daer* comes *daerawl* IL.A. 130, 164.

(2) After a labial the above group takes the form **-ŵya-**

interchanging with -ïa-; thus W. *mwyar* 'blackberries', *mïaren* 'bramble', Ir. *smēr* 'blackberry' < **smiu̯ar-* < **smiu̯oró-* (§ 65 vi (2)): Gk. *μόρον* (*μῶρον*, Hes.) (with *μ-* < **smi̯-*?), Lat. *mōrum* prob. < Gk.;—W. *gwyal* (for **gwu̯yal*) in *morwyal* 'laminaria', *gwïal* 'twigs, osiers' < **u̯iu̯ə-l-*, √*u̯eiā²-* 'weave': Lat. *vieo*, etc.;—W. *gŵyar* 'blood, gore' < **u̯iu̯er-*: Lat. *vīrus*;—W. *bwyall* 'axe' < **biu̯ald-*, met. for **biu̯adl-*: Ir. *biāil*, Ml. Bret. *bouhazl* < **biu̯adl-*: O. N. *bilda*, O. H. G. *bīal* < **bīpl* **bītl*: Lat. *findo*, √*bheied-*?—W. *hwyad* 'duck', Gwyn. dial. *chwïadan* < **s-u̯iu̯at-*, √*a-u̯ei-*: Skr. *váya-ḥ* 'bird';—W. *mwyalch* 'ousel' < **mes̥l-*: Lat. *merula* < **mesula*, O.H.G. *amsala*, Ger. *Amsel*.—**éso** developed similarly (since post-tonic *s* did not give ð); thus **su̯ésores* > *chwïor-eð* 'sisters', with *-eð* added, Bret. *choarezed* with two additions.

The labial changed the diphthong (Early W. **oi*) to *wy*. Under the new accent *wy* remained, but became *i* in the present ante-penult; thus *mwyar*: *mïaren*—**gwwyal*: *gwïalen*, a new pl. *gwïal* being then formed from the latter. Where the sound comes in the present ante-penult in old formations, the form is undecided; thus O. W. *guiannuin* ox. 'Spring', Early Ml. W. *guaiannu(i)n*, *guayanuhin* A.L. i 142, also *gwahanwyn* do. 308, Ml. and Mn. W. *gwanwyn*, *gwanwyn* < Brit. **u̯esant-ī*: Skr. *vasantá-ḥ* 'Spring', Lat. *vēr* < **u̯ēsr*.

(3) When the following *a* or *o* was affected, the diphthong became **y** or **e**, liable to be assimilated and lost; thus *ŷeidyr*, *ŷeydyr* 'cataracts', *heyrn* 'irons' § 69 ii (3), Gwyn. dial. *hŷrn* for *hyyrn*;—W. *tair* 'three' f., Ml. and O. W. *teir* for **tyeir* (cf. *breint*, *Seint* § 103 ii (1)), Ir. *teoir* < **tisorés*: Skr. *tisráḥ*; so W. *pedair* 'four' f., Ir. *cetheoir* < **qᵘetesorés*: Skr. *cátasraḥ*.

Such forms as *heiyrn*, *rheieidr* are quite late and artificial. But some old re-formations occur when the diphthong stood in the present ante-penult, as *deyeryn* (*-yn* ≡ *-in*) B.A. 12 'earthen', *heyernin* ib. 'of iron', *daeerin* R.P. 1281, *mïéri*, pl. of *mïáren*.

(4) Secondly, the vowel following the diphthong is accented. In that case the diphthong became **e** or **y** liable to be assimilated and lost, as in (3) above. Thus W. *ëog* 'salmon' < **esák-*: Ir. *ēo*, gen. *iach*;—W. *deall*, *dyall*, *dallt* § 82 ii (3) 'understanding', *deallt-wriaeth* id., N.W. dial. *dāllt* < **diu̯ált-* < **diu̯álṭ-* § 74 iv, met. for **diu̯á-tlo-*, √*dheiā-* 'appear, perceive': Skr. *dhyā-yati* 'thinks', *dhīraḥ* 'intelligent'; Ml. W. *dyat* 'thought' < **diu̯á-t-* with

analog. accentuation for original **dhiḭə-tó-* ;—Ml. W. *gorffywys*, later, with *y* lost, *gorffwys* 'rest' < **u̯er-q^{u}iḭéi-st-*, √*q^{u}eiḭ̯-* : Lat. *quiēsco*.

(5) Latin pretonic *i* or *e* before a vowel is treated as *i̯*, thus *diábolus* gives *di̯awl* § 100 ii (1).

vii. Except as above, **-es-**, **-is-** before a vowel developed differently from *-iḭ-*, chiefly because post-tonic *s* did not, like *i̯*, become δ.

(1) In the penult after the accent **-es-** > **-i̯-** ; thus Ml. W. *tei* 'houses' < **tigia* < **tigesa* § 104 ii 2 ;—W. *clyw* 'hearing' < **kloṷi̯-* § 76 v (2) < **kléṷes-*, nom. **kléṷos* : Ir. *clū*, Gk. κλέος < **kléṷos*, neut. *s*-stem.—So **-ep-** : W. *ceifn* 'distant cousin' < **kóm-niōs* < **kóm-nepōt-s*, see § 123 v.

(2) In the penult and ante-penult, when **és** came before *-e-*, contraction took place, and **ése** > *ei* > W. **ŵy** ; thus W. *wy-t* 'art' < **ése tū* < Ar. **esi* 'art' ;—W. *neithiwyr* < **nokti di̯éser-* § 98 i (3).—So **épe** : W. *twymn* < **tepesm(e)n-* § 86 i (3).

In the penult **-és-** before *-ī-* gave **oe** ; thus W. *chwaer* for **chwoer* i (4), Corn. *hoer* < **su̯ésīr* < **suésōr* ;—W. *doe* 'yesterday' < **dési* < **ghðḭesei* : Lat. *heri*, Gk. χθές, Skr. *hyáḥ*.—Corn. *noi* 'nephew' < **népōts*.— **-es-** before *í* prob. gave **ei** (like *-iḭ-* before *-í-*, see v), and Ml. W. *nei*, Mn. *nai* 'nephew' may represent **nepôts* (accented like the f. **neptís* : Skr *napt́ḥ*).— **-es-** before *-i̯-́* gave *y*, as in Ml. W. *y* 'his' < **esi̯ó*, *y* 'her' (for *e*?) < **esi̯ā́s*, § 160 iv.

Lat. *-aiḭ̯-* > Ml. W. *ei*, Mn. W. *ai* as in *Mei*, *Mai* 'May' < *Maiḭ̯us* (Sommer 225); Ml. W. *Kei* < *Caius*.

(3) Before lost *u* or *o*, **-es-** or **-is-** gives **yw (ew)** ; as Ml. W. *Ywein*, *Ewein*, later *Owein* < **Esu-ganos* : Gaul. *Esugen(ios)*, Ir. *Eogan* : Gk. *Εὐγένιος*. So perhaps in the (pretonic) penult : W. *gwyw* 'withered' < **u̯isú-* : Ir. *feugud* gl. marcor, Icel. *visenn* : Lith. *výstu* 'I wither', Lat. *viēsco*.

So **īs** before lost *u* or *o* gives **iw**, and **ais** gives **oew** : W. *gwiw* 'good' < **u̯īsus* < **u̯ēsu-s* : Gaul. *Visu-rix* : Skr. *vásu-ḥ*, Gk. *ϵὖ*, √*eu̯eseu̯-* ;—W. *gwaew* 'spear' for **goew* § 78 ii (2) < **gaison* : Gaul. *gaison* whence Lat. *gaesum* : Ir. *gae*.

Lat. **e** in the penult gives **ew** before lost *o* or *u* : W. *llew*

'lion' < *leo*; *pydew* 'pit' < *puteus*; *olew* 'oil' < *oleum*. But Lat. *i* in the same position gave *i̯* which affected the vowel: W. *yspeil* < *spolium*; so sometimes *e*: W. *cŷn* 'chisel' < Lat. *cuneus*.

viii. (1) In final syllables, lost in W., Ar. **ai**, **oi**, **ei** became **ī** in Brit. and Gaul.; thus the nom. pl. ending of noun *o*-stems, which in Pr. Kelt., as in Lat. and Gk., was **-oi* (instead of Ar. **-ōs*), became *-ī* (though *-oi* also survives in a North Italian Kelt. insc.: *Tanotaliknoi*, Rhys, CIFI. 60); thus Brit. **bardos* pl. **bardī* > W. *bardd*, pl. *beirdd*.

-āi unaccented > *ai* > *ī*, thus Gaul. *Βηλησαμι* dat. of a name whose nom. occurs as *Belisama*; **ōi** > *ūi*, in Pr. Kelt. later *ū*, § 60, cf. Ir. dat. *fiur* 'to a man' < dat. **u̯irōi*; **-ēi** doubtless gave *-ī*.

(2) But in monosyllables Ar. **-ai**, **-oi**, **-ei** remained in Kelt., and developed as follows in W.:

-ai > **-oe**, thus Ar. **u̯ai* > **gwoe* > *gwae* § 78 ii (2).

-ei > **wy**; W. *wy* 'they' < **ei* : Ir. *ē*.

-oi > **wy**; W. *pwy* 'who?' < **qᵘo-i* = Lat. *quī* § 163 vi; when unaccented it became *eu* (O. W. *ou*, *oi*) § 78 iii, thus Ar. **moi*, **toi* > W. *meu*, *teu* § 161 iv.

§ 76. i. The Ar. diphthongs **au**, **eu**, **ou** were distinct in Pr. Kelt., but tended later to become one sound, which is written **ou**. In Gaul. **eu** was still written as well as **ou** in forms having original **eu**, as in *teuto-* beside τοουτιους and *Neviod...* beside *Noviodunum*; we also find *αυ*, iii (4). In Brit. we may assume **ou** for all three. In W. it takes a variety of forms according to its position. The same development is shared by **u̯** whether from Ar. **u̯** § 63 iv or from Lat. **u** before a vowel.

ii. (1) Before a consonant, except *s*, the diphthong became **u** (≡ *ü*) in W., *ūa* in Ir. Thus W. *tud* 'people, country', Ir. *tūath* < **teutā*, Gaul. *teuto-* : Goth. *þiuda*, etc.;—W. *rhudd* 'red', Ir. *rūad* < **roudh-os*, Gaul. *Roud-ius* : Goth. *rauþs*;—W. *cudd* 'hidden', *cuddio* 'to hide' < **qeudh-* : Gk. *κεύθω*, O. E. *hȳde*, E. *hide*;—W. *bugail* 'shepherd' < **bou-koli̯ós* < **gᵘou-koli̯ós* : Gk. *βουκόλος*.

In Brit. it was probably sounded *o̯ᵘ*; and Lat *ō* (≡ *o̯*) and *ū* shared its development; thus W. *ffurf* < Lat. *fōrma*; *mur* < Lat. *mūrus*, etc.

(2) But original **eus** gives W. **ew**, as *rhew* 'ice' < **preus-*:

Lat. *pruīna* < **prusuīna* ;—W. *trew* 'sneeze' < **(s)treu-s-*, √*pstereu-* § 96 ii (4) ;—W. *blew* 'hair' < **bleus-* § 101 iii (2).

The reason seems to be that **eus* became **eh*ᵘ before the degradation of the first element of the diphthong.

(3) The diphthong was liable to be simplified by dissimilation when the following syllable contained *u̯* or *u* ; thus Ar. **tauros* 'bull' became Kelt. **tauru̯os* (in imitation of **u̯eru̯ā* > Ml. Ir. *ferb* 'cow', Vendryes MSL. xii. 40), whence Kelt. **taru̯os* > Ir. *tarb*, W. *tarw* 'bull'. Later, when *au* had become *ou* in Brit., **ou-tūt-* > **o-tūt-* > W. *odid* 'rarity', beside Ir. *ōthad, uathad* < **au-tāt-*, both from **pau-* : Lat. *pau-cu-s*, O. H. G. *fōh*, E. *few*.

iii. (1) Before a vowel the diphthong became **aw** when unaffected. Thus W. *naw* 'nine' < Brit. **nou̯an* < Ar. **neu̯n̥* ;—W. *baw* 'dirt' < **bou̯-*, beside *budr* 'dirty' < **bou-tro-* √*peu̯(āˣ)-* : Lat. *pūs*, etc. § 101 iii (2) ;—W. *awydd* 'desire' for **au̯w͡ŷδ* (rh. with *rhŵyδ* § 38 x) < **au̯eid-* : Lat. *avidus* < **au̯id-*, √*au̯ei̯-*.—So Brit. *au* for unacc. *āu* as in Ml. W. *andaw* 'listen', met. for **adnaw* < **áti-gnā-u̯-* 'attend to' < **ĝn̥̄-u̯-* √*ĝenē-* : Lat. *nāvus*, Ir. *aithgne* 'cognitio'.—So also *uu̯* for Lat. *u* before a vowel, as W. *cystrawen* 'syntax' < Lat. *construenda*.

N.B.

(2) But in the penult (the present ult.) post-tonic ′-**ou**- gives Ml. W. -**eu**, Mn. W. -**au** ; thus the pl. endings *′-*ou̯es*, *′-*ou̯a* give W. -*eu*, -*au*, as in *cadau* 'armies' < **kátou̯es*, *dagrau* 'tears' < Ar. **dák̂ru̯u̯ə* ; similarly *angau* 'death' < **ánkou̯-* ; *cigleu* 'I have heard' < **k̂ū́k̂lou̯a* § 182 i.

In this case -*eu* does not affect a preceding *a* as it does when it is itself the result of affection § 69 vi, as in *teneu* < **tanouís*.

The above change may be due to a doubling of *u̯*, see § 62 i (2), thus **auu̯* > **üu̯* > **üü̯* > **öü* > O. W. *oü*, Ml. W. *eü*.

(3) **i̯ou̯-** gives W. **ieu** (≡ *i̯eü*). Thus W. *ieuanc* 'young' < Brit. **i̯ou̯ankos* < Ar. *i̯uu̯n̥̂kos* : Lat. *juvencus* § 100 i (1) ;—W. *Ieuan* < **I̯ou̯ánnes* for *Iōánnēs* ;—Mn. W. *Iau*, Ml. W. *Ieu* 'Jove' < Brit. gen. **I̯ou̯-os* for Lat. *Jovis* ;—Mn. W. *iau*, Ml. W. *ieu* 'yoke' < **i̯ou̯-ón* < **jug-óm*, see vi (1). Here we have the assimilation of *u̯* to *i̯* by which it becomes *ü* ; cf. the assim. of *i̯* to *ü* in -*i̯oü* in O. W., § 25 i.

An alternative form *i̯ef-*, *if-* appears in the penult : *iefanc, ifanc* ; *Iefan, Ifan*. The latter is attested in the 14th cent : *ivanghet* C.M. 84. Later it is common : *Pawb yn eu rhif yn* **ifanc** S.C., c. i 114 'all in their [full] number young'.

Ifanc, ifanc *a ofyn*:
Henaint, at henaint y tyn.—S.Ph. BR. iv 391.

'The young seeks the young: old age is drawn to old age.' The form *i̯ef-* is probably older, but cannot be verified; Ml. W. *ieu-* is ambiguous, but doubtless generally meant *i̯eü-*. The latter form is seen in

Paham, a minneu 'n **ieuanc,**
Yr wyf yn rhwym ar fy nhranc?—B.A. ɪʟ 133/77.

'Why, when I am young, am I bound at death's door?' The dialects now have *if-*, as *Ifan, ifanc*, but *i̯enctid* for *i̯euenctid* 'youth'.

(4) The ante-vocalic form **aw** may occur before a consonant where the vowel after it has dropped, as in W. *cawr* 'giant' < Brit. **kou̯arós* : Gaul. *Καυαρος*, Ir. *caur* (< W.?) √*ǩeu̯ā-*. We also have **aw** regularly for Lat. **au**, as in *awdur* < Lat. *au(c)tōrem*; *llawð* 'praise' < *laudem*; Ml. W. *Pawl* < *Paulus* (the biblical *Paul* is merely the Eng. form, and is pronounced *Pōl*).

W. *nawn* 'noon' < **nouna* possibly dial. Lat. for *nōna* (< **nou̯enā*), cf. Pelignian *Nounis* 'Nonius', and Lat. old spelling *noundinum*. Sir John Rhys suggests the influence of Brit. **nou̯an*. See § 81 iii (2).

(5) Except when affected as in iv (4), v (3) (5), Brit. **āu̯** gave **u** in W., as in *bu* 'has been' < **(be)bá̯u̯e* < Ar. **bhebhōu̯e* § 189 iv (3); *caru* 'to love' < **karā́-u̯-* § 202 ii. When unaccented **ā** was shortened, iii (1), § 74.

iv. The penultimate affection of the diphthong has the forms **ew, yw, and eu**; thus

(1) Before *ĭ* or *ī* remaining as *y* or *i*, it appears as **ew**, as in *newyð* 'new', Bret. *nevez* < **nou̯íi̯os* < **neu̯i̯os*;—W. *cnewyll* 'kernels' < **kneu̯-* : E. *nut* < **knu-d-*;—W. *ewythr* 'uncle' < **au̯on-tēr* : Lat. *avun-culus* < **au̯on-* (nom. **au̯ō* see v (5)); Bret. *eontr* (*eo* for *eu*; *i* lost), Corn. *euitor* (*-tor* ≡ *tr̥*?);—W. *ewyllys* 'will' < **ou̯i-*, √*au̯ei-*.—Similarly *rhewin* 'ruin' derived from the Lat. *ruīna*.

(2) Before *i̯* when pretonic it is **eu** (≡ *eü*), the *i̯* being lost; thus W. *breuan* 'handmill' for **breuon* < **brou̯ión-* (: Corn. *brou*, Bret. *breo*, Ir. *brāu* all from nom. **brou̯ī̆*, Ir. gen. *broon*): Goth. *quairnus*, E. *quern*, √*gᵘerā-*.

But when accented it is **yw** as in ultimate aff.; thus *cyw*

'young of an animal' < **kóuiō* pl. *cywion* < **kóuiones*, see v (6); —*distrywiaf* < **dī-stróuia-mi*, v (2);—*llywiaf* 'I steer' : *llyw* 'rudder' ib.

In late formations *i̯* has no effect: *gwrandawiad* 'hearing' from *gwrandaw* 'to listen'.

(3) Where it remained a diphthong before a consonant iii (4), its affected form is **eu**; thus *ceuri* P 94/179 R. 'giants' now *ceiri* (in *Tre'r Ceiri*, etc.) by § 77 ix, pl. of *cawr*; the usual pl. *cewri* W. M. 441, LL.A. 44 is a re-formation;—W. *beudy* < Brit. **bou̯i-tigos*, a later formation than **boukoli̯os* ii (1) (cf. Lat. *nāufragus*, later *nāvi-fragus*);—Ml. W. *Meuruc* § 77 viii < *Mauricius*;—Ml. W. *cyngheussaeth* < **con-caus-i̯-act-* : *cyngaws* 'lawsuit' < Lat. *causa*.

(4) *áu̯i̯* became *ái̯* giving **wy** § 75 i (3); as *andwyo* 'to mar, spoil' met. for **ad-nwy-o* < **ati-nāu̯-i̯-*, *niwed* 'injury' for **nwyet* § 78 iv < *náu̯-i̯at-* < **nōu̯-i̯-* : Lith. *norýti* 'to afflict' < **nōu̯ī-*.

v. In the present **ultima** the diphthong, when affected, takes various forms, as follows:

(1) The ordinary affection is Ml. W. **eu**, Mn. W. **au**; this occurs:

1. Before unaccented *-ī*; as *dau* 'two' m., Ml. *deu*, O. W. *dou* < **dóu̯ī* < Ar. **duu̯ō(u̯)* : Gk. *δύω*, *δύο*, Lat. *duo*, Skr. *duvā́(u)*; —W. *tau* 'is silent' < **tou̯īt* < **(s)tup-ēit*, beside *taw* 'be silent!' < **tóu̯e*;—W. *cenau* 'whelp' < **kanóuī* < **kanóu̯ō* : Ir. *cana* : from **k(u̯)eu̯n-* : Lat. *canis*.

2. Before accented *ĭ*; as W. *teneu* 'thin' (Corn. *tanow*, Bret. *tanao*) < **tanouís* < **tenuu̯ís* : Lat. *tenuis*, Skr. *tanúḥ* f. *tanvī́*.

3. Before a consonant; as W. *haul* 'sun' < Brit. **sau'li̯ós* < **sāu̯eli̯ós* : Gk. *ἠέλιος*, *ἥλιος*, Dor. *ἀέλιος* Lith. *sáulė*, Skr. *sū́rya-ḥ*, Lat. *sōl* < **sāuol* < **sāuel*. (*'-li̯-* would have given W. *ll*; hence we assume Brit. *-li̯-'*; see also § 113 i (5).)

Ml. W. *eur*, Mn. W. *aur* 'gold' cannot be from *aurum* which gave Ml. *aur* (≡ *awr*), and Bret. *aour*. The Mn. W. *aur*, Ml. *eur* represents the adj. **auri̯os* for *aureus*, which spread from expressions like *modrwy aur* 'gold(en) ring', etc. The noun is seen in *ef guisgus aur* (*u* ≡ *w*) B.A. 38 'he wore gold'.

¶ The above is the ordinary affected form, which is used e. g. in the

formation of the 3rd sg. pres. ind. of verbs; thus *tereu* 'strikes': *taraw* = *saif*: *saf* § 173 iv (1). It is seen that when *-eu* is the result of affection as above, an *a* before it is affected to *e*; see iii (2).

(2) **-óu̯i̯-** gives **-yw.** Thus W. *dilyw* 'flood' (now generally misspelt *diluw*) < **dīlóu̯i̯o-* < Lat. *dīluvium*;—*distryw* 'destruction' < **dī-stróu̯i̯-* : Goth. *straujan*, Lat. *destruo*; the vb. is *distrywi̯af* iv (2);—W. *llyw* 'rudder', < **lóu̯i̯o-* : Ir. *lue* < **lu-i̯i̯o-* : Gk. πλόος, √*pleu-*;—W. *clyw* 'hearing' < **klou̯i̯-* < *k̂léu̯es-* § 75 vii (1).

There is no reason to suppose that *uu̯* became *iu̯* in Brit., as stated by Pedersen, Gr. i 61; *yw* is from *óu̯i̯* as above. *Clywaf* 'I hear' is a denominative from *clyw*, cf. *clywyaf* C.M. 32 (the pres. stem of √*k̂leu̯-* meant 'to be named', and *clywaf* cannot come directly from it; cf. Meillet, MSL. xv 337).

(3) **-ā́u̯i̯-** became *-ā́i̯-* which gives **-w͡y** § 75 i (3); thus W. *wy* 'egg' < Brit. **ā́u̯i̯on* < Ar. **ṓu̯i̯om* : Gk. ᾤιον, ᾠόν, Lat. *ōvum*;—*Cornwy* < *Cornā́u̯i̯-(a)*;—*Aethwy* R.P. 1419 < **Oethwy* § 78 ii (3) < *Octā́vius.*

Pedersen Gr. i. 66 suggests that Ir. *og* is borrowed from W., but this is improbable, and does not help to explain the *-g*. Thurneysen IA. xxvi 26 insists upon a Kelt. **ugos*, **uges.* The fact, however, seems to be that *u̯i̯* under certain conditions became in Ir. a spirant written *g*; thus Ir. *ugaire* 'shepherd' < **ou̯i̯-ārius* : *ōi*, *ui* 'sheep', Lat. *ovis*; Mn. Ir. *ughachd* 'will' < **ou̯i̯-akt-*, √*au̯ei̯-*, iv (1).—Eng. *egg* is from Icel. *egg* < Pr. Germ. **ajja-* < **ōu̯i̯o-*.

(4) **-ou̯ī́** or **-ou̯i̯-′** was similarly simplified to *-o-ī́*, *-oi̯-′*, which gives **-w͡y**; thus W. *dwy* 'two' f. < **doi̯ī́* < **duu̯ái* : Lat. *duae*, Skr. *duvé* < **duu̯ái*;—W. *aswy* 'left (hand)' < **at-sou̯i̯-ā́* : Skr. *savyá-ḥ* 'left'.

-wy as in (3) and (4) may be weakened to *-eu*; as *Corneu*, *asseu*; these are not direct affections, as shown by the unaffected *a-*; also to *w*, *assw*, see § 78 iii, i.

(5) **-āu̯ī́**, **-āuí-** or **-āu̯i̯-′** by the shortening of unacc. *ā* became *-au̯ī́*, *-au̯í-* or *-au̯i̯-′* simplified to *-a-ī́*, *-a-í-* or *-ai̯-′*, which gives **-oe.** The simplification here was late, so that *-au̯ī́* did not, like *-asī́*, give *-ei*. It did not take place in Bret. and Corn., in which the groups appear as *-ou* (*-ow*). In W. -oe generally becomes -o, § 78 i (1). Examples: *-(g)no* in proper names; *Iud-noe* L.L. 176, 187, *Balch-noe* D. G. 43; *Gueithgno* L.L. 144, *Guiþno*

(wrongly wr. *guipno*) GEN. v, Mn. W. *Gwyddno*; *Mochno* B.B. 61, *Beuno* IL.A. 119, Mn. W. *Tudno*, *Machno*, etc., all < **-gnāu̯i̯ó-s* : Lat. *Gnaeus* < **gnā-u̯i̯os* < **ĝn̥̄-*, √*ĝenē-* 'be born'. (With the accent on the *á* it gave *-nwy* by (3), as *Mochnwy* B.B. 47, *Gronwy* § 78 i (2), weakened to *-neu*, see (4), as *Guitneu* B.B. 98, 106, *Iudnou* L.L. 73, 77, etc.);—W. *clo* 'lock' < **qlāu̯-ís* : Gk. κληίς, Lat. *clāvis*, √(*s*)*qlāu̯-*;—W. *noe* 'large bowl' < **nāu̯i̯ā́* : Lat. *nāvia*, *nāvis*, Gk. ναῦς, Ion. νηῦς, Skr. *nā́uḥ*;—W. *athro* 'guardian, teacher', < **altrāu̯ī́* < **altrāu̯ṓ* < **altro-au̯ṓ*, § 155 ii (1) : **au̯on-* iv (1); pl. *athrawon*, *alltrawon* < **altrāu̯ónes*; f. *elltrewyn* 'stepmother' < ** altrāu̯ónī*; Bret. *aoutrou* 'seigneur', Corn. *altrou* 'fosterfather'.

The mas. sg. is *athro* in all Ml. W. texts: B.B. 86; A.L. i 338; W.M. 128, 452–3; R.M. 100–1, 202; IL.A. 3, 6, 49, 107, 113; R.P. 1225, 1241, 1255, 1345, 1348; R.B. 975; Io. G. 640, etc.; and in the early edns. of the Bible. The late *athraw* (Salesbury, Dic.) is an artificial form deduced from the pl. *Cae Athro* (near Carnarvon) is so named locally; *Cae-athraw* is a misspelling which came through the Sunday school from late edns. of the Bible. The sg. *alltraw* is also artificial. (So in late W. *cenaw* is written for *cenau* in defiance of the pronunciation in all the dialects, which is *cene* or *cena* implying *cenau* § 6 iii.) Pughe's fem. *elltrewen* is his own invention; *-en* would not affect the *-aw-* to *-ew-*.

Other examples of the same development, though the orig. formation is not so clear in these, are—W. *glo* 'coal' for **gw̥loe* < Brit. **gu̯lāu̯ís*, √*ĝu̯el*(*ā*^{x})- : E. *coal*, Skr. *jválati* 'blazes';—W. *gro* 'gravel' < **grāu̯ís* < **ghrōu-*, √*ghreu̯-* : Lat. *rūdus*, E. *grit*;—W. *tyno* 'plain, meadow' for **tno*, O. W. *tnou* L.L. 32, 44, 74, Bret. *tnou* (: W. *teneu*, √*ten-* 'stretch'?).

(6) Doublets occur for several reasons.—1. Difference of accentuation in Brit.; thus W. *gwryw* 'male', *benyw* 'female' < Brit. **uiróu̯i̯os*, **banóu̯i̯os*, beside *guru*, *banu* A.L. i 272 = Gwyn. dial. *gwrw*, *banw* for **gwrwy *banwy* < **u̯irou̯i̯ós*, **banou̯i̯ós*.—2. Difference of ending, as in *ceneu* 'whelp' < **kanóuō*, see (1) above, beside *cnyw* 'young of an animal' < **k*(*a*)*nóu̯i̯ō*, whence, by § 101 ii (2), *cyw* 'young of an animal' pl. *cywion* < **k*(*n*)*óu̯i̯ones*.—3. Difference of strong and weak forms; as *asswy* beside *asseu* and *assw*, *Gronwy* beside *Gronw*, *Cornwy* beside *Corneu*, see § 78.

NOTE.—It is to be observed that *-ō* does not produce *i*-affection in Bret.; hence W. aff. *dau*, but Bret. unaff. *daou*, < **dúu̯ō*. On the other hand W. aff. *haul*, Bret. aff. *heol* both from **sau'li̯os*. The assumption usually made that *āu* gives W. *-eu*, *-au* based entirely upon these two words (taken as **d*(*u̯*)*āu*, **sāu'l-*) does not explain the difference in Bret.

vi. (1) ug before a vowel > *uu̯* in Brit. and developed like

ordinary *u̯u̯* or *o̯u̯*. Thus W. *traw-af* 'I strike' < **trug-ami* < **prug-* for **pu̯rg-*, √*(s)phu̯erg-* § 97 v (3);—after *i̯*-, iii (3), W. *iau* 'yoke': Lat. *jugum*, Gk. *ζυγόν*, Skr. *yugám* all < Ar. **jugóm*;—before *i* retained as *y*, W. *llewych* 'light' < **lug-isk-*;—before lost *i*, O. W. *poullor-aur*, Ml. W. *peullawr* B.T. 25 'writing tablet' < Lat. *pugillāres*;—before *-ū*, W. *go-leu* 'light' < Brit. **u̯o-lugū*.—For *ug* before *i̯* see § 104 ii (2).

(2) But **oug** has the regular development of *o̯u̯* before a consonant, and gives **üɣ* > ü, as W. *llu* 'host', Ir. *slūag* < **sloug-*, § 95 i;—W. *tru*, *tru-an* 'wretched', Ir. *trūag* < **troug-os*;—W. *hu-arth* 'farmyard' < **bou-gart-*: Lat. *hortus* § 99 vi.

vii. In Brit. **m** between vowels or sonants was already loosened to nasalized *v* or *u̯*; after a vowel it is therefore treated partly as a consonant and partly as the second element of a diphthong.

(1) **am** generally gives **af** as in the spv. ending *-haf* § 147 iv (2), *hafal* 'like, equal': Ir. *samail* § 94 i; affected it gives medially **ef** before a vowel, **eif** before *i̯*, **ef** or **eu** before *n*, as in *defnydd* or *deunydd* F. 37 'material' < **dam-ni̯o-*: Ir. *damnae* id., √*demā-* 'build'; *cyntefig* 'primitive': *cyntaf* 'first';—finally, **eu**, as W. *edau*, *edeu* 'thread' < **etamī*, O. W. *etem* (≡ *edyṽ* ?), pl. *edafeð* < **etamí̯ās* < **petə-*, √*petē-*; so Ml. W. *gwelleu* 'shears', Mn. W. *gwellau* pl. *gwelleifiau*; Mn. lit. *gwellaif* is deduced from the pl.; *hynaif* is doubtless analogical; so *drycheif*, *dyrchaif*, § 188 iii. The variant of *-eu* is *-yf*: *crog-edyf* 'dropwort'.

(2) **em** gives **ef** finally, as in *nef* § 100 v; medially **ef** as in *gefell* 'twin' < Lat. *gemellus*; or **yf** as in *Dyfed* < *Demeta*; or (before *u̯i̯*) **y(w)** as in *tywyll* § 111 i (2), *tywyð* § 86 i (5); affected, finally, **-yf** or **-eu**; as *cleðyf* or *cleðeu* 'sword' < **klad-emō* (cf. Gk. *ἀκρεμών*), √*qolād-*; pl. *cleddyfau* a new formation; so *neðyf* or *neðeu* 'adze', § 130 i.

(3) **om** gives **of** as in *dof* 'tame': Lat. *domāre*; affected, **yf** as in *Selyf* § 69 iv (1); before *-n-* it gives **af** as in *safn* 'mouth' < **stom-n-*: Gk. *στόμα*; affected, **eif** as in *ceifn* § 75 vii (1), simplified to **ef**, § 78 v, in the improper compound *cefnderw*, O. W. pl. *ceintiru* § 137 ii.

(4) **um** before a vowel gives **-w(f)**, **-yf-**, as in *tw(f)* 'growth', *tyfu* 'to grow': Lat. *tumeo*; before *n* it gives **aw**, **af** or **w**, as in

Ml. W. *ysgawn* > S. W. *ysgon*, also *ysgafn*, Mn. W. and N. W. *ysgafn*, Ml. W. *ysgwn* § 101 iv (3).

viii. (1) After the prefixes **ko-*, **to-*, **do-*, **ro-* an initial *u̯-* was heterosyllabic, and the *o* of the prefix becomes *g* regularly § 65 iv (2), as in *cy-wir* ib., *ty-wysog* 'prince', *dy-wedaf* § 194 'I say', *rhy-wynt* 'hurricane'.

(2) The vowel also develops regularly before *gu̯*, as in *tew* 'thick', Ir. *tiug* < **tegu̯-* : E. *thick*; cf. ii (2).

ix. (1) *iu̯* and *īu̯* occurred as V- and R-grades of *eiu̯*, *eīu̯*, etc.; Kelt. *īu̯* also < Ar. *ēu̯*. The *i* or *ī* appears regularly in W. as *y* or *i*. Thus *byw* 'live' < *g*ʷ*iu̯-* § 63 vii (3);—W. *lliw* < * *liu̯-*: Lat. *līvor*.

(2) *īu̯o* gives W. üo or üa (§ 65 v (1)); thus W. *buan* 'quick' < Brit. **bīu̯o-no-s* § 63 vii (3);—W. *hual* 'shackle' for **ffual* < **fīu̯ol* < Lat. *fībula*;—original *īo* > *īu̯o* > *üo* as in *lluossawc* § 75 iii (3).

Later Modifications of Vowels.

§ 77. i. In Late Ml. W. *ų*, when short, became *i* before *g* (then written *c*) or *ng*. Thus in the unaccented ultima in Late Ml. W. we generally find *ic*, sometimes *ing*, as *tebic* W.M. 122, 129, 142, R.M. 164, 213, etc.; *meddic* W.M. 141, R.M. 113, 212, 306, R.P. 1298; *kyving* R.M. 110 (but *kyvyng* W.M. 46, 465, R.M. 32). Such words are rhymed by the bards with monosyllables having *i* (not *ų*):

Ond dychmygion dynion dig,
A cham oedd pob **dychymig.**—D.G. 22; see 246.

'[They were] but jealous men's fancies, and every fancy was false.'

Rhinwedd mab Ieuan **feddig**
Ar dy rudd fal aur a drig.—L.G.C. 348.

'The virtue of Ab Ieuan the physician will dwell as gold on thy cheek.'

A'i frig yn **debig** *i dân.*—D.E., G. 125.

'And its tips like fire.'—To a woman's hair. See 133, and D.G., 27, 285. See *tebig / diwig / cerrig / llewig / rhyfig*, etc. E.P. 283.

In a monosyllable before *g* the vowel is long, § 51 iii, and therefore remains *ų*, as in *plŷg* 'fold', *crŷg* 'hoarse' see *plyc* W.M. 89, R.M. 65; but before *ng* it is short, § 51 ii, hence *ing* 'anguish', which is for *yng* R.P. 1286, 1407; cf. the derivative *yŷder* R.M. 119.

The only words in which the vowel is sounded *ų* in the unaccented ult. are compounds of *plyg*, *cryg* etc., as *dyblyg* D.G. 258, (*g*)*wyrblyg* 255, *ogryg* 244, *deuδyblyc* LL.A. 68; also the 3rd sing. pres. ind. of

verbs with stems ending in *-og*, as *ysgyg* D.G. 370 'shakes' (though we have *ennic* C.M. 13 from *annoc* 'incite'). In other cases the sound is *ig*. The late Mn. spellings *meddyg*, *tebyg* etc., are purely artificial, deduced from *meddygon*, *tebygu* etc. A few words of this class are still written phonetically, as *cerrig*

The sound was *ẏ* in Early Ml. W. as shown by the rhyme *cerryg / plyg* C. M.A. i 241, and the assonance *metic / bid* B.B. 76 (≡ *meδyg / byd*); and *y* the mutation of *ẏ* remains in the penult. Hence we have two forms: (1) *-ig* for *-yg* < *-ĭc-*, which becomes *-yg-* in the penult; (2) *-ig* for *-ig* < *-īc-*, which is *-ig-* in the penult. Thus (1) *meddig* < Lat. *medĭcus*, pl. *meddygon*, (2) *lleithig* < Lat. *lectīca*, pl. *lleithigeu*. In Mn. W. one or two words of the second class have passed over to the first: *perigl* 'danger' < Lat. *perīc'lum*; *cynnig* 'to offer' < Lat. *condīco*, though still sounded *perigl*, *cynnig* are written *perygl*, *cynnyg* because, by false analogy, derived forms have come to be sounded with *y* as *peryglus*, *cynygiaf*. In Ml. W. the penult had *i* in these, as *perigluys* R.B.B. 44–5, *periglus* LL.A. 146, *berigleu* R.B.B. 121, *gynigwyt* W.M. 168, *gynnigẏwyt* R.M. 234, *kynnigẏwys* do. 144.

ii. *ẏ* becomes *i* in the unaccented ult. in some cases after *g* or *ng*; thus *ergyt* W.M. 110, 111 'shot'; *ergit* R.M. 80, 81, R.B.B. 42, now *ergid* (written *ergyd*); *efengil* R.Ll., F. 5, E.P. 278 'gospel'; so sounded now though written *efengyl*; *megis / dis*, D.G. 315; *cregin* for **cregyn*. But as a rule *ẏ* remains; *egyr* 'opens', *diogyn* 'idler', *negydd* 'denier', *dengys* 'shows', are so pronounced, owing to the influence of analogical forms without *g* or *ng*.

iii. In the same position *ẏ* frequently becomes *i* after penultimate *i* or *ei*; thus *llinẏn* W.M. 75 'string', but *llinin* four lines earlier, also 78, *llinin* R.M. 54, 56 (each time), *dibin* C.M. 91 'hang', *amδiffin* P 21/1 R. 'to defend', *gwlithin* W.M. 455, R.M. 102 'dewdrop', *giliδ* W.M. 9, 134 'other', *origin* LL.A. 122 'a moment', (double dim. of *awr* 'hour'), *dilin* D.G. 343 'to follow'.

Derfel wrth ryfel a thrin
Dewr oedd, a da i **wreiddin.**—D.I.D., G. 178.

'He was a brave Derfel in war and encounter, and of good stock.'

Herwydd nas gwnai **ddyhirin**
Fentrẏo i oes o fewn trin.—S.T., G.B. 369.

'Because a dastard would not risk his life in battle.'

But analogy has always tended to preserve the termination *-yn*:

Ysbys y dengys y dŷn
O ba radd y bo i **wreiddyn.**—T.A., F. 33.

'Plainly does a man show of what degree his origin is.'

O chyrch dyrfa, deca' dŷn,
Daw i'w harail **dihirẏn.**—D.G., 173.

'If she hies to a gathering, fairest maid, a knave comes to watch her.'

The sound is now *i*, as *llinin, dibin, amddiffin, gilið, gwreiðin*, etc.; the *y* written is an etymological spelling. Sometimes it is wrongly written, as in *ers meityn* for *ers meitin* § 70 v. This may also occur in Ml. W. as in *yr meityn* W.M. 17, R.M. 11 beside the correct *er meitin* W.M. 128, 138, *yr meitin* R.M. 280, cf. *meitin/ffin* B.A. 18; *dilyt* beside *dilit* W.M. 41.

iv. In Mn. W. *ŷ* followed by *i* in some common groupings became *i*; thus *cerŷ di* 'thou lovest' became *ceri di*, and *ceri* supplanted *cerŷ* as the regular form. So *wrthyf i, wrthyt ti* became *wrthif i, wrthit ti*, and the 1620 Bible has *wrthif, wrthit*; so *gennif, gennit*; but later the Ml. forms with *y* were restored in writing. [The dialects developed new formations.]

v. The diphthong *yw* is now sounded *iw* after front consonants: after *c* (≡ *k̂*) in *cyw* ≡ *k̂iw* (but pl. *cyu̯i̯on* ≡ *qəwi̯on*), after *r* in *rhyw* and its compounds *amryw, cyfryw*, etc., in *dryw, ystryw, gwryw*, after *n* in *benyw*, and initially in *yw* 'is', *yw* 'to his' now written *i'w*. (*Gwryw, benyw, yw* 'is' are not dialectal forms in N. W., but are sounded with *-iw* in reading or quoting.) Ml. W. *nywl* R.M. 46, W.M. 64 'fog' is now written *niwl*, § 37 ii. In *distryw, dilyw* the *-iw* sound is earlier, on account of the preceding *i*; both are often spelt with *-iw* in Ml. W. After *d* and *ð* the sound *iw* is still earlier; thus *ydiw, heðiw* are so spelt in Ml. W. in MSS. where *i* and *y* are distinguished.

The only words remaining now with *yw* are *byw, clyw, llyw* 'prince' and *llyw* 'rudder' (also sounded *lliw*), *gwyw* 'withered' in addition to *Duw* which is sounded *Dyw* in Late Mn. W.; and compounds of these *lledfyw, hyglyw*, etc.

vi. In the Mn. language *ŷ* in the unaccented ult. is sounded *i* before *ll* in some words; as *cyllyll* 'knives', *gwynt'yll* 'fan'; in some, as *candryll* 'shattered' (lit. '100 bits'), both *ŷ* and *i* are heard; others have *ŷ* always, as *sefyll*. This modification sometimes appears in late MSS.; but is not recognized in the rhymes of the bards.

vii. (1) In Ml. W. *u* (≡ *ü*) was unrounded to *i* after the labial in *govut* 'pain'; the usual Ml. form is *govut* W.M. 138 l. 15; 231; but *gofit* W.M. 138 l. 4; 131, 141, etc.; Mn. W. *gofid*.

(2) In a few cases *ŷ* came to be rounded after a labial; thus *pump* 'five' for an earlier *pymp*, O.W. *pimp*; *bustl* 'gall' for **bystl*: Bret. *bestl* (Bret. *e* = W. *y* § 16 iv (2)).

viii. As it was difficult to pronounce unrounded *i* or *ŷ* and rounded *ü* in consecutive syllables, assimilation took place: **iðunt* 'to them' (cf. *iðaw* 'to him') became *uðunt* and always appears so in Ml. W. see A.L. i 2; P 17/1 R.; LL.A. 7, 8, 11, 21, etc.; W.M. 6, 26; R.M. 4, 7, etc. The natural sound in Gwyn. is *uðun*, though the artificial Mn. lit. *iddynt* and the analogy of *iddo* may have influenced the pronunciation of some speakers. Similarly *ei* became *eu*, as in *ŕeudus* W.M. 21, R.M. 13, R.P. 1238 for *rheidus* 'needy'; *teulu* 'household troops' for *teilu*, the form implied in the spelling *teylu* of A.L. i 2, 12, etc.; *eulun* often later for *eilun*, and now sounded *eulun*. In the reverse order we have Ml. W. *Meuruc* for *Meuric*.

ix. In Mn. W. *u* having come to be sounded *y*, it becomes *i* in those positions where *y* would be so treated; thus *barrug, esgus, cynnull* are sounded *barrig, esgis, cynnill*.—D.G. rhymes *menig / sarrug* 8.—Before *i̯* or *i* it is sounded *i*. Dr. M. writes *iniawn* Job i 1; we now say *ini̯on* 'straight' for *uni̯on, inig* for *unig, tostirio* for *tosturio*, etc. Hence *carut ti* became *carit ti*, and *-it* in Late Mn. W. replaced *-ut* as the 2nd sg. impf. ending.

x. *u* being rounded in O. and Ml. W., final *ch* after it retained its rounding; thus *uch* 'higher' ≡ *üᵘch*, sometimes written *uwch* in Late Ml. W.; when the *u* was unrounded the glide remained, and the sound became *yw̯ch* as implied in *ywch* R.P. 1295; this is the present sound; it is written *uwch* in Mn. W. But in the penult we have *uch*, as in *uchel* 'high'. Hence the mutation, *uw* : *u*, § 81.

xi. The modern pronunciation cited in this section is that of Gwynedd, where the sound *y* or *u* is quite distinct from the sound *i*.

§ 78. i. (1) The diphthong *oe* or *oy*, O. W. *oi*, remains finally in only two words: *noe* 'basin', *doe* 'yesterday'; Ml. W. had *moe* 'more' also. Elsewhere it is regularly reduced to *-o*, as in *creto* 'may believe' for **cred-hoe* appearing as *cred-doe* B.B. 53, a stray survival, § 183 ii; and in *-no* in personal names for *-noe, clo* for **cloe*, etc. § 76 v (5); in *am-do* 'shroud' for **am-doe* § 104 ii (2); *th* or *δ* may be lost after it as in *heno* 'to-night' < O. W. *henoid* JUV. SK. ≡ *henoeth* R.P. 1040; it became *ui* by assim. in *hunnoid* OX. > *hunnuid* M.C. > Ml. and Mn. W. *hwnnw*; and *hinnoid* gave *hynny* by analogical assimilation (*-d* ≡ *-δ* in O.W.). A late example is *y ddannodd* 'toothache' < Ml. W. *y δannoeδ* § 75 iv (2), in which however the final *-δ* remains.

Final *-aeth* > *-a* in the same way in *yna, etwa* for *ynaeth, etwaeth*.

(2) Similarly *w͡y*, O. W. *ui*, may be reduced to *w*; cf. *hwnnw* above. Thus *llw* 'oath' § 104 ii (2); *Gronwy* W.M. 110, 111 > *Gronw* do. 101, 104, 105; *Gronwy, Goronwy* for **gw̯ronwy* < **u̯(i)ro-gnā́u̯i̯os* § 76 v (5); both forms survived: *Pont Ronw* (Llanedwen) is called *Pont Ronwy* by some, but whether the latter is of lit. origin is difficult to decide. So *assu* A.L. i 144 (≡ *assw*) < *asswy* 'left';—*guru, banu* < **gwrw͡y*, **banw͡y* § 76 v (6); ~~*raecw* § 210 x (3)~~.—Before a consonant: aor. 3rd sg. *-w͡ys* > *-ws* § 175 i (5); *tyngwt* B.A. 4 for *tyngw͡yt*; *adeilwt, rannwt* G.C. 106, 108; and doubtless impf. 1st sg. *-wn* is for an earlier **-w͡yn* § 180 iii (1); *-wn* for **-w͡yn* § 215 iii (1). So *mwrthwl* W.M. 46, R.B. 968, D.G. 430, *myrthwl* R.M. 32 beside *mortuyl* B.CH. 77, *morthwyl, mwrthwyl* D.D., *morthwyl* Bible, spoken lang. *mwrthwl* pl. *myrthw͡yli̯on*. Late Mn. W. *neithi̯wr* 'last night' < *neithi̯w͡yr* § 34 ii, Ml. W. *neithẏwyr* S.G. 43.

Some cases occur of the late substitution of *wy* for *w*: *madws* 'high time' W.M. 22, R.M. 14 (: Sequ. *matu..*, Lat. *mātūrus*) is given by Wm.S. and D.D. s.v. as *madwys*, which is not attested;—*cyfarws*, W.M. 454, 459–60, later *cyfarwys*, see Silvan Evans s.v.

ii. (1) In some words *oe* in the ultima was reduced to *e*, and *w͡y* to *y*; thus **nammoen* 'not more [than]' became *namen* B.A. 15, 16 'only',

and *namwyn* R.P. 1056 gave Ml. and Mn. W. *namyn* 'but, except', § 222 iii (3);—**mahar-oin* (variant *maharuin*, B.S.CH. 3), Early Ml. W. *maharaen* A.L. i 278, Ml. and Mn. W. *maharen* 'ram', pl. **meheruin* > *meheryn*; *mahar-* < **mas-ɣo-* 'male': Lat. *mās*, suff. § 153 (5), + *oen* § 65 ii (2);—**adwoen* (written *adwaen* but rh. with *hoen*, *poen* B.B. 70) > *adwaen*, *adwen* 'I know';—*brenhinoet* B.B. 53 > *brenhineð*, but *-oeð* remains in N. W. and Mn. Lit. W.;—so *cefnderweð*, *ewythreð*.—The change seems to be due to unrounding by dissimilation with a labial in the word (*teyrneð* followed the synonymous *brenhineð*). Later examples are *Cawlwŷd*, *Mawddwy* now sounded *Cowlyd*, *Mowddy*; cf. also *a(w)wyr* > *awyr*, etc. § 38 x.

(2) After a labial O. W. *oi* > Ml. W. *ae*; as O. W. *guoilaut* B.S.CH. 6 > Ml. *gwaelawt*, Mn. *gwaelod*;—W. *gwae* 'woe' for **gwoe* < **ɣai* : Lat. *vae*, Goth. *wai*;—W. *gwaeð* 'cry' for **gwoeð*, Ir. *fáed* < **ɣaid-* : Lith. *waidi* 'lamentation';—*baeð* 'boar' < **boeð* (written *baeð* but rh. with *oeð* B.T. 26, l. 17).

After *g-*, *oi* (*oe*, *oy*) became *way*, *wae* as in *gwayw* 'spear' for **goyw* § 75 vii (3) written *gvaev* but rhyming with *gloev* (*gloyw*) B.B. 72;—*gwaed* 'blood' for **goed* = Bret. *goad*, Leon *he c'hoad* 'his blood' (*c'h* < *g*); see *gwaet* rh. with *coet*, *eiryoet* R.P. 1046.

(3) In the penult *oi* (*oe*) became *ae* before *ŵy* in *aelwŷd* 'hearth': Corn. *oilet*, Bret. *oaled* § 104 iv (3);—*Aethwy* < **Oethwy* § 76 v (3).

iii. *-wy*, or rather Early W. *-ui*, was liable when unaccented to be weakened to *oii* > Ml. W. *eu*; thus *eu* 'their' for **wy* from **eisŏm* § 160 iv;—*meu*, *teu* § 75 viii (2). § 161 iv;—*pi-eu* 'whose is?' with *eu* for **wy* < **eset* § 179 ix (3), § 192;—*asseu*, *Corneu*, *Guitneu*, *Iudnou* § 76 v (4), (5); *neu* § 219 i (2).

iv. (1) *ui* (*wy*) finally or before a vowel was liable to be metathesized to *yw*; as in *yw* 'is' for **wy* § 179 ix (3);—*yw* 'to his, to her' for **wy* § 160 iv (2);—*nyw* 'who . . . not . . . him' for earlier *nuy* § 160 ii (2).—After a dental it became *iw*, § 77 v, as in Ml. W. *ydiw* 'is' for **yd-wy*;—W. *niwed* 'harm' for **nwyet* § 76 iv (4).—In Bret. and Corn. this metathesis was carried further: Bret. *piou*, Corn. *pyw*, *pew*: W. *pwy* 'who', etc.

(2) This might happen before a consonant also; but in that case **yw* became *ŭ*; thus **dwyw* 'god' > **dyw-w* > *duw*; the form **dwyw* is attested in B.T. 10, where, though spelt *duw*, it rhymes with *plwyw* (= *plwyf*?); and it remained in all derivatives, as O. W. *duiutit* 'divinity', Ml. W. *dwywes* 'goddess', *dwywawl*, Mn. W. *dwyfol* 'divine'; the forms *duwies* 'goddess', *duwiol* 'pious' etc. are late deductions from *duw*;—similarly Early Ml. W. verbal noun *deweduyt* A.L. i 146, 152, etc. *gwedy dywedwyd* W. 15*a* 'after saying' > Ml. W. *dywedut* 'to say'; the *wy* remains in *dywedwydat* W.M. 63, R.M. 45 'saying', *dywedwydyat* S.G. 171 'babbler'.

v. In the penult *oe*, *ae*, *ei* tend to become *o*, *a*, *e* respectively before two consonants, more especially in Mn.W.; thus *otva* R.P. 1208, S.G. 303,

Mn. W. *odfa* for *oedfa* 'appointment, meeting'; Mn. W. *addfed* 'ripe' for *aeddfed*, Ml. W. *aeδvet* W.M. 73, LL.A. 166, R.B.B. 175; Mn. W. *glendid* for Ml. W. *gleindit* 'cleanliness, beauty'. (Dial. *gwergloδ* for *gweirgloδ*, *cosnoth sgernoth* for *coesnoeth esgeirnoeth*.)

ae > *a* in *aeth-* § 108 iv (2).

vi. In the ult. *ae* sometimes became *e* § 31.

§ 79. i. (1) Old and Ml. W. *ei* appears as *ai* and *ei* in Mn. W. With some exceptions, § 81 iii (1), *ai* appears in the ultima and in monosyllables, and *ei* (pronounced *əi* § 29 iii) in other syllables. Thus Mn. W. *ai* stands in the syllable generally accented in O. W., and *ei* in the syllable then unaccented. The natural inference is that the Mn. mutation *ei*/*ai* is an exaggeration of a difference in the pronunciation of *ei* going back to O. W.

(2) O. W. *ei* was originally *e̯i* with open *e̯*, § 69 vii. But in unaccented syllables it came to be sounded *e̯i* to avoid lowering the tongue to *e̯* and raising it again to *i* in the short time available. The same thing took place in accented syllables ending in a group of consonants, as *beirδ*, since the time required to pronounce the consonants left less time to sound the diphthong. But in accented syllables with a simple or no consonantal ending the *e̯i* remained. Ml. W. *ei* therefore represented *e̯i* and *e̯i*; the former gave Mn. W. *ei*, sounded *əi*; the latter gave *ai*. The old distinction is reflected in the Gwynedd pronunciation of a preceding guttural: *ceiniog*, *ceirch* are sounded *k̂əiniog k̂əirch*; but *caib*, *cais* are *qaib*, *qais*; the velar and palatal alternate in the same word: *qaib*, *k̂əibio*; it may be added that before ordinary *y* (≡ *ə*) the consonant is the velar, thus *cybyδ*, *cynnar* are *qəbyδ*, *qənnar*. It is seen therefore that the first element of *əi* must be from close *e̯*, for it differed from that of *ai* which comes from open *e̯*, and also from the old *y* (≡ *ə*). The present sound *əi* seems to be as old as the 16th cent., for *rhəir* contracted for *rhy-hir* (*rhə-hir*) is written *rheir* in G.R. 101. The present sound *ai* is at least as old as the 14th cent.: *gwnai* (< *gwnaei*) is rhymed with *delei* in R.P. 1271 by M.D., and with *divei* R.P. 1293 by G.V. The oldest appearance of the spelling *ai* seems to occur in the Red Book: *benn ŕaith* R.P. 1194, *diwair* do. 1200, *kain* 1205, *arynaic* 1227, *kain*, *main* 1318; but Norman scribes heard the *e̯i* as *ai* much earlier, to judge by such a form as *Trefwalkemay* in the Extent of Anglesey dated 1294 (Seebohm, Trib. Sys. [1]App. 10), Ml. W. *Gwalchmei*, Mn. W. *Gwalchmai*.

ii. O. W. *ou* (≡ *oü*) has a somewhat similar history. The *o* was probably close in unaccented and open in accented syllables. In Ml. W. it was unrounded in both cases, giving a close *ə* and an open *ə*, both written *e*, so that the two sounds of the diphthong were written *eu*. The close *ə* remains in Mn. W. *eu*, sounded *əu*; the open *ə* gave *a* in Mn. W. *au*. That the former was a close *ə* and not a close *e̯* is shown by the fact that in Gwynedd *ceunant*, *ceulo* are sounded *qəunant qəulo*. The two sounds *eu* and *au* occur in the same positions in the word as *ei* and *ai* respectively; see § 81.

VOWEL VARIATION IN MODERN WELSH

§ 80. The above are the changes that have taken place in vowel sounds. Many of them depend upon accentuation or the influence of neighbouring sounds; hence in the Mn. language a vowel may have its original sound in one form of a word, and a changed sound in another, or two different changes of an original vowel may appear in two different forms of a word. It will be convenient now to bring together the more important variations of the same originals that occur in Mn. W.

Vowel Mutation.

§ 81. i. Vowel mutation is the regular alternation of vowels and diphthongs according to their position in a word. Certain sounds occurring in the ultima and in monosyllables are regularly modified in other positions.

The following is a table of the vowel mutations (numbered for reference). The numbers in the last column indicate the sections where the changes resulting in the mutation are dealt with.

No.	In final, and mono-, syllables.	In other syllables.	Examples.	§
1	ai	ei	*adail, adeilad*; *caib, ceibio*	79 i.
2	au	eu	*haul, heulog*; *aur euraid*	79 ii.
3	aw	o	*tlawd, tlodion, tlodi, tlotaf*	71 i.
4	w	y	*trwm, trymion, trymach*	66 i.
5	ų	y	*byr, byrion, byrder*	66 i.
6	uw	u	*buwch, buchod, buches*	77 x.

As a general rule the respective forms appear only in the positions indicated. The exceptions are noted below.

ii. There is no exception to the rule that *ai* and *au* appear as *ei* and *eu* in the penult. Such forms as *daiar, graian, haiarn, rhaiadr, traian, cauad, cauodd, gauaf, cynhauaf* are not exceptions but misspellings of *daear, graean, haearn, rhaeadr, traean, caead, caeodd, gaeaf, cynhaeaf*, the diphthong *ae* (also written *ay* § 29 ii) being one which does not undergo mutation in Lit. W., but re-

mains the same in all positions (unless affected § 70 iii). See *dayar* R.M. 4, 5, 73, 78, etc., W.M. 100, 456, 459, *daear* B.B. 70, W.M. 107, R.M. 97, *gaeaf* R.B.B. 277, R.P. 1269, *kynhaeaf* W.M. 73, R.M. 53, R.B.B. 271, P 14/11 R., *kynhayaf* B.T. 8, *haearn* R.M. 118, *hayarn* 119, *raeadyr* R.P. 1255. The sound is attested in cynghanedd lusg:

Cyfled i chae â daear.—D.G. 205.

'Her demesne is as wide as the earth.'

Ba le mae 'r gorsied gaead?—L.G.C. 372; cf. 28, l. 1.

'Where is the closed gorget?'

The spelling *ai*, as in *daiar*, used by Salesbury and in the early Bibles, is a mistranscription of Ml. W. *ay*, due to the fact that Ml. W. *y* sometimes represents *i̯*, § 25 iii. (Salesbury has *dayar* also, and *gayaf* always.) *gauaf* is phonetically correct now that *u* has come to be sounded *ɣ*, so that the error is only an orthographic one exactly similar to writing *dun* for *dyn* 'man'. In *cauodd* etc. the error was suggested by the fact that the verbal noun is *cau* 'to shut', a contraction of *cay|u* or *cae|u* § 33 iv. Such spellings as the latter-day *traithawd* for the usual and correct *traethawd* are due to bungling etymological theories. Pedersen, Gr. i 67, imagines from these false spellings that the difference between *aɣ* and *ai* is small in diphthongs and vanishes where the second element is heterosyllabic. It is not heterosyllabic in these diphthongs, see § 54 iv; and *ɣ* and *i* are perfectly distinct wherever the dialect distinguishes between *ɣ* and *i* as vowels. The possible forms in the penult are *ae, eu, ei*, now sounded in Powys *aɣ, əɣ, əi*, and in Gwynedd *əɣ, əɣ, əi*. No one in Powys or Gwynedd sounds an *i* in *daear*.

iii. The exceptions to the general rule are the following ('ultima' being understood to include 'monosyllable'):

(1) *ei* occurs in the ultima when followed by two consonants, or by *l* for *lꝛ*, *r* for *rr*; thus *beirdd* 'bards', *teifl* 'throws', *eithr* 'except', *gweheirdd* D.G. 20 'forbids', *meirw̨* pl. of *marw̨* 'dead', *deil* 'holds' for **deilꝛ*, *ceir* 'cars', pl. of *carr*. Before *ll* usage varies: *lleill* 'others', *y naill* 'the one', *ereill* or *eraill* 'others'. In polysyllables it sometimes occurs before *m* or *ch*; *dychleim* Gr.O. 90 'leaps up', *myneich* 'monks'. But *ai* appears before *nc, nt, sg*, as *cainc* 'branch', *maint* 'size', *henaint* 'old age', *braisg* 'thick'; also in *Aifft, enghraifft, aillt*.

As a contraction of *e-i* the diphthong is now written and spoken *ei* (that is *əi̯*), as *ceir, gweir*; but *ai* was common formerly, as *cair, gwnair*.

eu is now commonly written, when absolutely final, in polysyllables, except when it is a plural or pronominal ending; as *goreu, goleu, dechreu* for *gorau, golau, dechrau*. It survived from Ml. W. under the

influence of dialectal *-e*, and its use was extended in the 19th cent. because of an idea that *-au* suggested the pl. ending.

In Ml. W. *ei* and *eu* appear in all positions, so that the mutation is not represented in writing, § 79. But *-é-u*, *-á-u* were distinct, as are contracted *-éu*, *-áu* now: *diléu*, *parháu*, § 33 iv.

(2) The mutation *aw* : *o* is not of general application. The penultimate *o* does not come from the ultimate *aw*, but both come from ɔ; see § 71 i. Hence when *aw* is an original diphthong < Brit. or Lat. *ou* or *au*, it remains *aw* in the penult, as in *awdur* < Lat. *au(c)tōrem*; so *cawgiau* pl. of *cawg* < late Lat. *caucus*; *awydd*, etc. § 76 iii; *canawon*, *athrawon*, § 36 iii. This shows *nawn* which gives *ꝑrynhawnol*, *ꝑrynhawngweith*, etc., to be from **nouna* § 76 iii as opposed to *awr* which gives *oriau*, *oriog*, etc., and is from **(h)ṓra* § 71 ii (3). In late formations *aw* < *ā* is unmutated as in *mawrion* § 144 iii (1), *ardderchawgrwydd* beside *ardderchogrwydd*. Before a consonant, penultimate *aw* is sounded *ɷ*, and sometimes written *ow*, as *cowgiau* D. 40, *ardderchowgrwydd*.

Where Ml. W. *aw* in the unaccented ult. has become *o*, § 71, the mutation of course disappears; thus it appears in Ml. W. *pechawt*, *pechodeu*, but is lost in Mn. W. *pechod*, *pechodau*. Where at the same time the *aw* represents a Brit. diphthong, as in *gwrando*, *gwrandawaf*, the rule of mutation is reversed. So in final *-o* for affected *au*, in *athro*, *athrawon* § 76 v (5).

(3) *w* appears in the penult in some words; see § 66 ii, iii. For other exceptions to mutations 4 and 5 see § 82.

(4) The mutation *uw* : *u* occurs only before *ch*, § 77 x. In late formations it is neglected; thus beside *lluwch* '(snow)drift', we have the old *lluchio* 'to hurl', and the new *lluwchio* 'to drive (dust or snow)'. For the derivatives of *duw* see § 78 iv (2).

(5) On unmutated forms in loose compounds see § 45 ii (2).

§ 82. i. From the table in the above section it is seen that the use of the two sounds of **y** is regulated by the law of vowel mutation. The general rule in its special application to these sounds may be stated as follows:

y has the *y* sound in monosyllables and final syllables, and the *y* sound in all syllables not final; as *edryc*h, *edrychwch*, *bryn*, *bryniau*, *mynydd*, *mynyddoedd*, *tyrddau*, *pryd*, *prydferth*, *dyfod*, *cyfyngder*.

ii. The exceptions to the rule are—

(1) A few proclitics, which, though monosyllabic, have the *y* sound. These are *yr*, *y* 'the', *yn* 'in', *fy* 'my', *dy* 'thy', *yn* 'our', *ych* 'your', *myn*, *ym* 'by' (in oaths).

Pre-verbal *yð*, *yr*, *y* (whether the relative, § 162, the affirmative particle, § 219 ii, or the conjunction, § 222 x) is now always sounded

with *y*. In B.CH. it is regularly written *ed*, *e* (implying *yδ*, *y*; § 16 iii); see A.L. i 2, 4, 6, 12, etc. But in the 15th cent. and later it was often written *ir*, *i*, as *I'r tri oessawl* ir *a'r teirswyδ*, L.G.C. R.P. 1412, *o Vran* i *deuan* do. 1411. J.D.R. and D. regularly write it with y (≡ *ꝛ*); but Dr. Davies later in his D.D. (opp. p. 1) says that the sound is *y*. The explanation doubtless is that it was originally *ꝛ* and *y* according to the accent; and both survived, the *ꝛ* becoming *i* (like the preposition, § 16 ii (3)). It is often non-syllabic after a vowel in poetry; if its vowel is written it must be read as *i* or *ꝛ* forming a diphthong with the preceding vowel, § 33 v.

Hen(e)iddio ir *wy', hyn oedd reid.*—I.G., P 53/91 R.
Ac yno y *trîc enaid Rrys.*—H.D. (auto.?), P 67/149 R.

But it is most commonly elided, in which case we have to assume that the lost vowel was *y*, § 44 vii (1).

Astudio 'dd wyf, was didwyll.—An., P 54/27 R. (15th cent.).
Meddylio 'r wyf, mau ddolur.—G.C., P 64/122 R. (Auto. S.V.).
Thomas ddulas, lle 'dd elwyf.—H.D. (auto.?), P 67/212 R.
Ac yno 'trîc enaid R(h)ys.—R.C. (auto.), P 68/19 R.

ys as a proclitic is *ys.* as *ys gwir* 'it is true', often *'s gwir* § 221 iii; when accented it is *ŷs* 'there is, people are'.

Llenwi, dros yr holl ŷnys,
Dagrau ar ruddiau yr ŷs.—Gut.O., A 14967/120.

'Over the whole island, there is a shedding of tears on cheeks.'

(2) The old forms *ꝛmy*, *ꝛtty*, *ꝛmi*, *ꝛtti*, etc. of *imi*, *iti*, etc. had *ꝛ* in the penult, § 212 ii. *gyda* also has *ꝛ*; but this is for *gyd â*, Ml. W. *ŷ gyt a*, § 216 ii (2). G.R. writes it *gida* and J.D.R. *gyda* (his *y* ≡ *ꝛ*); both these pronunciations survive.

(3) Non-ultimate *y* before a vowel is now mostly *ꝛ*; but originally it was *y* regularly, for it may come from *o* as in *dy-*, *rhy-*, or was followed by ȝ so that at first there was no hiatus. In many cases the *y* was assimilated to the following vowel § 16 iv (4), and contraction took place; thus Early Ml. W. *deodreven* (≡ *dyodrevyn*) A.L. i 80 > *doodreven* do. 94 > Mn. W. *dodrefn* 'furniture'; *ŷyodres* B.A. 5 > *ŷootdres* R.B.B. 195 > *rhodres* 'pomp'; *kyoeδ* R.P. 1206 > **cooeδ* > *coeδ* § 41 v; *gwelyeu* > *gwelyau* > *gwelâu* Ps. cxlix 5, Can. vi 2 (1588 and 1620), B.CW. 23 'beds'; **cyd-dy-un* > Ml. W. *cyt-tu-un* > Mn. W. *cytûn* § 33 iv; *dylyed* > **dyleed* > *dyléd* § 199 ii (2). But it also remained unassimilated, as in *hundyeu* R.M. 4, *dylyet* do. 5, *camlyeu* R.P. 1297. In that case it tended to become *e* § 16 iv (2), thus *deun* R.P. 1217, *deall* beside *dallt* I.D. 12, N.W. dial. *dâllt*; *godreon* beside *godryon* § 65 ii (3); *darlleaf* § 203 iv (3); or was raised to *ꝛ*, which broke up later into *əꝛ* (written *eu*); thus *godreuon* J.D.R. [xxi] for *godryon*, *lletteuodd* Gen. xxxii 21, *dyleuaf* so printed in D.G. 35, beside *gwelyeu* J.D.R. (whose *y* ≡ *ꝛ*) [xiv, xix], *dhylyei* [xix, xxi], *dhylyedic* [xvi, xix]. Cf. *rhyꝛ* < *rhy* § 65 iv (2). (But *hyawdl* is a misspelling of *huawdl*, Ml. W.

huawdẏl R.P. 1301.) It is probable that the misspelling *boreu* for *bore* § 31 ii 2 sprang from *boreuach* the debased form of *boryach*.

(4) *yw* follows the rule, as *bẏw, bywyd, bywiog*; *clẏw, clywed*; *llẏw, llywydd, llywio*, etc., except in late formations, especially from forms in which *yw* became *iw* § 77 v, as in *amrẏwio* (sounded *amriwio*), *distrẏwiaf* (*distriwiaf*), etc. J.D.R. writes *amrywio* (*y* ≡ *ẏ*) [xvi], *distriwiaw* [xix]. So *niwliog, niwloedd* § 37 ii.

(5) The rising diphthong *ẘy* follows the rule: *gẘẏrdd, gẘyrddion*, etc.; but *ẘy* generally becomes *w* § 66 ii. Such a pronunciation as *gẘẏntoedd* is recent; but *gẘẏwo* 'to wither' may be old, as the *ẏ* may have resisted mutation between two *ẘ*'s.

(6) The rule does not apply to the falling diphthong *ŵy*, in which the *y* is consonantal. In this *y* must necessarily be *ẏ* always, as *mŵẏn, mŵynach, mŵynion*; and the *ẏ* remains when the *ŵy* is mispronounced as *wẏ* § 38 iii, as *Gwẏnedd* for *Gŵynedd*.

iii. (1) In the words *sylw, gẘyry*, the final *w* and *y* were non-syllabic § 42, § 110 ii; hence the *y* is *ẏ*; thus *sẏlw* (but *sylwi*), *gẘẏry*.

(2) With the exceptions mentioned in ii, the sound which is now common to *y* and *u*, if it occurs in the penult, is to be written *u*. Thus we write *munud, munudau, papur, papurau*. Following this rule the translators of the Bible were misled by the late disyllabic pronunciation of *sylw* to write it *sulw*; in late editions this error is corrected.

(3) In a few cases *u* in the ultima has come to be mistaken for *y* and mutated to *y* in the penult; as in *ysgrythyrau* in the Bible (but *ysgrythurau* correctly in the 1727 edn.) pl. of *ysgrythur* (< Lat. *scriptūra*) regarded as *ysgrythyr* on the analogy of *llythyr* 'letter'. So *testynau* for *testunau*, Early Mn.W. *testunion*, pl. of *testun* (< Lat. *testimōnium*) treated as *testyn*; *corynau* 'crowns', *corynfoel* B.CW. 33 'bald-headed', from *corun* R.B.B. 171 (< Lat. *corōna*) treated as *coryn*.

Vowel Affection.

§ 83. The following tables show the affected and unaffected forms of vowels as they alternate in Mn. W.

i. Ultimate *a*-affection, § 68.

No.	Unaffected.	Affected.	Examples.
1	ụ	e	*gwẏ̆n*, f. *gwĕn*; *crẏ̄f*, f. *crēf*
2	w	o	*trẘ̆m*, f. *trŏm*; *tlẘ̄s*, f. *tlōs*

The affected sound occurs in the ultima. It is occasionally found in the penult in compounds, as in *cromlech* (*crwm* 'arched'); and in superlatives, as *gwennaf, tromaf* § 147 iii. In *bychan*, f. *bechan*, the *e*

seems to be a variant of *y*, chosen for the f. on the analogy of the usual f. *e* caused by affection.

ii. Ultimate *i*-affection, § 69, § 76 v.

No.	Unaffected.	Affected.	Examples.
1	a	ai or ei	*brân, brain*; *bardd, beirdd*; *dal, deil*
		ų	*tafarn, tefeirn* or *tefyrn*
2	ae	ai	*draen, drain*; *cyrraedd, cyrraidd*
3	e		*angel, engyl*; *ateb, etyb*; *seren, sŷr*
4	o	ų	*agor, egyr*; *ffon, ffyn*
5	w		*asgwrn, esgyrn*; *swrth, syrth*
6	oe	ŵy	*oen, ŵyn*; *croen, crŵyn*
7	aw	au or eu	*taw, tau*; *taraw*, Ml. W. *tereu*
		ų	*taraw*, Mn. W. *tery*

The change occurs only in the ultima. *a* or *o* in the penult becomes *e* § 69 vi. Final *w*, being originally consonantal, does not count as a syllable for the purposes of affection: *marw* 'dead', pl. *meirw*.

As to the forms *ai* and *ei* of No. 1, see § 81 iii (1); the form *y* occurs only in the unaccented ultima, § 69 ii (3).

The form *y* of No. 7 is not a phonetic development of *eu*, but is due to false analogy; when *taraw* had become *taro* the 3rd sing. pres. ind. *tery* was formed from the latter on the model of *agor* : *egyr*. See § 173 iv (3).

iii. Penultimate affection, § 70. The affecting sound is usually preserved in the ultima, but has in some cases disappeared, § 70 iv.

No.	Unaffected	before	is affected to	Examples.
1	a	i̯	ei	*mab, meibion*; *cym-ar, -heiriaid*
2	e	i̯	ei	*gorwedd, gorweiddiog*
3	a	i or ų	e	*truan, trueni*; *plant, plentyn*
4	ae	i or i̯	ei	*gwaedd, gweiddi*; *draen, dreiniog*
5	ae	ų	eų	*caer, ceyrydd*; *saeth, seythydd*
6	ae	u	eu	*aeth, euthum*
7	aw	i or ų	ew	*taw, tewi, tewych*; *cawr, cewri*

Note 1.—No. 1 occurs only in old formations; *-i̯ad* denoting the agent affects, *-i̯ad* abstract does not, § 143 iii (18), iv (5).—No. 2, though common as a fixed affection, is comparatively rare in inflexion. No. 3 is usual in inflexion, but rare in composition, e.g. *rhán-dir* 'allotment', *háf-ddydd* 'summer's day', *cán-dryll* 'shattered', *á-dyn* 'wretch', *ád-fyd* 'adversity', *tán-llyd* 'fiery', *hád-yd* 'seed' (*had* + *yd*, but *héd-yn* 'a seed').—No. 4 is only written in old combinations, as *gweiδi* R.M. 174, *seiri*; it is rare before *i̯*, see § 144 iii (2).—Nos. 5 and 6 also occur only in set forms, and *ey* is now wrongly written *eu*, as *meusydd*.

Note 2.—In Ml. W. *a* in preceding syllables had become *e* before *y*, or before one of the above affections; in Mn. W. the *a* is generally restored, § 70 i, as *enrydeδ* now *anrhydedd* 'honour', *gwerendewych*, now *gwrandewych*. It occasionally remains as in *lleferydd* 'speech' (: *llafar* id.), and even spreads, as in *llefaru* for *llafaru*.

Note 3.—*y* in the falling diphthong *o͡y* does not affect: *arwydd* etc. § 38 vi.

Note 4.—*u* does not affect *a*: *canu*, *parchu*, etc. But *crededun* occurs R.P. 1368, 1424, beside *credadun* do. 1298, 1235.

THE ARYAN CONSONANTS IN KELTIC AND BRITISH

§ 84. The Aryan parent language had the following consonant system:

	Labial.	Dental.	Palatal.	Velar.	Labio-velar.
Explosives:					
Tenues	p	t	k̂	q	q^u
Tenues aspiratae	ph	th	k̂h	qh	q^uh
Mediae	b	d	ĝ	g	g^u
Mediae aspiratae	bh	dh	ĝh	gh	g^uh
Spirants:					
Voiceless		s, þ			
Voiced		z, ð	j		
Sonants:					
Nasals	m	n			
Liquids		l, r			
Semivowels			i̯	[ə̯]	u̯

NOTE 1.—In the aspirated tenues the breath was allowed to escape after the explosion; thus **th** was probably sounded somewhat like the *t* in W. *tad*, or like *t* before an accented vowel in Eng. or N. German, in all of which breath is heard as an off-glide. Aryan **t** on the other hand was sounded like French or South German *t* with no escape of breath between the explosion and the vowel.

The exact pronunciation of the aspirated mediae **bh**, etc., is not known. The conventional European pronunciation is *b* + *h*, etc., as in Eng. *abhor*, *adhere*. In India the element represented by **h** is a voiced throat spirant. But the sounds were undoubtedly simple like the aspirated tenues, and were probably voiced forms of the latter.

NOTE 2.—It is generally held that there were as above three series of gutturals. The palatals were sounded on the hard palate like W. *c* in *ci* or E. *k* in *king*. The labiovelars were sounded between the root of the tongue and the soft palate, so far back that the lips were naturally rounded, as in the formation of the vowel *u*, W. *w*, E. *u* in *full*. These two series are established by such equations as Skr. $\hat{s}$ = Lat. *c* < Ar. $\hat{\mathbf{k}}$, and Skr. *k*, *c* = Lat. *qu* < Ar. $\mathbf{q}^{\mathbf{u}}$. But another equation often occurs: Skr. *k*, *c* = Lat. *c*, which points to Ar. **q** intermediate between the two others, too far back to give Skr. $\hat{s}$ and too far forward to give the labialized Lat. *qu*. In the Western languages Kelt., Ital., Germanic, Greek, there is no difference between Ar. $\hat{k}$ and *q*; both give *k* which is generally accommodated to the following vowel; thus Ar. *ĵ̊mtóm* gives W. *cant* pronounced *qant*, not **ĵ̊ant*. Where a guttural occurs in a form only found in Western languages, we can only write it *k*, *g*, etc., with no diacritic mark. In the Eastern languages (except Tocharish) the palatals became sibilants, thus $\hat{k}$ > Skr. $\hat{s}$ (an *sh* sound); but the velars remain, or became *tch* sounds (as in *fetch*) before front vowels, thus *q* > Skr. *k*, or *c* (a *tch* sound), the latter before an Ar. front vowel.—Meillet, Intr.[2] 63 ff., admits only two series, $\hat{k}$ and q^{u}, and regards Skr. *k* = Lat. *c* as a special treatment of Ar. $\hat{k}$ in Skr. and the Eastern group. He points out that the supposed *q* occurs chiefly before *r*, before *a*, and after *s*.

The frequent alternation of $\hat{k}$ and *q* § 101 iv (1) makes it probable that originally, at any rate, the two are the same. A recent advance from *q* to $\hat{k}$ has taken place in Eng. before *ă*, now sounded *ă̈*; thus old borrowings in W. have *q*, as in the Anglesey dial. *qap* 'cap', *qaban* 'cabin', *qarĵo* 'to carry', but later borrowings have $\hat{k}$ as *ĵ̊ab* 'cab', *ĵ̊ábinet* 'cabinet', *ĵ̊arej* 'carriage', the *a* being the same, but the $\hat{k}$ with a perceptible *i* glide. The example shows how *q* may become $\hat{k}$ before a forward vowel, and how the $\hat{k}$, once introduced, may remain before a back vowel. The same processes might have taken place in Ar., and it is quite possible that $\hat{k}$ and *q* represent an original neutral *k*.

NOTE 3.—The "sonants" play a special part in Ar. phonology; they occupy an intermediate position between consonants and vowels, and in R-grades become vocalic; see § 63.

It is usual to include in the Ar. nasals *n̊*, occurring only before *k̂, ĝ, k̂h, ĝh*, and *n̊* occurring only before *q, g*, etc. These are secondary sounds due to the assimilation of *m, n* to gutturals; and it is not certain that such assimilation had taken place in Ar. We find e. g. *mt* in **km̥tóm* still remaining in Lith. *szimtas*, § 62 i.

The Explosives.

§ 85. In Pr. Kelt. the aspirated explosives fell together with the unaspirated, thus **th** and **dh** are treated as **t** and **d** respectively; there is one exception § 92 iii. The velars fell together with the palatals, thus **q**, like **k̂**, gave **k**. Hence, **ĝ, ĝh, g, gh** all appear as **g** in Kelt.

§ 86. i. Ar. **p** (Lat. *p*; Gk. *π*; Germ. *f*; Skr. *p*) and Ar. **ph** (Skr. *ph*; Gk. *φ*) disappeared in Kelt. (1) initially before a vowel, (2) initially before a sonant, (3) between vowels, (4) between a vowel and a sonant, (5) between a sonant and a vowel, (6) between sonants.

Examples: (1) Ar. **pib-* > Skr. *píbāmi* 'I drink', Lat. *bibo* (<**pibō*) : Ir. *ibim* 'I drink', O. W. *iben* JUV. SK. 'we drink', W. *yfaf* 'I drink'.—Ar. √*pet-* 'fly' > Lat. *penna* <**petsnā* : O. W. *etn*, Mn. W. *edn* 'bird' <**petno-*.—Ir. *athir* 'father' < **pətēr*, W. *edryd* 'parentage, descent' <**pətr̥-t-*, *edrydd* 'patrimony' (e. g. M.A. i 247) <**pətriio-*, *edryf* id. <**pətr̥-m-* : Lat. *pater*, Gk. *πατήρ*, etc., Skr. *pitr̥tvá-m* 'paternity', *pítriyaḥ* 'paternal, ancestral', Gk. *πάτριος*, etc.—Ir. *air-*, W. *ar-* 'fore-', Gaul. *are-* <**pe̥ri-* : Gk. *παρά*.—Ar. **pr̥t-* > Lat. *portus* : O. W. *rit*, W. *rhyd* 'ford', § 61 i.—Ar. **pl̥n-* > W. *llawn*, § 63 vii (2).

(2) Ar. **pro* > Lat. *pro-*, Gk. *πρό*, Skr. *prá* : Ir. *ro-*, O. W. *ro-*, W. *rhy-*.—Ar. **plār-* > O. E. *flōr* : Ir. *lār*, W. *llawr* 'floor', § 63 vii (2).—Ar. **priios* > Goth. *freis*, O. E. *frēo*, E. *free* : W. *rhydd* 'free'.—W. *lliaws* § 75 ii (2).—W. *llydan* § 63 viii (1).

(3) Ar. **nepōt-* > Skr. *nápāt-*, Lat. *nepōs* : Ir. *niæ*, Ml. W. *nei* 'nephew', § 75 vii (2).—Ar. **upo-* > Pr. Kelt. **u̯o-* > Gaul. *u̯o-*, Ir. *fo-*, W. *gwo-*, *go-*.—W. *twymn* 'hot', *twymyn* 'fever' <**tepes-men-*, § 75 vii (2).

(4) Ir. *tene* 'fire' <**tepnet-*, W. *tán* id. <**te̥p-n-* : Lat. *tepeo*, Skr. *tápas* 'heat'.—Ir. *solam*, W. *hylaw* 'handy' < Pr. Kelt. **su-lām-os* < Ar. **pl̥m-*, § 63 vii (2).—W. *dyro* 'give' <

do-pro-d-*, √*dō-*, § 63 vi (1).—m̥pl-* **m̥pr-* > **aml-*, **amr-* > W. *af-l-*, *af-r-*, as *af-les* 'harm', Ir. *am-less*; thus *af-* spread for *an-* < **n̥-* (neg. prefix) before *l* and *r*, see § 156 i (5).

(5) Ir. *col*, Bret. *col*, W. *cŵl* 'fault': Lat. *culpa*, O. Lat. *colpa*. —Ir. *cilornn* gl. urceus, O. W. *cilurnn* (≡ *cylwrnn*) gl. urnam, W. *celwrn*, Bret. *kelorn*: Lat. *calpar*, *Calpurnius*, Gk. κάλπη, Skr. *karpara-ḥ* 'shell' (Kelt. *ĭ* or *ĕ* in first syll. unexplained).—W. *crydd* 'shoemaker' (for **cerydd* § 40 iii (3)), Bret. *kere* < **karpíi̯ō*, Ir. *cairem* < **karpimo-*: Lat. *carpisculum*, Gk. κρηπίς: √*qerāˣp-* 'shoe'. **mp* > **m* > W. *f* or *w*: W. *tywydd* 'weather' for **tyw̥w̥yδ* < **tempes-edō*: Lat. *tempestas*.

The view that *rp*, contrary to every analogy, gives *rr* is based upon one or two examples in which the group may have been *rps* or even *rs*, as Ir. *serr*, W. *serr* 'bill-hook' (: Lat. *sarpo*), which may be < **serp-s-* or **ser-s-* (cf., without *p*, Skr. *sr̥ṇí* 'sickle'), and upon such an equation as W. *gwarr* 'the back between the shoulders' and Lith. *várpa* 'ear of corn'.

(6) **mpl*, **mpr* gave **ml*, **mr*, W. *fl*, *fr*, as *cyflawn* 'full' < **kom-pl̥n-*, *cyfran* 'share' < **kom-prət-snā* § 63 vii (2).

ii. (1) Before *t*, Ar. **p** became **qᵘ** > **k** (§ 89 ii) in Pr. Kelt. Thus Ar. **septm̥* > Pr. Kelt. **sekt̥m̥* > Ir. *secht n-*, W. *saith*: Lat. *septem*, Gk. ἑπτά, etc.—Ar. **qap-tos* > Pr. Kelt. **kaktos* > Ir. *cacht*, W. *caeth* 'serf': Lat. *captus*.—Ar. **neptís* > Pr. Kelt. **nektís* > Ir. *necht*, W. *nith* 'niece': Lat. *neptis*.—W. *llithro* 'to slip' < **sliktr-* < **slip-tr-*, √*slei-b-* extension of √*slei-*: E. *slip*, etc., § 95 i.

Before or after *s* also, **p** was liable to become **qᵘ** in Kelt., § 96 iv; also before *n*, see iv below.

(2) Initially in anticipation of medial *qᵘ*, Ar. **p** became **qᵘ** in Italo-Keltic; as Ar. **penqᵘe* 'five' > Skr. *pañca*, Gk. πέντε: Lat. *quinque*, Pr. Kelt. **qᵘeɯqᵘe* > O. W. *pimp*, Ml. W. *pymp*, *pump*, Ir. *cōic*, Gaul. πεμπε-.—Ar. **peqᵘ-*, **poqᵘ-* > Gk. *πέπων*, *πόπανον*: Lat. *coquo* (< **quequō*), *coctus*, Bret. *pibi*, W. *pobi* 'to bake' (< **qᵘoqᵘ-*), *poeth* 'hot' (< **qᵘoqᵘ-t-*).

(3) In anticipation of *k* or *q*, Ar. *p-* seems in some cases to have become *t-*; thus Ir. *torc* (beside *orc*), W. *twrch* 'boar': Lat. *porcus*; see *turio* § 101 iii (1);—W. *tanc* 'peace': Lat. *pax*, *pango*, √*pāk̂/ĝ-*; —W. *teg* 'fair', Gaul. *Tecos*: O. E. *fægr*, E. *fair*, √*pĕk-*;—W. *gwar-*

theg 'cattle': Lat. *pecus*, Lith. *pẽkus*, Skr. *páśu* 'cattle';—W. *talch* 'flake': Lat. *plancus*, E. *flag-stone, flake*, √*pelāq-*;—W. *twll* 'hole' < **tuk-slo-s*, *tyllu* 'to pierce': Lat. *pungo, punctum*, √*peuk̑/ĝ-*.—It seems also as if *p* at the end of a root or stem beginning with a guttural sometimes became *t*, as W. *pryd* 'personal appearance', Ir. *cruth*: Lat. *corpus*, Skr. *kr̥̊p-* 'aspect' < **q*^{u}*r̥̊p-*;—W. *cawad* 'shower': Ar. **qeuēp-* § 63 vii (3);—W. *caled* 'hard', as a noun 'difficulty' B.B. 65: ? Gk. χαλεπός (χ- < *qh-*).

iii. Ar. *p*, before disappearing in Kelt., doubtless first became a bilabial *f*, then *h*. When the stop of the *p* was beginning to be loosened, any reaction in favour of the explosive articulation would naturally take the form of transferring the stop, that is, of substituting for the loosening labial *p*, the labiovelar *q*^{u}; or, where the word had a guttural already, the dental *t*. Before *s*, both the substitution and the regular development took place; the former, *-q*^{u}*s-*, attested later as *-x-* in Gaul. *Crixos*, gives W. *-ch-*; the latter, *-fs-*, gives W. *-ff-*. Before *t*, I have assumed the former, as the substitution of *q*^{u} for *p*, known to occur, seems more likely than that of χ for *f*, so that *pt* > *q*^{u}*t* > χ*t* is more probable than *pt* > *ft* > χ*t*.

iv. Before *s*, p > *q*^{u} > ^{u}*k* after a rounded vowel; thus **upsel-* > **u*^{u}*ksel-* > **ouksel-* > W. *uchel*, Ir. *ūasal*; **lopsq-* > **lo*^{u}*ksk-* > W. *llusgo* § 96 iii (5);—similarly before *n*; **supn-* > **su*^{u}*kn-* > W. *hun* 'sleep', Ir. *sūan*, § 63 viii (1); **n̥-u̯o-dup-n-* > W. *an-o-ðun* 'bottomless', cf. *annwfn* § 102 iv (2), √*dheup/b-*; so possibly before *t*; W. *tuth* 'trot' < **tupt-*: O. Bulg. *tŭpati* 'palpitare', *tŭpŭtati* 'palpitare, calcare', Gk. τύπτω. Original *q*^{u} before *t* had become *k* earlier (in It.-Kelt.), and develops as *k*, as in *poeth* above. *m* before *p* prevents the diphthongization: W. *llost* < **lompst-* § 96 ii (3).

§ 87. i. Ar. t (Lat. *t*; Gk. τ; Germ. *þ, đ*; Lith. *t*; Skr. *t*) and Ar. th (Gk. τ; Skr. *th*) appear in Pr. Kelt. as t. Thus Ar. **tauros* > Lat. *taurus*, Gk. ταῦρος: Ir. *tarb*, W. *tarw*;—Ar. **tep-*: W. *tes*, *twymn*, *tán* § 86;—Ar. **treies* > Skr. *tráyas*, Gk. τρεῖς, Lat. *trēs*: W. *tri*, Ir. *trī*, 'three'.—Ar. **arətrom* > W. *aradr* 'plough': Gk. ἄροτρον.—Ar. **pl̥thə-* > Gk. πλάτανος, Gaul. -λιτανος, O. W. *litan*, W. *llydan* 'broad', § 63 viii (1).

ii. In Ar. the first t in the group tt had become an affricative; this stage is represented thus t^{s}t; in Skr. it went back to *tt* (just as *tst*, with original *s*, gave *tt* in Skr.), in Gk. it became στ, in Germ. *ss*, in Lat. *ss*, in Pr. Kelt. ss, appearing in W. generally as s. Example: base *meleit-* 'honey': FR **melil-tos* 'honeyed'

> W. *melys* 'sweet', Ir. *milis*. As dt became tt, § 93 i, the same result followed; thus Ar. √*u̯eid-* 'see, know', gave **u̯id-t-* > **u̯itt-* > **u̯its-t-* > W. *gwŷs* 'it is known' § 63 iv : Skr. *vitta-ḥ* 'known';—Ar. √*(s)k̂heid-/(s)qheid-* : R-grade nasalized > Lat. *scindo*, F-grade **keid-t-* > **keits-t-* > W. *cŵys* 'furrow', Ir. *cēis*.—So W. *cas* 'hate' < **k̂əd-t-*, √*k̂ūd-* : E. *hate*; F-grade, W. *cawdd* 'insult' : Gk. κῆδος. Similarly Ar. dd > d^{z}d > zd, § 91 ii.

§ 88. Ar. k̂ (Lat. *c*; Gk. κ; Germ. *h*, *-g-*; Lith. *sz*; Skr. *ŝ*), Ar. k̂h (Gk. χ), Ar. q (Lat. *c*; Gk. κ; Germ. *h*, *-g-*; Lith. *k*; Skr. *k*, *c*), Ar. qh (Gk. χ, Skr. *kh*) appear in Kelt. as k. Examples: Ar. **k̂m̥tóm* '100' > Lat. *centum*, Gk. *é-κατόν*, O.E. *hund*, Lith. *szimtas*, Skr. *śatá-m* : Ir. *cēt*, W. *cant* < Pr. Kelt. **kn̥tom*.—Ar. √*qā-*, F-grade Lat. *cārus*, Skr. *kā́yamāna-ḥ* 'fond', R-grade W. *caraf* 'I love'.—Ar. **qap-* > Lat. *capio* : W. *cael* § 188 iv.—Ar. **qrek̂t* > Ir. *crecht*, W. *craith* 'scar' < Pr. Kelt. **krekt-* : Skr. *karjati* 'injures' < **qerĝ-*, √*qereĝ-*.—Ar. **eqreqt-* > Pr. Kelt. **arekt-* > W. *araith* 'speech' § 63 iii.

§ 89. i. Ar. q^{u} (Lat. *qu*; Gk. π, but τ before ε or η, and κ before or after υ; Germ. *hw*, *-f-*, *-w-*, *-g-*; Lith. *k*; Skr. *k*, *c*) and probably Ar. q^{u}h (Skr. *kh*; Gk. φ, θ?) were q^{u} in Pr. Kelt. This remains as *q*^{u} in the ogam inscriptions, but became *c* in Ir.; in Gaul. and Brit. it appears as p.—Examples: Ar. **q*^{u}*etu̯er-* (in various grades § 63 vii (4)) > Lat. *quattuor*, Skr. *catvā́raḥ* : W. *pedwar*, Ir. *cethir*.—Ar. √*q*^{u}*elā*^{x}- / *q*^{u}*ēl-* > W. *pell* 'far' (< **q*^{u}*el-s-o-*): Gk. τηλε.—Ar. √*seq*^{u}- : Lat. *inquam* < **insquām* : Ml. W. *hep*, *heb* 'says'.—W. *prynaf* 'I buy' § 201 i (4);—Ar. √*leiq*^{u}- > Gk. λείπω : W. *llwyb-r* 'track' : Lat. *linquo* (*n*-infix).

ii. (1) Before *t*, *s* and prob. *n*, Ar. q^{u} became k in Kelt. Thus Ar. **poq*^{u}*t-* > **q*^{u}*oq*^{u}*t-* > **q*^{u}*okt-* > W. *poeth*, § 86 ii (2).—Ar. **noq*^{u}*t-* (√*nog*^{u}-) > Kelt. **nokt-* > Ir. *nocht*, W. *noeth* 'naked': Lat. *nūdus* < **nog*^{u}*edhos*.—W. *gwlyb*, O.W. *gulip* 'wet' < **u̯liq*^{u}- : Lat. *liqueo*; W. *gwlith* 'dew' < **u̯likt-* < **u̯liq*^{u}*t-*; *gwlych* 'liquid' (such as gravy, etc.) < **u̯lik-n-* or *u̯lik-s-* : √*u̯eleiq*^{u}-.

For Ar. *sq*^{u}, *q*^{u}*s*, see § 96 iii.

(2) After *l* or *r* also (but not *l̥*, *r̥*), we have k for Ar. q^{u}; thus W. *golch* 'slops', *golchi* 'to wash' (Ir. *folcaim*) < **u̯olk-* < **u̯olq*^{u}- § 100 ii (2) : **u̯liq*^{u}-, as above.—W. *cynnyrch* 'crop, produce' <

**kon-derq^{u}-*, *√dereq^{u}-* : Gk. *δρέπω* 'I mow, reap', *δρεπάνη* 'sickle'. Except in compounds, where the initial of the second element is treated as an initial, as *gorffwys*, § 75 vi (4).

(3) Before *u* it appears as **k**, as in Ml. W. *cw* 'where?' < the Ar. interrog. stem **q^{u}u-*, § 163 i (7) vi.

iii. Ar. **k̂ṷ** or **qṷ**, like *q^{u}*, gives **p** in Brit. and Gaul.: W. *prys* 'brushwood' < *k̂ṷrist-* : O. H. G. *hrīs* 'twig', *hurst*, E. *hurst*, O. Bulg. *chvrastŭ* 'brushwood', *√k̂ṷereis-*.—W. *pair* 'caldron' < **qṷorio-*, Ir. *coire* id. : O. N. *hverna* 'pot' < **qṷer-* : Lat. *scrīnium*.—Ar. **ek̂ṷo-s* > Lat. *equus*, Gk. *ἵππος* (*ι* < *e*?), Skr. *áśvaḥ* : Ir. *ech*, Gaul. *Epo-*, W. *ebol* 'colt'.—W. *penn* 'head', Gaul. *Πεννο-*, Ir. *cenn* < **qṷenno-* < **qṷept-sno-* : Goth. *haubiþ*, E. *head*, Germ. *Haupt*, base **qaṷepet-* met. for **qapeṷet-* (Sütterlin IF. xxix 123) whence Lat. *caput* (< **qapṷet-*).—In later formations: Ar. *√māk̂-* 'grow': R **mək̂-* > Gk. *μακρός* : W. *mag-u* 'to nurture'; **mak-ṷo-s* > W. *mab* 'son, youth', Ir. *macc*, ogam gen. *maq^{u}q^{u}i*.—W. *epil* 'offspring' < **eb-hil* < **ek-ṷo-sīl-*, *√sē-* § 63 vi (1), cf. W. *gwe-hil-ion* 1 Bren. xiii 33 < **ṷo-sīl-*.

But before *u* it gives **k**, as in W. *ci* 'dog' < **kū* < **kṷū* < **k̂ṷō* = Skr. *śvá́*; cf. ii (3) above.

In the Roman period, therefore, there was no Brit. *q^{u}* or *qṷ*, and Lat. *qu* gives *k*; as in *carawys*, *garawys* 'lent' < *quadragēsima*; W. *cegin* 'kitchen' < *coquīna*.

iv. It was clearly possible to distinguish in Ar. between *q^{u}* and *qṷ*; probably the rounding in the latter was much more pronounced. But *qṷ* was also felt as a double consonant, and gives *-ππ-* in Gk., whereas *q^{u}* gives *-π-* only.

§ 90. Ar. **bh** (Lat. *f*, *-b-*; Gk. *φ*; Germ. *b*; Lith. *b*; Skr. *bh*) and the rarer Ar. **b** (Lat. *b*; Gk. *β*; Germ. *p*; Lith. *b*; Skr. *b*) both appear as **b** in Pr. Kelt. Examples: **bh**: Ar. *√bher-* > Lat. *fero*, Gk. *φέρω*, E. *bear*, Skr. *bhárati* 'bears': Ir. *berimm* 'I bear', W. *cymeraf* 'I take' < **kom-ber-*.—Ar. **bhrātēr*, **bhrāter-* > Lat. *frāter*, Gk. *φρά́τωρ* 'member of a clan', E. *brother*, Skr. *bhrā́tar-*: Ir. *brāthir*, W. *brawd* 'brother'.—Ar. *√bhereṷ-* > Lat. *ferveo*: W. *berwi*, § 63 vii (4).—Ar. **bhu-* > W. *bod*, § 63 vii (3).—Ar. *√enebh-*: VF **nebh-* > Gk. *νέφος*, *νεφέλη*, Lat. *nebula* : Ir. *nēl* 'cloud' < **neblo-*, Ml. W. *nywl* 'fog' < **nebl̥o-*; see § 37 ii. — — **b**: Ar. *√breĝh-* 'short': Lat. *brevis*, Gk. *βραχύς*: Ir.

berr, W. *byrr* 'short', see § 101 ii (2).—Ar. √*dheub-* > Goth. *diups* 'deep' : R **dhub-* > Gaul. *Dubno-*, W. *dwfn* 'deep', Gaul. *dubron*, W. *dwfr* 'water'.

§ **91.** i. Ar. **dh** (Lat. *f-*, *-d-*, *-b-*; Gk. *θ*; Germ. *d*; Lith. *d*; Skr. *dh*) and Ar. **d** (Lat. *d*; Gk. *δ*; Germ. *t*; Lith. *d*; Skr. *d*) appear as **d** in Kelt. Examples: **dh** : Ar. **dhu̯or-* : **dhur-* > Lat. *foris*, Gk. *θύρᾱ*, E. *door* : W. *dôr* < **dhur-ā*, *drws* 'door' < **dhru-st-* < **dhu̯r-* § 63 viii (1), Ir. *dorus* (intrusive *o*?).—Ar. **dhub-* > W. *dwfn* § 90.—Ar. √*ereudh-* > Lat. *ruber*, Gk. *ἐρυθρός*: W. *rhudd* 'red' < Kelt. **roud-*. — — **d**: Ar. √*demā-* : F°R **domə-* > Lat. *domi-tus* : W. *dof* 'tame'; RR **dᵉmə-* > Gk. *ἀ-δάμα-τος* : W. *dafad* 'sheep'.—Ar. **dékm̥* > Lat. *decem*, Gk. *δέκα*, Goth. *taíhun*, Lith. *dẽszimt*, Skr. *dáśa* : Ir. *deich n-*, W. *deg* 'ten'.—Ar. √*deiḳu-* > W. *duw*, *dydd*, § 63 vii (4).—Ar. √*u̯erŏd-*: R² *u̯r̥d-* > Lat. *rādix*; VR **u̯rəd-* > Gk. *ῥάδαμνος*, Lat. *rădius*: W. *gwraidd* 'roots'; RV **u̯r̥d-* > Ir. *frēm* 'root' < **u̯r̥d-mā*, W. *greddf* 'instinct' for **gu̯reðf* § 102 iii (2) < **u̯r̥d-mā*, § 63 vii (3).

ii. Ar. **d** or **t** + **d**(**h**) became **dᶻd**(**h**), which gave **zd** in Kelt., and fell together with Ar. *zd*, giving Ir. *t* (*tt*), and W. **th** § 97 ii. Thus W. *peth* 'some, a certain quantity of, something, thing', *beth* 'what?', Ir. *cuit* 'part, share' < **qᵘid-dm̥* : cf. Lat. *quid-dam*. —W. *rhathu* 'to scrape, smooth' < **rəd-dh-* (or **rəd-zdh-*) : Lat. *rādo*, § 63 ix.—W. *meth* 'miss, failure' < **mit-dh-* : Ir. *mis-*, *mith-* 'miss-', E. *miss*, √*meit-* : Lat. *mūto*.

§ **92.** i. Ar. **ĝ** (Lat. *g*; Gk. *γ*; Germ. *k*; Lith. *ž*; Skr. *j*), Ar. **ĝh** (Lat. *h*; Gk. *χ*; Germ. *g*; Lith. *ž*; Skr. *h*), Ar. **g** (Lat. *g*; Gk. *γ*; Germ. *k*; Lith. *g*; Skr. *g*, *j*), Ar. **gh** (Lat. *h*; Gk. *χ*; Germ. *g*; Lith. *g*; Skr. *gh*, *h*) all appear in Kelt. as **g**. Examples: **ĝ**: Ar. *ĝn̥-* > Lat. *grānum*, Goth. *kaúrn*, Lith. *žírnis*, Skr. *jīrṇá-ḥ* : Ir. *grān*, W. *grawn* § 61 ii.—Ar. √*ĝenē-* > Lat. *genitor*, Gk. *γένεσις*, Skr. *jánati* 'begets' : W. *geni* 'give birth'.—Ar. √*areĝ-* > Lat. *argentum*, Gk. *ἄργυρος*, Skr. *rajatá-m* 'silver' : W. *ariant*, Ir. *airget* 'silver' < Pr. Kelt. **argn̥t-*. — — **ĝh**: Ar. **ĝhei-em-* > Lat. *hiems*, Gk. *χεῖμα* : W. *gaeaf*, § 75 vi (1).—Ar. √*seĝh-* > Gk. *ἔχω* (< **seĝhō*), Skr. *sáhate* 'vanquishes' : W. *hy* 'bold' < **seg-os*, Gaul. *Sego-*; *hael* 'generous' < **sag-lo-* < **sĝh-lo-*; *haer* 'impor-

tunate' < *sag-ro-*. — — **g** : Ar. *√gleį-* 'sticky, liquid' : Lat. *glūs* < **gloi-s*, Gk. γλοιός < *γλοιϝος : O.W. *gloiu* gl. liquidum, W. *gloyw* 'shiny', *gloyw-ðu* 'glossy black' < **gloi-u̯o-s* § 75 ii (1), Ir. *glē, glae* 'bright' < **glei-uos*, **gloi-uos*, O. Corn. *digluiuhit* ox. 2 gl. eliqua, W. *gloywi* 'to drain (after boiling), to clarify, to polish'; R **gli-* > Lat. *gli-s*, Gk. γλί-νη, Lith. *gli-tùs* 'smooth, sticky', Ir. *glenim*, W. *glynaf* 'I adhere'.—Ar. *√(s)theg-* > Lat. *tego*, Gk. στέγος, τέγος, Skr. *sthágati* 'covers' : Ir. *tech*, *teg*, O. W. *tig*, W. *ty* 'house' < **tegos*; F° **(s)thog-* > Lat. *toga*, W. *to* 'roof', § 104 ii (2). — — **gh** : Ar. *√ghabh-* > Lat. *habeo*, Lith. *gabanà* 'armful' : W. *gafael* 'to take hold', Ir. *gabim* 'I take'.—Ar. *√legh-* 'lie' > Lat. *lectus*, Gk. λέχος : W. *lle* 'place', Ir. *lige* 'bed', W. *gwe-ly* 'bed'; L **lēgh-* > Lith. *pãlègis* 'confinement to bed'; F° **logh-* § 58 v.

ii. Ar. **g$^{u̯}$** (Lat. *v*, *gu* after *n*, *g* before cons. and *u*; Gk. *β*, *δ* before *ε* or *η*, *γ* before or after *υ*; Germ. *kw*; Lith. *g*; Skr. *g*, *j*) gave Pr. Kelt. **b**. Thus Ar. *√g$^{u̯}$eiē-* > Lat. *vīvo*, Gk. *βίος* : W. *byw*, etc., § 63 vii (3).—Ar. **g$^{u̯}$ōus* > Lat. *bōs* (Umbr.-Samn. form for true Lat. **vōs*), Gk. βοῦς : Ir. *bō*, W. *biw*, pl. *bu*.

iii. But Ar. **g$^{u̯}$h** (Lat. *f-*, *-v-*, *-b-*, *gu* after *n*; Gk. *φ*, *θ*; Germ. *w*, *g*; Lith. *g*; Skr. *gh*, *h*) forms an exception to the general rule, § 85, and does not fall together with the unaspirated consonant. It remained a rounded guttural in Pr. Kelt., and gave *g* in Ir. with loss of rounding; but the rounding was retained in Brit., and we have in W. initially **gw̯**, medially **f** (≡ *v*) between vowels. Thus Ar. *√g$^{u̯}$hen-* > Gk. *θείνω*, *φόνος*, Lat. *dē-fen-do* : Ir. *gonim* 'I wound', W. *gwanu* 'to stab' < **gwon-* § 65 v, *gwanaf* 'swathe' (hay cut at one sweep).—Ar. *√g$^{u̯}$her-* > Lat. *formus*, Gk. *θερμός*, E. *warm* : Ir. *gorim* 'I warm', W. *gori* (< **gwori* § 36 iii), Bret. *gori*, *gwiri* 'to incubate', W. *gori* 'to suppurate', *gŵr* 'pus', W. *gwrēs* 'heat', § 95 iii (1).—Ar. *√g$^{u̯}$helē-* 'green, yellow' > Lat. *flāvus* : W. *gwelw* 'pale', *gwellt* 'straw, grass', Ir. *gelim* 'I graze', *gelt-* 'fodder'; the doublet **ĝhelē-* > Skr. *hári-ḥ* 'yellow, greenish', Gk. χλόη 'verdure, grass', χλόος 'green' : W. *gledd* 'turf', *glas* 'green', *glas-wellt* 'grass', § 101 iv (1).—Ar. *√g$^{u̯}$hedh-* > Gk. *ποθέω*, *θέσσασθαι* : Ir. *guidim* 'I pray', W. *gweddi* 'prayer'.—Medially : Ar. *√sneig$^{u̯}$h-* > Lat. *ninguit*, *nix*, *nivis*, Gk. *νίφα* : Ir. *snigid* 'rains', *snechta* 'snow', W. *nyf*

'snow'.—Ar. √*dheg^{u}h-* > Lat. *foveo*, Gk. *τέφρα* : Ml. Ir. *daig* 'fire', W. *deifio* 'to singe'.

iv. Unlike *ku̯*, which is treated as *q^{u}* in Kelt., Ar. **gu̯** (*ĝu̯*, *gu̯*) does not fall together with *g^{u}*. The change *q^{u}* > *p* is Gaul.-Brit. but not Goidelic, while the change *g^{u}* > *b* is Pankeltic, and therefore much earlier. The double consonant **gu̯** remained, and gives medially W. **w**, Ir. *g*, as in W. *tew* 'thick' < **teguos*, Ir. *tiug* : E. *thick* § 76 viii.—Ar. **ghu̯** develops like *g^{u}h*, giving initially W. **gw-**, Ir. *g-* ; thus Ar. **ĝhu̯el-t-* > W. *gwyllt*, Ir. *geilt* 'wild' : Goth. *wilþeis*, E. *wild*, parallel to Ar. **ĝhu̯er-* > Lat. *ferus*, Gk. *θήρ*.

v. When the guttural follows a nasal we have the following results :

ng^{u} > W. **m** (for *mm*), Ir. *mb* ; as Ar. **n̥g^{u}en-* > Ir. *imb*, W. *ymen-yn* 'butter' : Lat. *unguen*.

ng^{u}h > W. **ng** (≡ *ŋŋ*), Ir. *ng* ; as W. *llyngyr* 'lumbrici' : Lat. *lumbrīcus*.—W. *angerdd* 'heat' < **n̥-g^{u}her-d-* ; *angar* 'heat' < **n̥-g^{u}h$_{e}$r-*, √*g^{u}her-*, see iii ; *ager* 'steam' § 99 vi (1).

nghu̯ > W. **w**, Ir. *ng* ; as W. *ewin* 'nail', Ir. *ingen* < **nghu̯-*, √*onoqh/gh-* : Skr. *nakhá-ḥ* 'nail', Gk. *ὄνυξ*, Lat. *unguis*.

nĝhu̯ > W. **f**, Ir. *ng* ; as W. *tafod* 'tongue', Ir. *tenge* : O. Lat. *dingua* (Lat. *lingua*), E. *tongue* < Ar. **dn̥ĝhu̯ā*.—W. *llyfu* 'to lick' < **linĝh-u̯-* : Ir. *līgim*, Gk. *λείχω*, *λιχνεύω*, Lat. *lingo*, √*leiĝh-*.

The first two groups contain two consonants each ; *g^{u}* > *b*, and consequently the nasal became *m* ; but *g^{u}h* remained a guttural so that the nasal became *ŋ*, and the group became *ŋŋ^{u}*, which was unrounded in W. as in Ir. The other groups contain three consonants ; in Ir. the *u̯* dropped as usual, leaving *ŋŋ* ; but in W. the *u̯* remained, *ŋŋ* > *ŋ* before a consonant, and *ŋ* dropped, § 106 ii (1).

§ 93. i. In Ar., when two explosives came together, a tenuis before a media became a media, and a media before a tenuis became a tenuis ; thus **p + d** > **bd**, and **b + t** > **pt**. Only the second could be aspirated, and the aspiration, if any, of the first was transferred to it ; thus **bh + d** > **bdh**. In this case if the second was a tenuis it became an aspirated media, thus **bh + t** > **bdh** ; this however only survives in Indo-Iran. ; elsewhere we have two tenues ; thus Gk. has *κτ* from **gh + t**, as in *εὐκτός* : *εὔχομαι*, Meillet, Intr.^{2} 106. So in Italic and

Keltic; thus Lat. *lectus*, Ir. *lecht* 'grave', √*legh-*; W. *gwaith* 'fois', Ir. *fecht* < Pr. Kelt. **u̯ekt-*, √*u̯eĝh-* § 100 i (2).

ii. (1) Ar. **-pt-**, **-kt-**, **-qt-**, **-q^{u}t-**, all gave **-kt-** in Pr. Kelt., §§ 86 ii, 88, 89 ii; this appears in Ir. as *-cht*, in W. as **-i̯th**, etc. § 108 iv (1).

(2) In other groups of dissimilar explosives the first was assimilated to the second in Pr. Kelt.; thus **tk** > *kk* > Ir. *cc*, W. **ch**; as W. *achas* 'hated', Ir. *accais* 'curse' < **akkass-* < **ad-kəd-t-* § 87 ii.—W. *achar* 'loves' < **akkar-* < **ad-qər-*: Lat. *cārus* § 88. Lat. **-pt-** was introduced too late to become *-kt-* as above, and so became **tt**, as the habit of assimilation persisted in Brit.; this gives W. **th**; as *pregeth* 'sermon' < *pręceptum*, *ysgrythur* < *scriptūra*.

(3) When the group consisted of mediae, the double media became a single tenuis in Brit., giving a media in W.; thus **dg** > **gg** > Brit. *c* > W. **g**; it gives Ir. *c* or *cc* sounded *gg*, Mn. Ir. *g*. Examples: Ir. *acarb*, W. *agarw̯* 'rough, rocky, unfertile' W.M. 180 < **aggaru̯-* < **ad-ĝh$_e$r'su̯-*: Ir. *garb*, W. *garw̯* 'rough' < **ĝh$_e$r'su̯-*: Gk. χέρσος, Skr. *hr̥ṣitáḥ* 'bristling', Av. *zarštva-* 'stone', Lat. *horreo*, *hirsūtus*, √*ĝheres-*, § 95 iv (3).—W. *aber*, O. W. *aper* 'confluence', *aberth* 'sacrifice' < **abber-* < **ad-bher-*, √*bher-*.

There seems no good reason to suppose that *gd*, *db* could give ʒδ, δ*f* in W. W. *gŵydd* 'goose' cannot come from Stokes's **gegda* (if *g* were not assimilated, *eg* would give *ei*, not *ŵy*, in W.), and Pedersen's *breuddwyd* < **brogd-* (Gr. i 109) is not convincing. W. δ*f* can only come from *zb*, or *zg* § 97 iii, iv, or from *dm*; words like *addfwyn*, *addfain* come from *ad-m-* (*mwyn* 'gentle', *main* 'slender'), not from **ad-b-*. ¶ Two soft spirants coming together, where no vowel has fallen out between them, can only occur when the first was already the spirant δ < *z* in Brit., or when the second was the sonant *m*.

iii. (1) Ar. **tt** became **t^{s}t**, and Ar. **dd(h)** became **d^{z}d(h)**, § 87 ii, § 91 ii, giving W. **s** (*ss*) and **th** respectively. But when **d + t** or **t + t** came together in Kelt., they became **tt**, which, like Lat. **tt**, appears in W. as **th**; thus W. *athech* 'skulking' < **ad-teg-s-*: W. *techu* 'to skulk, lie hidden', √(*s*)*theg-* § 92 i.—W. *saeth* 'arrow' < Lat. *sagitta*.—For **tt** + liquid see § 99 v (4).

Similarly **d-d** when they came together in Kelt. > Brit. **t** > W. **d**; as in *edifar* 'repentant' < **ad-dī-bar-*: W. *bár* 'indigna-

tion', Ir. *bara* : Lat. *ferio*.—W. *credaf* 'I believe', Ir. *cretim* (*t* ≡ *d-d*) < **kred d-* : Skr. *śrad dhā-* 'confide, believe'.

Ar. **śred dhē-* lit. 'set (one's) heart (on)' was not a fast compound (cf. Skr. *śrád asmāi dhatta* 'believe in him'); thus the W. *credaf* is explained by the *d-d* coming permanently together in Kelt. (for Ar. *d-dh* > W. *th* § 91 ii), Brugmann² I 670, 691. Lat. *crēdo* is also irregular, as if **dō* 'give' had been substituted for **dhē* 'put', Sommer 251.

When **d-d** came together later in Brit., they seem to have been simplified to *d* giving W. **ð**, as in *aðysg* 'education' < Lat. *addisc-*; so W. *aðef* 'home' < **ad-dem-*, √ *demā-* § 91 i.

(2) The change of the first **t** in **tt** to the affricative **t^s** was perhaps due to the tendency in Ar. to avoid double consonants, which in other cases seem to have been simplified. Gemination however was a special characteristic of diminutives and hypocoristic or pet names, and of child-language, which was in a sense a language apart; and in these even **tt** remained unchanged. Thus Gk. *Νικοττώ* (for *Νικοτέλεια*), *Δικκώ*, *Θεοκκώ*, *Φίλλιος*, *Κρίττις*, *Σθέννις*, O. H. G. *Sicco* (for *Sigerīch* or *Sigbertus*), Lat. *Varrō* (beside *Vārus*), Brit. *Commios* (beside *Comux*, Gaul. *Comus*), W. *Iol-lo* (with double *l* in Ml. W. § 22 ii, for *Iorwerth*), *Gutto* (for *Gruffuð*) ;—Gk. *ἄττα*, Lat. *atta* 'papa' ; Skr. *akkā* 'mama', Gk. *Ἄκκώ*, Lat. *Acca Lārentia* (: W. *y nawfed ach* 'the ninth degree of consanguinity', lit. 'the ninth *mother', cf. "the 4th mother" § 123 v ; *ach ac edryd* 'descent', lit. '*mat- and pat-ernity' ; *achoedd*, *achau* 'lineage'). As the above examples show, the habit of doubling in such forms persisted in new creations, and may account for the $q^{u}q^{u}$ in the ogam *maq^{u}q^{u}i*, and for the *tt* in Brit. **genettā* > W. *geneth* R. P. 1359 'girl'. So in tribal names: *Brittones* beside *Britannī* ; *Gallī* beside *Γαλάται*. Also in names of animals: Lat. *vacca* ; W. *bwch* 'buck' (*ch* < *kk*), Skr. *bukkas* id.; Gaul. *cattos*, W. *cath* ; Ml. W. *buch* 'cow' < **boukkā* ; W. *mochyn* 'pig', Ir. *mucc*, Germ. dial. *mocke* 'sow' ; Ir. *socc*, W. *hwch* 'pig, sow' ; O. E. *dogga* 'dog' ; Persson, IF. xxvi 68.

The Spirants.

§ 94. i. Ar. **s** was of very frequent occurrence. It remained generally in Pr. Kelt. Initially Ar. **s** before a vowel (Lat. *s*, Gk. ', Germ. *s*, Lith. *s*, Skr. *s*) appears in Ir. as *s-*, in W. gene-

rally as h-, sometimes as s-. Examples: Ir. *samail* 'likeness', W. *hafal* 'like' < *$s_e m_e l$-: Lat. *similis*, Gk. ὁμαλός, √*sem-* 'one'.—Ir. *sam*, W. *haf* 'summer': O. H. G. *sumar*, E. *summer*, Skr. *sámā* 'year'.—Ir. *sen*, W. *hên* 'old': Lat. *senex*, Gk. ἕνος, Skr. *sána-ḥ* 'old', Lith. *sẽnas* 'old'.—W. *had*: Lat. *satus* § 63 vi (1).—W. *hun* 'sleep': Lat. *somnus*, Gk. ὕπνος, § 63 viii (1).—W. *hynt* 'way', Ir. *sēt*, § 65 iii.—W. *hîr* 'long', Ir. *sīr*: Lat. *sērus*, § 72.— — Ir. *secht n-*, W. *saith* 'seven': Lat. *septem*, Gk. ἑπτά, etc. < Ar. **septm* § 86 ii (1).—W. *sîl* 'progeny, seed', beside *hîl* < **sē-l-*, √*sē-* § 63 vi (1).—W. *serr*, Ir. *serr*, § 86 i (5).—W. *saer*, Ir. *sāer* < **sapero-*? : Lat. *sapio*.—W. *sugnaf*, Ir. *sūgim* 'I suck': Lat. *sūcus*, *sūgo*, O. E. *sūgan*, *sūcan* 'suck'.

ii. Medially between vowels Ar. s remained after the separation of the P and Q divisions; and is found in Gaulish, as in *Isarno-*. In Ir. and W. it became h, and generally disappeared, except where it became initial by metathesis, as in W. *haearn*, though it is in some cases still written in Ml. W.; thus W. *eog*, Ml. W. *ehawc*, Ir. *eo*, gen. *iach* < Kelt. **esāk-* < **esōk-*, Lat. *esox* < Kelt. The reduction of vowel-flanked s gave rise to new diphthongs in Brit., which developed largely like original diphthongs; see § 75 i, ii, vi, vii, § 76 ii (3).

iii. The change of *s* to *h* differs from the soft mutation; in the latter a voiceless consonant becomes voiced, thus *t* > *d*; the corresponding change of *s* would be to *z*. But *s* did not become voiced; it remained voiceless, but was pronounced loosely, and ultimately became *h*. It must have been loosened already in the Roman period, for Lat. intervocalic *s* introduced at that period remains, as in *caws* < *cāseus*. Now Lat. explosives undergo the soft mutation; the loosening of Brit. *s* is therefore earlier, and so the interchange *s*/*h* does not enter into that system. Before such a system of interchanges was organized it was natural to choose one or the other sound for the same word; and the postvocalic reduced *s* was chosen for most in Brit., the postconsonantal full *s* for others. It is quite possible that the two forms persisted in many words for a considerable period, so that we have e. g. W. *Hafren* beside Brit. (-Lat.) *Sabrĭna*. There is only one certain example of Lat. initial *s*- giving *h*-; that is *hestawr* < *sextārius*; this either was a trade term borrowed early, or has followed the analogy of words like *Hafren*. Possibly a transition stage is represented by *Ixarninus*, *Isxarninus* beside *Isarninus* Rhys LWPh.² 418. (The Ir. reduction of *s* is independent, and is included in the Ir. system of initial mutation.)

iv. Ar. su̯- remained in Pr. Kelt., and gives *s* in Ir., chw̯-, hw̯- in W., § 26 vi. Thus Ar. **su̯esōr* > Ir. *siur*, W. *chw̯aer* 'sister' § 75 vii (2).—Ar. **su̯id-t-* > **su̯itˢt-* > W. *chw̯ŷs* 'sweat' : Skr. *svídyati* 'sweats' : Lat. *sūdor* < **su̯oid-* : E. *sweat*.—Ar. **su̯eĥs* > W. *chw̯ech*, Ir. *sē* : Gk. 'Ϝέξ, § 101 ii (2).—Ar. **su̯eĥ(u)r-* > W. *chw̯egrwn* 'father-in-law', *chw̯egr* 'mother-in-law' : Lat. *socer*, *socrus*, Gk. *ἑκυρός*, *ἑκυρᾶ*, Skr. *śvâśuraḥ*, *śvaśrúḥ*.—W. *chwi* 'you' < **s-u̯ēs* : Lat. *vōs* § 159 iv.—Before *ɔ* from *ā* it was unrounded to h, as in *hawdd* < **su̯ād-* § 148 i (6).

Medial *-u̯s-* > *hˣ* > W. w̯ § 76 ii (3).

§ 95. i. Ar. sm-, sn-, sl-, sr- remained in Pr. Kelt. and appear in Ir. unchanged, in W. as m-, n-, ll-, rh-. Thus, sm- : Ir. *smēr* 'blackberry', W. *mwyar* 'blackberries' § 75 vi (2).—Ir. *smir* gen. *smera* 'marrow', W. *mêr* id. : Gk. σμυρίζω, *μυρίζω* 'I anoint', E. *smear*, Lith. *smarsas* 'fat'.—sn- : Ir. *snechta*, W. *nyf* 'snow' : Lat. *ninguit*, O. H. G. *snēo*, E. *snow* § 92 iii.—Ir. *snāim* 'I swim', W. *nawf* 'swimming' : Lat. *nāre*, Skr. *snâti* 'bathes'.—Ar. √*senē(i)-* 'thread' : Ir. *snīim*, W. *nyddaf* 'I spin', Ir. *snāthat*, W. *nodwydd* 'needle' : Lat. *nēre*, E. *snare*, Skr. *snáyu* 'bowstring'.—sl- : Ir. *slemun*, W. *llyfn* 'smooth' : Lat. *lūbricus* < **sloibricos*, E. *slip*.—Ir. *slūag*, W. *llu* 'retinue' : O. Bulg. *sluga* 'servant'.—sr- : Ar. **sreu̯-* : Ir. *sruth* 'stream', W. *rhwd* 'dung-water' (*rhwd tomydd* I.G. 238), *rhewyn* 'gutter' : Lith. *srutà* 'dung-water', Gk. *ῥυτός*, *ῥεῦμα*, etc. § 58 vi, § 76 iv (1).—Ir. *srōn* 'nose' < **srokn-*, W. *rhoch* 'snore' < **srokn-* § 99 vi (3) : Gk. *ῥέγχω*, *ῥέγκω* 'I snore', *ῥόγχος* 'snoring', *ῥύγχος* 'pig's snout', § 97 v (3).

As *s-* before a vowel sometimes remains in W., so a few examples occur of *s-* before a sonant, as *(y)snoden* 'band, lace', Ir. *snāthe* gl. filum < **sn̥t-*, √*senē(i)-* ;—*(y)slath* beside *llath* 'lath', Ir. *slat* : E. *lath*, O. H. G. *latta* without *s-*. The N. W. dial. *slywen* 'eel' is prob. for **syllywen* : Corn. *selyas*, *sullyes* 'eels', Bret. *silienn* (*stlaoñenn*) 'eel'; the Mn. lit. W. *llysywen*, S. W. dial. *llysŵen*, seems to be a metathesized form; prob. √*selei-* : Lat. *līmax*. The second element is perhaps *-onghu̯-* : Ir. *esc-ung* 'eel' : Gk. ἔγχελυς 'eel' (the root has many forms, see Walde² s.v. *anguis*).

ii. (1) Medial -sm-, -sn-, -sl-, -sr- probably remained in Pr. Kelt., but became -mm-, -nn-, -ll-, -rr- in both Ir. and W. (In W. *-mm-* is written *-m-*, and *ll* is now the voiceless *ll*,

properly double *tt* § 54 i (2)). Examples: **sm**: W. *twymyn* 'fever' < **tepes-men-* § 86 i (3).—W. *ym* 'we are', Ir. *ammi* < Kelt. **ésmesi* § 179 ix (3).—**sn**: W. *onn-en* 'ash', Ir. *huinn-ius* < **os-n-* : Lat. *ornus* < **osinus*, O. H. G. *as-k*, E. *ash*.—W. *bronn* 'breast', Ir. *bruinne* id. < **brus-n-* : O. H. G. *brus-t* 'breast'.—**sl**: W. *coll* 'hazel', Ir. *coll* < **qos-l-* : Lat. *corulus* < **cosulus*, O. H. G. *hasal*, E. *hazel*, Lith. *kasulas* 'spear'.—**sr**: W. *fferru* 'to congeal' < **spis-r-* : Lat. *spissus* 'thick'.—After a long vowel or diphthong *n* or *r* is simplified, as in *ffūn* 'breath' < **spois-n-* § 96 iv (1);—*gwawr* 'dawn' < **u̯ōs-r-* : Lat. *vēr* 'spring' < **u̯ēs-r*, √*eu̯es-*. But the simplification took place too late to give **f*, **l* for *m*, *ll* in *twymyn*, *pwyll*, etc.; and *-m*, *-ll* remained double after simple vowels and shortened them, as in *drŭm* § 100 v, *dŭll* (2) below.

(2) An explosive before one of the above groups simply disappears; thus **prə-t-snā* > W. *rhann* § 63 vii (2);—**tuk-slo-s* > W. *twll* § 86 ii (3);—**dr̥k-smā* > W. *drem* 'sight', √*derk-* § 61 i;—W. *rhwym* 'band' < **reig-smen*, √*reiĝ-* : Lat. *corrigia*;—W. *pwyll*, Ir. *cīall* 'thought' < **q̑eit-sl-* : Skr. *cit-tá-m* 'thought', *caityaḥ* 'soul';—W. *dull* 'manner, appearance' < **doik-sl-*, √*deik-* : Gk. *δείκνυμι*.

(3) But a sonant in the above position remains. Examples: W. *garm* 'shout', Ir. *gairm* < **ĝar-smn̥*, √*ĝăr-* : Lat. *garrio*;—W. *telm* 'snare', Ir. *tailm*, gen. *telma* < **tel-sm-* : Gk. *τελαμών* 'thong';—Ml. W. *anmyneδ* (now *amynedd*), Ir. *ainmne* 'patience' < **n̥-smeniiā*, √*menēi̯* 'thought', pref. *n̥-* 'in';—W. *mymryn* 'a little bit', Ir. *mīr* 'a bit of flesh' < **mēmsro-m* (*ī* shortened in Brit., *m* lost in Ir.) : Lat. *membrum* < **mēmsrom*, Gk. *μηρός* < **mēm̥sros* or **mēsros*, Skr. *māṣ* 'flesh';—W. *cern* 'back of cheek' < **k̂ersn-* : Lat. *cernuus* < **k̂ersn-*, Gk. *κάρηνον* < **k̂e̯rasnom*, Lat. *cerebrum* < **k̂erasrom*; W. *carr yr ên* 'jawbone' either < **k̂e̯r's-r-* (: cf. Lat. *cerebrum*) or simply **k̂e̯r's-*;—W. *amnaid* 'nod' (for **anmeid*), O. W. pl. *enmeituou*, O. Bret. *enmetiam* gl. innuo < **en-smet-* : Ir. *smētim* 'I nod' < **sment-*. It is to be observed that *m* in these groups = *mm*, and is not mutated to *f*.

iii. (1) Ar. *-ms-*, *-ns-* became *-ss-* in Pr. Kelt., and appear so in Gaul., Ir., and W. Thus Gaul. *esseda* 'war-chariot' < **en-sed-ā* § 63 ii; and acc. pl. *-ass* in *artuass* (like Lat. *-ās*) < **-āns*. In

W., where *-ss-* became final by loss of the ending, it became **-s** early; but medially it is still double, though now written **-s-** § 54 i (2). Examples: W. *crasu*, Ml. W. *crassu* 'to bake', *crās* 'baked' < **krams-* < **qrm̥-s-*, √*qerem-*: Lat. *cremo*, Gk. κέραμος, W. *cramwyth* 'pancake' < **kram-pok-tī*;—W. *mīs* 'month', Ir. *mī* gen. *mīs* < **mēnsis*: Lat. *mensis*, Gk. μήν, Lith. *mẽnů*, *mẽnesis* 'moon, month';—W. *gwres* 'heat' < **gʷhrens-os*, √*gʷher-*, § 92 iii: Skr. *ghṛṣáḥ* 'heat of the sun' < **gʷhrens-ós*;—Ml. W. *cysseδ* 'sitting together' < **kon-sed-*.

(2) The same change takes place before an explosive; thus **nst** > **st**; **nsqʷ** > **sp**; as W. *cystadl*, *cystal* 'as good' § 96 ii (3); *cosp* < **konsqʷ-* § 96 iii (5).

(3) The nasal also disappears when an explosive came between it and the *s*, as in W. *cysefin* 'primitive', Ml. W. *cyssefin* < **kint'samīnos*, beside *cyntaf* 'first' § 106 iii (3), *cyntefin* 'Spring' < **kintu-samīno-*.

iv. (1) Ar. **-ls-**, **-rs-** probably became **-ll-**, **-rr-** in Pr. Kelt. Examples of the former are uncertain in W., because *-ln-*, *'-l̥i-* also give W. *ll*; perhaps W. *pell* 'far' < **qʷel-s-*: Gk. τέλος.—W. *carr*, Ir. *carr*, Gaul. *carr-(us)* < **qe'sos* § 63 iii;—W. *twrr* 'crowd' (B. B. 44, 45), 'heap' < **tur'-s-*, *ur* < *u̯er* § 63 viii, √*tu̯er-*: Lat. *turba*, *turma* (W. *torf* < Lat.).

(2) An explosive between the two sounds disappears, giving the same result; probably the majority of W. **rr**'s come from such groups as **-rks-**, **-rts-**. Examples: W. *gyrr* 'a drove' (of cattle) < **gerks-* < **gerg-s-*: Gk. γέργερα · πολλά Hes., Lat. *grex*, W. *gre*;—W. *torri* 'to break, cut' < **torq-s-*, √*tereq-*: Lat. *truncus* < **tronqos*, W. *trwch* 'broken, cut' < **tronqos*;—W. *carreg* 'stone' < **ke'r'q-s-ikā*, √*ḱereq-*: Skr. *śárkaraḥ* 'pebble', Gk. κροκάλη 'pebble', W. *crogen* 'shell', *craig* 'rock' < **kroqi-*;—W. *torr* 'belly' (generally of an animal), *torrog* 'pregnant', Ir. *torrach* 'pregnant' < **torks-*: Lat. *tergus* 'body of an animal, hide';—W. *gwarr* 'upper part of back', *gwarr hëol* G. 300 'ridge of the roadway' < **u̯ort-s-*: Lat. *vortex*, W. *gwarthaf* 'summit' < **u̯orte-mo-*;—W. *corr* 'dwarf' < **qort-s-*: Lat. *curtus*, Ir. *cert* 'little', √*(s)qer-*.—Possibly we have **ll** from **-lks-** in W. *callestr* 'flint' < **qe'l'qs-*: Lat. *calx*, Gk. χάλιξ, √*q(h)eleiq-* parallel to √*ḱereq-* above.

(3) An explosive following the group remains, and the *s* disappears; thus W. *torth* 'loaf', Ir. *tort* < **torst-* 'baked' : Lat. *tostus* < **tors(i)tos* : *torreo* < **torseiō*; W. *tarth* 'vapour, mist' (*tarth mwg* Act. ii 19 'vapour of smoke', *tan twym tarth* B. T. 38 'hot scorching fire') < **t_er's-t-* : Gk. τερσαίνω, √*teres-* 'dry up';—W. *garth* 'promontory, hill', Ir. *gart* < **ĝh_er'st-* : Gk. χέρσος, √*ĝheres-* § 93 ii (3) (not to be confused with *garth* 'enclosure' : Lat. *hortus* § 99 vi (1), § 76 vi (2)).

§ 96. i. Ar. **s** + tenuis remained in Pr. Kelt. In Brit. the group either remained or became a double spirant; thus **sk** gave either (1) *sk* or (2) χχ; and **st** gave either (1) *st* or (2) a sound between *þþ* and *ss*, which became *ss*. It is probable that form (1) occurred after a consonant, and form (2) after a vowel, being caused by a loose pronunciation of the *s*. Both forms occur initially and medially, and in the latter case form (1) can be shown in a large number of cases to have followed a consonant now vanished. In Ir. **st** gave *ss*, initially *s*-, and the other groups remained unchanged.

Tenuis + **s** also became a double spirant in Brit. A media before *s* had become a tenuis in Ar., and gives the same result. An aspirated media before *s* changed it to *z* in Ar., thus *dhs* > *dhz* (*dzh*); the group became tenuis + **s** in Kelt., with the same result.

When **s** is combined with two explosives in any order it is the first explosive that drops: thus *llost* < **lompst-* ii (3); *asgwrn* < **ast-korn-* ii (4); *nos* < **nots* < **noq^{u}ts* ii (5). The same simplification took place later in words borrowed from Lat. : W. *estron* 'stranger' < *extrāneus*, *astrus* < *abstrūsus*, etc., § 103 i (5).

ii. (1) Ar. **st-** became *s*- in Ir., **st-** or **s-** in Bret., Corn., and W. Examples: Ir. *sāl*, W. *sawdl*, Bret. *seul* 'heel' < **stā-tl-* § 63 vi (1);—Bret. *steren*, Corn. *steren*, W. *seren* 'star' : Lat. *stella* < **ster-lā*, Gk. ἀστήρ, O. H. G. *sterno*, E. *star* : Ar. **stĕr-*;—Bret. *staon* 'palate', W. *safn* 'mouth' : Gk. στόμα;—Ir. *serc*, W. *serch* 'love', Bret. *serc'h* 'concubine' : Gk. στέργω : Ar. **sterk/g-*;—W. *(y)starn*, Bret. *starn*, *stern* 'harness' beside W. *sarn* 'causeway' § 63 vii (2), √*sterō-* 'spread out'. It is not to be supposed that **st-** became **s-** in W. in *seren* etc. after the separation of W. and Corn., since Lat. **st-** generally remains (not always; *swmbwl*

§ 66 ii (1)); but rather that **st-** and **s-** existed side by side, and one form or the other prevailed ; cf. § 94 iii. The lisped form *þ-* is attested in Gaul. in the name *Đirona*, also spelt *Sirona* (? star-goddess, < **stēr-*).

(2) Medial **-st-** gave Ir. *ss*, Bret., Corn., W. **ss**. When *ss* became final in W. it was simplified early ; but it remained double medially, and is still double after the accent, though now written **s** § 54 i (2). Examples : Ir. *ross* 'promontory, forest', W. *rhos* 'mountain meadow' (Richards), 'moor' < **pro-sth-* : Skr. *prasthaḥ* 'table-land on a mountain, plain', √*sthā-* 'stand' ;—Ir. *cas-achtach* 'cough', W. *pas* 'whooping-cough', Bret. *pas* 'cough' < **qʷəst-* : O. E. *hwōstá*, Germ. *Husten* 'cough' : Lith. *kósėti* 'to cough', Skr. *kā́sate* 'coughs' ;—Ir. *foss* 'servant', W. *gwas* 'servant', *gwasanaeth* 'service' < **upo-sthā-n-ā́kt-* § 203 i (4): Skr. *upa-sthā́-na-m* 'attendance, service' ;—W. *gwas* B.T. 4 'abode', Ir. *foss* 'rest, stay' < **u̯ost-* : Gk. *ἄστυ* < *Fάστυ*, Skr. *vā́stu* 'dwelling-place, homestead'.—The alternative lisped form *þþ* is attested in Brit. *Aθθedomaros* beside gen. *Assedomari* CIL. iii 5291 (Rhys CB.² 277), W. *Guynn-assed* B.B. 67, with *aθθ-*, *ass-* perhaps < **ast-* : Gk. *ὀστέον*, Skr. *ásthi* 'bone', W. *asen* 'rib', *ais* 'breast'.

(3) When **-st-** is preceded by a nasal or explosive or both, the whole group gives W. **st**. Examples : W. *cystal*, older *cystadl* 'as good' < **kom-sthə-dhlo-* 'standing together' : Lat. *stabulum* < **sthə-dhlo-m* ;—W. *trwst* 'tumult' < **trum-st-* (*ru* < *u̯r* § 63 viii (1)), √*tu̯er-* : Lat. *turma*, *turba*, Gk. *σύρβη*, Att. *τύρβη* ;—Ir. *loss*, *los* (i. erball) 'tail', Bret. *lost* 'tail', *lostenn* 'petticoat', *lostek* 'tailed, trailing', W. *llost* 'tail' in *llost-lydan* 'beaver', *arllost* 'the butt end of a spear' < **lomp-st-*, √*leb-* 'hang down' : Skr. *lámbate* 'hangs down', Lat. *limbus* 'hem of a garment' < **lembos*, E. *lop* in *lop-eared*, *lop-sided* : W. *llusgo* 'to trail, drag behind' < **lop-sg-* ;—W. *cynllwst* 'kennel' < **kuno-loq-st-*, √*legh-* 'lie' ;—W. *gast* 'bitch' < **ganst-* for **kan-st-* § 101 iii (2) < **k̂(u̯)ₑn-* 'dog' § 76 v (1) ;—W. *clust* 'ear', Ir. *cluass* < **kleut-st-*, a Kelt. formation < Ar. **k̂léutom* 'hearing' : Av. *sraotə-m*, Goth. *hliuþ*.—(For the group after a liquid, see § 95 iv (3).)

After a prefix both forms occur : W. *gwa-sarn* 'litter', √*sterō-*; *gwa-stad* 'level', √*sthā-* 'stand'; *di-serch* 'unlovely', √*sterk/g-* (1)

above; *di-stadl* 'insignificant', lit. 'without standing', cf. *cystadl* above.

We have perhaps to assume **u̯os-* (cf. Lat. *sus-*) beside *u̯o-* and **dēs-* beside **dē-*, giving **-sst-* beside **-st-*, resulting in *-st-* beside *-s-*. It is however to be borne in mind that forms with prefixes were not originally fast compounds; and thus the form after a prefix may represent the old initial.

(4) Before **r** or **l**, Ar. **st** remains in all positions in W. Thus W. *ystrad* < **strə-t-*, √ *sterō-* § 63 vii (2);—W. *ystrew*, *trew* 'sneeze' < **streus-* § 76 ii (2), √ *pstereu-* : Lat. *sternuo*, Gk. πτάρνυμι;—W. *ystlys* 'side', Ir. *sliss* 'side' < **stl̥t-s-* : Lat. *latus* < **stlət-os*, √ *stel(ā)-*;—W. *arwestr* 'band, (apron-)string' < **are-u̯est-rā* : Gk. Dor. Ϝέστρᾱ (γέστρα· στολή Hes.), Lat. *vestis*;—W. *rhwystr* 'obstacle' < **reig-s-tro-* '*snare' : W. *rhwym* § 95 ii (2);—W. *bustl* 'gall' (*u* for *y* § 77 vii (2)), Corn. *bistel*, Bret. *bestl* < **bis-tl-* : Lat. *bīlis* < **bis-lis* (different suffixes *-tl-* : *-l-*);—W. *destl* 'neat, trim', *di-ddestl* 'clumsy, unskilful' D.G. 196, 240 < **deks-tl-* : Lat. *dexter*, Gk. δεξιός, W. *dehau* 'right', etc.—It is seen that **a consonant before the group drops.**

On the other hand when **st** came before an explosive the **t** dropped; thus **stk > sk**, as in W. *asgwrn*, Ml. *ascwrn* 'bone' < **ast-korn* : Gk. ὀστέον, see (2) above (initial *a/o* altern. § 63 v (2)); and *llosgwrn* 'tail' similarly formed from **lompst-*, see (3);—W. *gwisg* 'dress' < **u̯ēst-q-*, *di-osg* 'to undress' < **dē-u̯ost-q-*, √ *u̯es-* : Lat. *vestis*, etc.

(5) Ar. **ts** gives **ss** in Ir. and W. Original **ds** and **dhz** became **ts**, giving the same result.—W. *blys* 'strong desire' < **mlit-s-*, noun in *-s-* beside *melys* 'sweet' participle in *-t-* § 87 ii, base **meleit-*;—W. *llys* 'court', Ml. Bret. *les*, Ir. *liss*, *less* < **(p)l̥t-'s-*, with an *-s-* suffix which lost its vowel, added to **plth-* § 63 viii (1);—W. *aswy*, Ml. W. *asswy*, *asseu* 'left (hand)' < **at-souio-s* < **ad-seuio-s* : Skr. *savyáḥ* 'left'.—An explosive before the group drops; thus W. *nos* 'night' < nom. **not-s* < **noqᵘt-s* beside *noeth* in *trannoeth* 'the following day', *heno*, O. W. *henoid* (≡ *henoyth*) 'to-night' from oblique cases **nokt-*; so *glas-* 'milk' < **glakt-s*, § 63 vii (3); *tes* 'heat' < **tekts* < **tep-t-s* : Lat. *tepeo*, etc. A nasal before the group drops, § 95 iii (3); but a liquid remains, and the group becomes *ll* or *rr*, § 95 iv (2).

iii. (1) Ar. **sk-** appears as *sc-* in Ir., as **sc-** or **h-** (< χ) in W.

In W. *sc* has become *sg*, and initially *ysg-*, § 23 ii. Thus W. *ysgïen*, Ir. *scīan* 'knife', √*sk̂hē(i̯)-* : Skr. *chyáti* 'cuts off';—Ml. W. *isgaud* B.B. 35 'darkness', Ir. *scāth* 'shadow' < **skāt-* : Goth. *skadus*, E. *shade*, Gk. *σκότος*, Skr. *chādáyati* 'covers';—W. *hegl* 'shank' < **skek-l-* : E. *shank* √*sk̂eq/g-* : W. *ysgogi* 'stir, shake', E. *shake*, Lith. *szókti* 'to leap, dance'.

After a prefix : W. *cysgod*, *gwasgod* 'shade' < **skāt-*, as above.

(2) Ar. **sq-** gives Ir. *sc-*, W. **sc-** (*ysg-*) or **chw̆-** (or before a round vowel **h-**). Thus W. *ysgwyd* 'shield', Ir. *scīath* < **sqeit-om* : Lat. *scūtum* < **sqoit-om*, O. Bulg. *štitŭ* 'shield' < **sqeit-om*;—W. *ysgar* 'to separate', Ir. *scaraim*, √*sqer-* : Lith. *skìrti* 'to separate';—W. *chwith* 'left (hand)' < **sqī-tn-*, *chwidr* 'perverse, fickle' < **sqī-tr-*, Mn. Ir. *ciotach* 'left-handed' < **sqi-tn-*, W. *ysgoewan* f. 'fickle one' < **syai-u̯-*, all R-grades of **sqēi̯-* 'left, oblique' : Lat. *scaevus*, Gk. *σκαι(F)ός*, E. *shy*;—W. *chwalu* 'to scatter', Bret. *skula*, Ir. *scāilim* 'I scatter', √*sqel-* § 101 iv (2) : *hollt* 'split' iv (1) (*β*).

With a prefix : W. *gwa-sgar-af* 'I scatter', √*sqer-* § 101 iv (2); —*cy-chwynn-af* 'I rise, start', Ir. *scendim* : Lat. *scando*, Skr. *skándati* 'leaps, bounds', √*sqend-*;—W. *osgo* 'slant', *nyt osco-es* B.T. 25 'he swerved not' < **op-sqaiu̯-*; Ml. W. *amry-scoyw̆*, Mn. W. *amrosgo* 'diagonal, awkward' < **sqaiu̯-* : Lat. *scaevus*, see above;—W. *cy-huddo* 'to accuse' : Icel. *skúta* 'a taunt', § 156 i (9).

skl-, **skr-**, where they remained in Brit., survived in W., now *ysgl-* *ysgr-*, as *ysglyfaeth* § 101 iv (2), *ysgrafell* 'rasp' : E. *scrape*, iv (3). But these were mostly reduced early to *sl-*, *sr-*, § 101 ii (3). Medially we may have *-chl-*, *-chr-*, § 156 i (11), (13).

(3) Ar. **sq^u-** gives Ir. *sc-*, W. **chw̆-**. Thus Ir. *scēl*, W. *chwedl*, Corn. *whethl* 'news, a tale' < **sq^u-e-tlo-*, √*seq^u-* 'say'. With a prefix : Ml. W. *ky-chwedyl* B.T. 38 'news' = Ml. Bret. *quehezl*, Bret. *kel*;—W. *dym-chwel-af* 'I overthrow' : Gk. *σφάλλω*, Skr. *skhálati* 'stumbles', √*sq^{u}hel-*;—W. *dy-chwel-af* 'I return' < **do-sq^{u}el-*, √*q^{u}el-* 'turn', § 101 iv (2).—**sp** in the old compound *cosp*, see (5).

(4) Medially between vowels Ar. **-sk̂-** > W. **ch**, but is hardly to be found except in old compounds like *gochel* 'to guard (against)', *ym-ochel* 'to take shelter' < **upo-s-k̂el-*, √*k̂el-* § 63 iii.—Ar. **-sq-**, **-sq^u-** gave χ^u, generally unrounded to **ch**; in Ir. all appear as *ss*.

Thus Ar. verbal suffix *-*sqe-* (: Skr. *-ccha-*, Gk. *-σκω*, Lat. *-sco*), appears as *ch* in W. *chwenychaf*; finally *-wch* < *-*y*^{u}χ < *-*i-sq-* (: Gk. *-ι-σκω*) § 201 iii (2);—Ml. W. *amkawδ* W.M. 453 'replied' < *am-χ^{u}-awδ § 156 i (4) < *m̥bi-sq^{u}-, √*seq^{u}-* 'say'; suffix § 182 iii.

(5) After an explosive or nasal, however, Ar. -s̆k-, -sq- > W. -sc- (*-sg-*), and Ar. -sq^{u}- > W. -sp-; in Ir. *-sc-*. Thus W. *mysgu*, *cymysgu* 'to mix', Ir. *mescaim* 'I mix' < *mik̆-sq-* : Lat. *misceo*, Gk. *μίγνυμι*, Skr. *miśrá-ḥ* 'mixed', √*meik̆/ĝ-*;—W. *llusgo* 'to drag' < *lop-sq-* ii (3) above;—W. *hesg* 'sedges', Ir. *sescenn* 'swamp' < *seq-sq-* : E. *sedge*, O. E. *secg* √*seq/g-* 'cut' : Lat. *seco* etc.;—W. *llesg* 'languid, infirm, sluggish', Ir. *lesc* 'slothful' < *leq-sq-*, √*(s)lĕ̆g-* : Skr. *laṅga-ḥ* 'lame' < *leng-*, Lat. *langueo* < *lәng-*, Gk. λαγαρός;—W. *gwrysg* 'twigs' < *u̯rd-sq-* : Lat. *rāmus* < *u̯r̥̄d-mo-s*, √*u̯erŏ̆d-* § 91;—W. *diaspad* f. 'a cry' < *dē-ad-sq^{u}-ətā*, √*seq^{u}-*, suff. § 143 iii (18); W. *cosp* 'punishment', Ir. *cosc* 'correction, reprimand' < *kon-sq^{u}-* 'talk with'.

As the group -sku̯- or -squ̯- contains three distinct consonants, it gives -sp- in W. (not *-ch-*); thus W. *hysp* 'dry' (without milk), *di-hysb-yddu* 'to bail' (a boat, a well, etc.), *di-hysb-ydd* 'inexhaustible' < *sisq-u̯o-* redupl. of √*seiq-* 'dry' : Avest. *hišku-* f. *hiškvī-*, Lat. *siccus* < *sīcos* (W. *sych*, Ir. *secc* < Lat. ?).

(6) Ar. -ks-, -qs-, -q^{u}s- give Ir. *ss*, W. Bret. Corn. -ch- or -h-. Thus Ir. *dess* 'right (hand)' < *deĥs-*, W. *deheu* 'right, south' < *deksou̯̯os*, Gaul. *Dexsiva dea* : Lat. *dexter*, Gk. δεξιός, Goth. *taihswa*, O. H. G. *zësawa*;—Ir. *ess-*, W. *eh-*, *ech-* § 156 i (15) : Lat. *ex*, Gk. ἐξ;—W. *ych* 'ox' (Ml. Ir. *oss*) < *uqsō : Skr. *ukṣā*, O. H. G. *ohso*, § 69 v.—So finally: W. *chwech* 'six', Ir. *sē*, *sess-* < *su̯eks* : Av. *xšvaš*, Gk. ϝέξ (Ϝέξ), Lat. *sex*, Goth. *saihs*, E. *six* < Ar. *su̯eĥs*, *seĥs* § 101 ii (2).

As before *ts*, an explosive or nasal before the group dropped; but in that case -ks- probably, like *-sk-*, did not become χ, but remained and developed like Lat. *-x-*; so perhaps *trais* 'oppression' < *treks- < *trenk-s- : W. *trenn*, Ger. *streng* § 148 i (13). A liquid before the group remains, § 95 iv (2); *-ksl-*, *-ksm-* etc., § 95 ii (2).

iv. After s, Ar. p in Kelt. either (α) became *f* as usual; or (β) was altered to q^{u} and developed accordingly.

(1) (α) Ar. **sp(h)**- > W. **ff**-, Ir. *s*- (mutated to *f*-). Thus W. *ffun* 'breath' < **spois-n-* : Lat. *spīro* < **speis-ō* ;—W. *ffêr* 'ankle', Ir. *seir* 'heel' (acc. du. *di pherid*) < **sper-* : Gk. *σφυρόν* 'ankle, heel' < **sphu̯ₑr-* : Lat. *perna*, Gk. *πτέρνα* < **pu̯er-n-* (Jacobsohn, KZ. xlii 275), √*sphu̯erē-* see (2) below ;—W. *ffonn* 'stick', Ir. *sonn* 'stake' < **spondh-* : E. *spoon*, O. E. *spōn* 'chip of wood', Icel. *spānn*, *spōnn* 'chip', Gk. *σπάθη* 'spatula', *σφήν* 'wedge', √*sp(h)ē-*, *spend-* 'hew'. — — Similarly before a liquid : W. *ffraeth* 'eloquent, witty' < **sphrəkt-*, √*spherĕg-* : Germ. *sprechen*, O. E. *sprecan* ; E. *speak*, see § 97 v (3) ;—W. *ffrwst* 'haste' < **sprut-st-* : Goth. *sprautō* 'quickly', W. *ffrwd* § 101 ii (3) ;—W. *fflochen* 'splinter' < **sphloq-n-* : Skr. *phálakam* 'board, plank', √*sp(h)el-* : Germ. *spalten*, E. *split*, cf. W. *talch* § 86 ii (3).

(β) **sp(h)**- > Kelt. **sq**^{u} > W. **chw**- (**h**-) or **sp**-, Ir. *sc*-. Thus W. *chwynn* 'weeds' (prob. originally 'furze', as E. *whin* which comes from it) < **sq^{u}inn-* < **spid-sn-* : Lat. *pinna* < **pid-snā* ; Ir. *scē* gen. pl. *sciad*, W. *yspyddad* 'hawthorn' < **sq^{u}i̯i̯-at-* : Lat. *spīna*, *spīca*, √*spei-* ;—W. *chwydu* 'to vomit', *chwŷd* 'vomit' § 100 ii (3), √*spei̯eu̯-* : Lat. *spuo*, E. *spew*, etc. ;—W. *hollt* 'split', *holltí* 'to split', beside (α) Bret. *faouta* 'to split' < **spol-t-*, √*spel-* § 101 iv (2) ;—W. *yspar* 'spear', Bret. *sparr* : Lat. *sparus*, O. H. G. *spër*, E. *spear*, √*sphu̯erē-* § 97 v (3) ;—W. *chwyrn* 'swift' < **sphern-*, *hwrδ* 'a violent push' < **sphuri̯-* § 100 iii (2).

(2) Medially, Ar. **-sp-** gives (α) W. **-ff-**, or (β) W. **-ch-**, Ir. *-sc-*. Thus W. dual (α) *uffarnau* (β) *ucharnau* 'ankles' < **u̯i-sp(u̯)ₑr-n-* : sg. *ffêr*, Lat. *perna* above ;—(β) W. *ucher* 'evening', Ir. *fescor* : Lat. *vesper*, Gk. *ἕσπερος* § 66 iii.

After a consonant (α) **-sp-** > W. **ff** ; unlike *-st-*, *-sk-*, which preserve the explosive, **sp** had become *-sf-*, and there was no explosive to preserve. Thus W. *effro* 'awake' < **eksprog-* dissim. from **eks-pro-gr-* : Lat. *expergiscor* for **ex-pro-grīscor* (Walde, s. v.) : Av. *fra-γrisəmnō* 'waking', Skr. *járate* 'wakes', Gk. *ἐγείρω*, √*ger-*, *gerēi̯-*.

(3) Ar. **-ps-** also gives (α) W. **-ff-**, or (β) W. **-ch-**, but Ir. *-ss-*. Thus (α) W. *craff* 'sharp, keen' < **qrap-s-* < **qrab-s-* : Icel. *skarpr*, O. E. *scearp*, E. *sharp*, E. *scrape*, W. *crafu* 'to scratch' ;—W. *praff* 'burly' < *q^{u}rₑp-s-* : Lat. *corpus*, etc. ;—(β) W. *uwch* 'higher', *uchel* 'high', Ir. *ūasal*, *uassal*, Gaul.

Uxello-dunum < **ups-*, **upsel-* : Lat. *sus-*, Gk. *ὕψι*, *ὑψηλός* 'high', *ὑψίων* 'higher';—W. *crych* 'curly', Gaul. *Crixus*, *Crixsus* : Lat. *crispus* (prob. < **cripsos*) : Lith. *kreĩpti* 'to turn', √*qer-* 'turn', extd. **qreip-*;—W. *llachar* 'bright', Ir. *lassair* < **lapsₑr-* : Gk. *λάμπω*;—W. *crach* 'scabs' < **qrap-s-* : *craff* above, see § 101 ii (2). As in the case of *-ks-*, see iii (6), the **-ch-* may become *-h-*, as in *cah-el* beside *caff-el* < **qap-s-* § 188 iv.

§ 97. i. Before a media or aspirated media, **s** had become **z** medially in Pr. Ar. Thus the V-grade of √*sed-* was *-zd-*. Ar. **z** became **δ** in Pr. Kelt. This remained in Brit., and the media following it was reduced later to the corresponding voiced spirant.

ii. Ar. **-zd-** > Kelt. *δd*. In W. this became **th**, through *δδ*; in Ir. it appears as *t*, *tt* (≡ *d-d*), Mn. Ir. *d*. Thus Ar. **nizdos* 'nest' > Ir. *net*, *nett*, Mn. Ir. *nead*, W. *nyth* : Lat. *nīdus*, O. H. G. *nest*, E. *nest*, Skr. *nīḍá-ḥ*, √*sed-* § 63 ii;—W. *syth* 'upright', *sythu* 'set erect', Ir. *seta* 'tall' < **sizd-* : Lat. *sīdo* < **sizdō*, Skr. *sīdati* 'sits' for **sīḍati* < **sizd-*, Gk. *ἵζω* < **sizdō*, √*sed-*, redupl. **sizd-*;—W. *gŵyth* 'anger', *ad-wyth* 'hurt, mischief, misfortune' < **ĝheizd-*, Ml. Ir. *goet* 'wound' < **ĝhoizd-* : Skr. *héḍa-ḥ* 'anger' < **ĝheizd-os*, *héḍati* 'angers, vexes, hurts', Lith. *žáizda* 'wound', *žeidžiù* 'I wound', Av. *zōiždа-* 'hateful';—W. *brathu* 'to stab, bite', *brath* 'a stab, a bite' < **bhrazd(h)-* : Russ. *brozdá* 'bit, bridle' < **bhrazd(h)-*, O. Bulg. *brŭzda* id. < **bhr̥zd(h)-* : with *-st-*, Skr. *bhr̥ṣṭí-ḥ* 'tooth, point', Lat. *fastigium* for **farsti-* (< **frasti-*?), √*bhera-s-*? Walde² 275, extension of √*bher-* 'prick' : W. *bêr* 'spear, spit';—*-d-* presents: W. *chwythaf* 'I blow' < **s̯uiz-d-*, Ir. *sētim* id. < **s̯ueiz-d-* : Skr. *kṣveḍati* 'utters an inarticulate sound, hisses, hums' < **ksu̯eiz-d-* : with *-t-*, O. Bulg. *svistati* 'sibilare'.

After a consonant the result is the same, for the consonant had dropped in Brit., and though *st* of that period remains (e. g. Lat. *-st-*), the mutation *d* > *δ* is later, so that Brit. *-δd* > *δδ* > **th**. Thus the prefix **eks-* + *d-* gave **e(g)zd-* > **eδd-* > *eth-* as in *ethol* 'to elect' < **egz-dol-* : E. *tale*, Ger. *Zahl* 'number', W. *didoli* 'to segregate', Skr. *dálam* 'piece', Lith. *dalìs* 'part', √*dĕl-* 'divide'.

iii. Ar. **-zĝ(h)-**, **-zg(h)-** > Kelt. **-δg-**; in Ir. it appears as *dg* (≡ *δɣ*); in W. **δɣ* became *i̯δ* by met.; after *w*, **δɣ* > **δf**. Thus

W. *maidd* 'whey' < **meĝð-*, met. for **meðg-*, Ir. *medg* 'whey', Gallo-Lat. *mesga* (*s* for *ð*? cf. § 96 ii (1)) : Lat. *mergo*, Lith. *mazgóti* 'to wash', Skr. *majjati* 'sinks' < **mezg-*;—W. *haidd* 'barley' < **se-zg-*, redupl. of **seg-* : Lat. *seges*;—perhaps W. *twddf* 'a swelling' for **tuðg-* < **tuzg-*, *s*-stem of √*teu̯ā-* (: Goth. *þūs-*) + *-g-* suff. : Lat. *turgeo* (Walde² rejects his first suggestion that this is from **tuzg-* in favour of Solmsen's **tūrigo*, IF. xxvi 112 ff., with *-igo* (: *ago*), though this is usually 1st conj., as *navigāre*).

W. *gwðf* 'throat', N. W. dial. *gwðw*, pl. *gyðfe*, *gyðfa*, S. W. dial. *gwðwg*, pl. *gyðge*, *gythce*, Bret. *gouzoug*, with *-g* for *-g*, § 111 vii (4), seems to require **guzg-*; ? *ĝhu-s-*, √*ĝhēu-*, (: Lat. *fauces*) + *-g-*, as in *mwn-g* 'mane'.

iv. Ar. **-zb(h)-** > Kelt. *ðb* > Ir. *db*, W. *ðf*. Thus W. *oddf* 'knag, knot, nodule', Ir. *odb* : Gk. *ὀσφύς* (< **ost-bhu-* ?).

v. (1) The above groups are found only medially. Initially Ar. *s-* did not become *z-*, but changed a following media to a tenuis; thus *sb-* > *sp-*, *sbh-* > *sph*, etc., Siebs, KZ. xxxvii 277 ff. Hence the initial alternations *b-* : *sp-* and *dh-* : *sth-*, etc., as in Germ. *dumm*, E. *dumb* < **dh-* : Germ. *stumm*, W. *di-staw* < *sth-*, § 156 i (11).

(2) As *s-* could be prefixed or dropped in Ar. and for a long time after the dispersion, § 101 ii (1), Siebs l. c. holds that the above explains the initial alternation of a media and tenuis. In a large number of cases it undoubtedly does so. Where the media is general and the tenuis exceptional, it affords a satisfactory explanation, as in the case of the Kelt. *t-* in *tafod* 'tongue' corresponding to *d-* elsewhere (O. Lat. *dingua*), which is parallel to the *t* in *taw!* 'be silent' (*s* still kept in *di-staw*) corresponding to the **dh-* which gives the *d-* of E. *dumb*. But it hardly explains the alternation when the tenuis is general and the media exceptional, as in W. *craidd*, Lat. *cord-*, Lith. *szirdìs*, E. *heart*, Gk. *καρδία* < **k̂-* : Skr. *hṛ̥d-*, Av. *zərədā* < **ĝh-*, since *k̂* < *sk̂h*, without a trace of the *s-* in the whole of Europe, is improbable. But whatever the explanation may be, the fact of the alternation can hardly be called in question.

(3) As an example of the variety of forms produced by variable *s-*, we may take √*bhu̯erē-*, extd. **bhu̯erĕ-g-/-gh-/-q-*, orig. meaning 1. 'hurl', 2. 'smite'; hence from 1. 'sprinkle, cast (seed); roar, snore; rattle; talk'; from 2. 'break; crash, break out, burst; smell'. **bh-**: W. *bwrw* 'hurl, smite', *bwrw glaw* 'to rain', *bwrw had* 'to cast seed' < **bhur'g-* (*ur* < *u̯er*); Lat. *frango* < **bhrəng-*, *frāgor* < **bhrg̑-*, *frā-*

grāre, E. *break, burst*, W. *brych, brith* 'speckled';—**sph-**: W. *hwrδ* § 100 iii (2), *chwyrn* 'swift' § 96 iv (1), *chwyrnu* 'to roar, snore'; Skr. *sphurāti* 'spurns, darts, bounds', *sphūrjati* 'rumbles, roars, rattles, crashes' < **sphu̯rg-*; Lat. *sperno, spargo*; E. *spurn, sprinkle*; Gk. *σφάραγος*; W. *ffraeth* § 96 iv (1), *ffroen* < **sphrug-nā* (*ru* < *u̯r*);—**p(h)-**: W. *erch* 'speckled', Gk. *περκνός*; W. *arch-fa* 'stench' < **ph₂r'q-*; *arogleu* 'a smell', compound *p₂roqo-prāg-*?—(*p . . . g* > *t . . . g* § 86 ii (3)) *trywyδ* 'scent', *trwyn* 'nose' < **prug-no-, trawaf* 'I strike' < **prug-* (*ru* < *u̯r*);—**spr** > **sr** § 101 ii (3): W. *rhuo* 'roar, talk loudly' < **srogu̯-*, Gk. *ῥέγχω, ῥέγκω, ῥόγχος, ῥύγχος*, W. *rhoch* 'snore'.

§ **98**. i. (1) In Gk. and Kelt. a dental explosive sometimes appears after a guttural where the other languages have **s**; this is explained by the supposition that Ar. possessed after gutturals another spirant, similar to E. *th* in *think*, W. *th*, which is written þ. After an aspirated media, as *s* became *z*, § 96 i, so þ became ð; thus *ghþ* > *ghð* (*gðh*). Brugmann² I 790 ff.

(2) Ar. *ĝ̊þ-* (Lat. *s-*, Gk. *κτ-*, Skr. *kṣ-*) gave Kelt. **t-**. Thus W. *tydwet, tydwed*[a] B.B. 20, 36 'soil, land' < **tit-* : Lat. *situs* 'site', Gk. *κτίσις* 'settlement', *κτίζω* 'I found', Skr. *kṣití-ḥ* 'abode, earth, land' : *√ĝ̊ei̯-* 'earth', see (3) below.

Ar. *-ĝ̊þ-* (Lat. *-x-*, Gk. *-κτ-*, Skr. *-kṣ-*) gave Kelt. **-kt-**. Thus W. *arth* 'bear', Ir. *art* < **artos* < **arktos* : Gk. *ἄρκτος*, Lat. *ursus* < **urcsos*, Skr. *ṛ́kṣaḥ* : Ar. **arĝ̊pos*, **ṛ́ĝ̊pos* § 63 v (2).

(3) Ar. *ĝ̊hð-* (Lat. *h-*, Gk. *χθ-*, Skr. *h-*, Germ. *g-*, Lith. *ž-*) gave Kelt. **d-**. Thus Ir. *indhe*, W. *doe* 'yesterday' < **desī* = Lat. *heri* : Gk. *χθές*, Skr. *hyáḥ*, § 75 vii (2); this occurs medially in W. *neithi̯wyr* 'last night' § 78 i (2) for **neith-di̯wyr* < **nokti di̯eserāi* (assuming the case to be loc.) : O. H. G. *gestaron*, E. *yester-*, Lat. *hesternus* : Ar. **ĝ̊hði̯es-*, suff. **-ero-/-tero-*.—W. *ty-δyn* 'a measure of land, a small farm' lit. '*house-land', *tref-δyn* B.T. 14, *gwely-δyn* (*gwelitin* B.B. 64), Ml. pl. *tyδynneu* for **-δy̆ni̯eu* < **domi̯-* : Lat. *humus*, Gk. *χθών* : Ar. **ĝ̊hðem-* 'earth'; allied to this as meaning 'terrestrial' are the names for 'man' : W. *dyn*, Ir. *duine* < **doni̯o-* < **ĝ̊hðomi̯-* : Lat. *homo*, Lith. *žmū̃*, *žmo-gùs* pl. *žmónės*, Goth. *guma* pl. *gumans* : Ar. **ĝ̊hðem-*. This may be for **ĝ̊hði̯em-* as Pedersen suggests, Gr. i 89–90; in that case the root must be **ĝ̊hðei̯-*, which therefore must be the same as

[a] In Late W. wrongly spelt *tudwedd* from a fancied relation to *tud* 'people', whence 'country'. The examples in B.B. both rhyme with *-ed*.

√ *k̂pei̯-* above, with Ar. alternation *k̂-/ĝh-*; hence W. *daear* 'earth' < **ĝhðii̯-$_e$rā*, √ *ĝhðei̯-*.

(4) **g^{u}hð-** (Gk. *φθ-*) gave Kelt. **d-**. Thus W. *dar-fod* 'to waste away, perish', *dar-fodedigaeth* 'phthisis' < **dar-* < **g^{u}hð$_e$r-* : Gk. *φθείρω* < **g^{u}hðer-*; W. *dyddfu* 'to pine, waste away' < **di-d-m-* redupl., *-m-* suff. : Gk. *φθίω*, *ἀπο-φθίθω*; in Skr. with **q^{u}þ-*, as *kṣárati* 'flows, passes away, perishes', *kṣī́yate* 'decreases, wanes'.

ii. In Gk. we sometimes find *ζ-* where the other languages have *i̯-*. This equation is held to imply an Ar. palatal spirant **j** (the sound which is written ʒ̂, i. e. palatal ʒ, in other connexions in this book; it differs from *i̯* in being pronounced with more friction of the breath). Examples are W. *i̯au* 'yoke', Lat. *jugum*, Skr. *yugá-m*, Gk. *ζυγόν*, all < Ar. **jugóm*;—W. *i̯ās* 'a seething', Skr. *yásyati* 'seethes, bubbles', Gk. *ζέω* : Ar. √ *jes-*;—W. *uwd* 'porridge', Ml. W. *i̯wt* § 37 ii, Bret. *iot*, Lat. *jūs*, Skr. *yūṣa-m* 'broth', Gk. *ζύμη* : Ar. √ *jēu-*;—W. *i̯wrch*, O. Corn. *yorch* : Gk. *ζόρξ* § 65 iii (2);—W. *i̯oli* : Gk. *ζῆλος* § 201 iii (2).

The Sonants.

§ **99.** i. Initially before vowels, and medially between vowels, Ar. **l**, **r**, **m**, **n** (so in most of the languages, but *r-* > *ἐρ-* in Gk.) remained unchanged in Pr. Kelt. In W. initial **l-** and **r-** became **ll-** and **rh-**, § 103 i (4). Many examples occur in the above sections; as W. *llost* < **lompst-* § 96 ii (3); W. *halen* 'salt' § 58 ii; W. *rhwym*, √ *reiĝ-* § 95 ii (2); W. *adferaf*, √ *bher-* § 58 iii; W. *mis* 'month' § 95 iii (1); W. *haf*, Ir. *sam* 'summer' § 94 i; W. *naw* 'nine' § 76 iii (1); W. *ychen* 'oxen' § 69 v. The treatment of these sonants in combination with *s* has been discussed in § 95, and in combination with *s* and an explosive in § 96. There remains the combination of sonants with one another and with explosives.

ii. (1) Ar. **ml-**, **mr-** remained in Pr. Kelt., but in Brit. they became **bl-**, **br-** and appear so in W.; in Ir. both *m-* and *b-* appear. Thus W. *blys* < **mlit-s-* § 96 ii (5);—W. *bro* 'region', Ir. *mruig* 'boundary' < **mrog-* : Lat. *margo*, O. H. G. *marka*, O. E. *mearc*, E. *march* § 65 ii (1);—W. *brag* 'malt', Ir. *mraich*

$<$*mrəq-, W. *braenu* 'to rot' $<$*mrəq-n-, √*merṷ̄q-* 'decay' : Lat. *fracēs* 'oil-dregs', Gk. *ἀμόργη* ($<$*ἀμορκᾱ, whence Lat. *amurca* Walde² 464).—Similarly Ar. **m-** before ḷ or ṛ, short or long : W. *blith* 'milk, milch', Ir. *mlicht, blicht* $<$ *mḷ̆kt-*, § 61 i; W. *blawd* 'flour' $<$ *mḹt-* § 61 ii.—The same change probably took place medially also; in that position both *m* and *b* would now appear as *f*, but in O. W. *ṽ* from *m* is written **m**, while *v* from *b* appears as **b**; and such a form as *amcibret* ox. $<$ *mḇi-kom-(p)ro-ret-* § 156 i (9) implies *v* $<$ *b*; so Brit. *Sabrina* probably contains *sam-*. In the Coligny calendar *tio-cobrextio* very probably contains *kom-rekt-* = W. *cyfraith*, Rhys CG. 16. But. W. *cyṽ-* $<$ *kom-* persisted by analogy : *cymreith* (*m* ≡ *ṽ*) L.L. 120; cf. § 16 iv (3). (Lat. *m*...*l* became *mb*...*l* in *cumulus, stimulus* § 66 ii (1).)

(2) Ar. medial **-lm-, -rm-** remained in Pr. Kelt., and **-lmp-, -rmp-** became **-lm-, -rm-**; they appear so in Ir.; in W. the **m** appears as **f** or **w̃**. Thus W. *celfydd* 'skilful', *celfyddyd* 'craft', O. Bret. *celmed* gl. efficax, Ir. *calma* 'doughty' $<$ *q_el'mp-* : Lat. *scalpo*, Lith. *sklempiù* 'I polish', Skr. *kalpanā* 'fashioning, invention', *kḷptáḥ* 'arranged, trimmed, cut' : E. *skill*, Goth. *skilja* 'butcher'; √*(s)qel-*, extd. *(s)qelep-*;—W. *cwrf, cwrw̃*, Ml. W. *kwrw̃f*, coll. *cwrw* for *cwrwf* or *cwrw̃* 'beer', Ir. *cuirm*, Gaul. κοῦρμι, $<$ *korm-* : Lat. *cremor* 'thick juice obtained from vegetables'; lit. '*decoction', √*qerem-* § 95 iii (1);—W. *serfyll* 'prostrate' $<$ *st_er'm-* : Lat. *strāmen*, Gk. στρῶμα, Skr. *stárīman-* 'strewing', √*sterō-* § 63 vii (2).—So in old compounds : W. *gorfynt* 'envy', Bret. *gourvent*, Ir. *format* $<$ *ger-ment-* : Lat. gen. *mentis*, E. *mind* : Gk. *ὑπερ-μεν-ής* with same pref. and root : √*men-*; but later compounds may have **rm**, as *gor-moð* 'too much'.

Probably the *m* was already somewhat loose in Brit., as Gaul. *ceruesia* 'beer' beside κοῦρμι shows it to have been in Gaul. Hence new formations with a new *m* might be treated differently. Thus, in Lat. loanwords, while we have usually *lf, rf*, as in *palf* $<$ *palma, terfyn* $<$ *terminus*, we may have *lm, rm*, as in *Garmon* $<$ *Germānus, salm* $<$ *psalmus*, prob. borrowed later.

iii. (1) Ar. **-nl-, -nr-** became **-ll-, -rr-** respectively in Pr. Kelt. Thus W. *gwall* 'want, defect', *gwallus* L.A. 154 'negligent', now 'faulty', Bret. *gwall* 'defect' $<$ *u̯an-lo-*, √*u̯ăn-* : Lat. *vānus*,

E. *want*;—W. *garr* 'knee', Bret. *garr* 'jambe' < **gan-r-* § 63 vii (4).—But in compounds in which the sounds came together after the Brit. period, the **n** remains, and the group becomes **-nll-**, **-nrh-** in W., as in *an-llad*, *an-rheg*, § 111 i (1).

(2) Ar. **-ln-** also became **-ll-** in Pr. Kelt. Thus W. *dall* 'blind', Ir. *dall* 'blind', *cluas-dall* 'deaf' < **dh(u̯)al'-no-* : Goth. *dwals* 'foolish', O. E. *ge-dwelan* 'to err', √*dhu̯elāˣ-*.—But **-rn-** remained, as in W. *chw̥yrn* 'swift' < **sphern-* § 96 iv (1);—W. *carn* 'hoof', Bret. *karn*, Galat. κάρνον · τὴν σάλπιγγα, Hes. < **k̂ₑr'n-*, √*k̂erāˣu̯-*; W. *darn*, *sarn*, etc. § 63 iii;—Kelt. suffix **-arn-* < **-ₑr'n-*, as in W. *haearn*, *cadarn*.

iv. (1) Ar. **-mn-**, **-nm-** remained in Pr. Kelt., and appear so in Ir. (or with an epenthetic vowel); in W. the mutated form **f** (or **w̥** § 102 iii (1)) takes the place of **m**. Thus W. *safn* 'mouth', Bret. *staoñ* 'palate' < **stom-n-* : Gk. στόμα § 76 vii (4);—W. *cyfnesaf* 'kinsman' < **kom-nessam-*, § 148 i (1);—Ir. *ainm* 'name', O. W. *anu* < **an'mn̥* § 63 v (2);—W. *menw̥-yd* 'mind, pleasure', Ir. *menme* 'mind' < **men-m-* : Skr. *mánman-* 'mind, thought';—W. *an-fad* 'atrocious' (: *mad* 'good'), Gaul. (Sequ.) *anmat*... 'unlucky' < **n̥-mat-* : Lat. *mātūrus* orig. 'in good time' Walde² 470.

An explosive probably dropped before the group: W. *pythefnos*, *pythewnos* 'fortnight' lit. '15 nights' for **pymthev̄noeth* (dissim. of nasals) < **pempede(k)m-noktes* < Kelt. **qᵘeɯqᵘedekm̥ noktes*.

(2) Ar. *-rl-* and *-lr-* can hardly be traced; we should expect them to give *-ll-* and *-rr-*. Late *-rl-* gave *-rll-* § 111 i (1).

v. (1) A group consisting of **l**, **r**, **m** or **n** and a single explosive remained in Pr. Kelt. (except that *p* dropped, § 86, and a nasal assumed the position of a following explosive). The further development of such groups in W. is dealt with in §§ 104–6.

(2) When a liquid came before two explosives the first explosive dropped; thus W. *perth* 'bush' < **pertā* < **qᵘerqᵘ-t-* : Lat. *quercus* < **perqᵘus* § 86 ii (2) : O. H. G. *forha*, O. E. *furh*, E. *fir*, Skr. *parkaṭī* 'ficus religiosa';—W. *cellt* 'flint' < **qelq-t-* : Lat. *calx* § 95 iv (2);—W. *arth*, Ir. *art* < **arktos* § 98 i (2).

(3) But when a nasal came before two explosives, the nasal dropped; thus W. *trwyth* 'wash, lye, urine' < **tronkt-* : W. *trwnc* 'urine' < **tronq-* : Lith. *trenkù* 'I wash' (W. *trochi* 'to bathe' <

**tronq-*, see vi (3)) : Lat. *stercus*, Bret. *stroñk* 'excrement'. It is seen that the loss is later than the change *onk* > *unk* § 65 iii (1) ; it also takes place in Lat. loanwords, as W. *pwyth* 'stitch' < *punctum* ; but in the later of these the first explosive drops, as in *sant* < *sanctus*.

(4) When two explosives came before a liquid or nasal, the group remained in Pr. Kelt. ; thus W. *eithr* 'except', Ir. *echtar* < **ektro-s* : Lat. *exterus*, *extrā*, Osc. *ehtrad* (*-x-* for **-c-* is a Lat. innovation, Walde² 263) ;—W. *aethn-en* 'aspen' < **aktn-* < **aptn-* : Lith. *apuszė* 'aspen', O. H. G. *apsa*, O. E. *æps*, E. *asp* : Lat. *pōpulus* < **ptŏptol-*, Gk. πτελέα 'elm'.

But a double explosive before a sonant was not distinguished in Ar. from a single ; thus *ettre* was not distinct from *etre*, Meillet, Intr.² 102. In Homer and the Veda the first syllable is metrically long ; in Plautus and Aristophanes, short ; ordinarily in Gk. and Lat., doubtful. In old Kelt. formations we have one *t* for two, as in Gaul. *Atrebates*, W. *adref* 'homewards' < **atreb-* < **attr-* < **ad-tr-*. In later formations the double consonant remained, as in W. *athrist* 'sad' < **attrīstis* < **ad-* + Lat. *trīstis*. **kr**, **tr** may develop as *kkr*, *ttr* in W. as in *ochr*, *rhuthr* § 104 iii (2). A double media in Brit. is treated regularly as a single tenuis in W., as in *edrych* 'to look' < **etr-* < **ed-dr-* < **ad-dr-* or **eg-dr-*' ; once as a double tenuis ; see l. c.

vi. (1) A group of the form **nt** or **nd**, followed immediately or mediately by a liquid or nasal, has tended from an early period in Kelt. to become a double explosive **tt** or **dd** with nasalization of the preceding vowel. In Ir. the double consonant was simplified before the sonant ; see *cēol*, *abra*, *cobrith* (*b* ≡ *t̄*) below. The change, being a case of dissimilation of the continuants, does not take place regularly, § 102 i ; it often exists side by side with the regular development of the group. Thus O.W. *ithr* 'between', Bret. *etre*, Van. *itre*, Ir. *eter* (not **ēt-* the regular Ir. for **ent-*) beside Bret. *eñtre*, Corn. *yntre* : Lat. *inter*, Skr. *antár* ;—W. *athrugar* 'pitiless' < **ą̊ttr-* beside Ir. *ētrōcar* < **entr-*, both < **n̥-trougākaros* ;—W. *cathl* 'song' < **kąttlo-*, Ir. *cēol* id. < **kęt(t)lo-*, O. W. *centhliat*, *centhiliat* (*en* ≡ *ę*) gl. canorum, beside Ir. *cētal* < **kentlo-*, Bret. *keñtel* 'lesson' ;—W. *allwedd* f. 'key' for **alchwedd*, Bret. *alc'houez* metath. for **achlweð* < **n̥-ql(ə)u̯-íi̯ū* ('unlocker',

cf. *agoriad* 'opener' used instead in N. W.), also *allwydd* m. < *-íi̯os* : Lat. *claudo*, *clāvis*, Gk. κληίς, etc. ;—W. *achles* 'shelter' < **n̥-kl̥-stā* (*n̥-* 'in'), √*kel-* 'hide' : O. H. G. *hulst* 'cover', W. *clyd* § 63 iii ;—W. *achenog* 'needy', *achen* 'need', beside W. *anghenog*, *angen*, Ir. *ēcen* 'need' < **n̥k-en-* : Gk. ἀνάγκη.

Mediae : W. *adyn* 'wretch' < **q̇ddoni̯os* < **n̥-doni̯os* 'not-man', beside the later *annyn* 'wretch', *annynol* 'inhuman', Mn. Ir. *anduine* ;—W. *agor* 'to open' < **q̇ggor-* < **n̥-ghor-* (*n̥-* negative), beside *egor* id. < **eggor-* (pref. **ek-*), √*ĝher-* 'enclose' : Lat. *hortus*, Gk. χόρτος, W. *garth* ;—W. *wybren* 'cloud, sky', O. Corn. *huibren*, Ml. Corn. *ebron*, Bret. Van. *ebr*, beside Ir. *imrim* 'storm' : Lat. *imber*, § 100 v ;—W. *hebrwng* 'to accompany, convey', O. Corn. *hebrenchiat*, Mn. Corn. *hembronk*, Ml. Bret. *hambrouk* < **sem-bronk-* : Skr. *sam-* 'with', Goth. *briggan*, E. *bring* ;—Bret. *abrant* 'eyebrow', Corn. *abrans* < **abbr-*, Ir. *abra* < **abr-*, beside W. *amrant* < **am-brant-* (*n̥-* 'in') : Lat. gen. *front-is* ;—Ir. *cobrith* 'help', beside W. *cymryd* 'to take' < **kom-bhr̥-t-*.—The nasalized vowel sometimes develops a new nasal, resulting in a new *nd*, etc., which does not become *nn* ; thus W. *enderig* 'steer', O. W. *enderic* gl. vitulus, beside W. *anner* 'heifer' which contains old *nd* ;—Gwyn. dial. *ǎn-gar* 'hot breath, steam' for lit. W. *ager* 'steam' < **q̇gger-*, beside *angerdd* (*ng* ≡ *nn*) < **anger-*, all < **n̥-gʷher-* § 92 v.

Similarly **ltr** > **ttr* > **thr** in *athro* § 76 v (5).

(2) It has been conjectured that an explosive + *n* sometimes became a double explosive in Kelt. ; Pedersen, Gr. i 158, suggests that this took place immediately before the accent. Thus Ir. *brecc*, W. *brych* 'speckled' < **brikkos* < **bhr̥knós* : Gk. περκνός § 101 iii (2) ; as *-cc* occurs in Ir., the doubling here is not Brit. *r̥kk* < *r̥k* § 61 i (1) ; —W. *crwth* a kind of fiddle, *croth* 'womb', Ir. *cruit* 'harp, hump' < **q̇rutn-* : Lith. *krūtìs* 'woman's breast', *krūtinė* 'breast'.—But many doublings attributed to this cause are due to other causes ; see Thurneysen Gr. 88.

(3) It seems as if *n* + explosive coming after a sonant might become a double explosive, as in W. *rhoch* 'snore' : Gk. ῥόγχος, ῥέγκω § 97 v (3). We have *nk* > *kk* > *c'h* after a nasal in the Bret. mutation after *ma* 'my', *nao* 'nine', as *va c'haloun* 'my heart', *nao c'hant* '900' ; but the development is regular in W.

§ 100. i. (1) Ar. *i̯-* (Lat. *j-*, Gk. ', Germ. *j*, Lith. *j*, Skr. *y-*) remained in Pr. Kelt. ; it disappears in Ir., but remains in W. Thus W. *i̯euanc*, Bret. *iaouank*, Corn. *iouenc*, Ir. *ōac*, *ōc* : Lat.

juvencus, O. H. G. *jung*, E. *young*, Skr. *yuvaśáḥ* 'youthful' < Ar. *i̯uu̯n̥kos* ;—W. *i̯aith* 'language', Bret. *iez* < **i̯ek-t-* : O. H. G. *jehan* 'to say' ;—O. W. *i̯ud-* '*warrior', W. *udd* 'lord' < **i̯eudh-* ; *i̯ôn*, *i̯ôr* 'lord' < Kelt. **i̯ud-nós*, *i̯ud-rós* § 66 v : Gk. *ὑσμίνη* 'battle', Skr. *yodháḥ* 'warrior', *yúdh* id., *yúdhyati* 'fights' ; √*i̯eudh-*.

(2) Ar. *u̯-* (Lat. *v-*, Gk. *F-* (lost), Germ. *w-*, Lith. *v-*, Skr. *v-*) remained in Pr. Kelt. ; it appears in Ir. as *f-*, in W. as *gw-*. Thus W. *gwaith* f. 'fois' (*tair gwaith* '3 times'), Ir. *fecht* id. < **u̯ekt-*, W. *ar-wain* 'to lead' < **ari-u̯eg-n-* § 203 iv : Lat. *veho*, Gk. ἔχος Hes., ὄχος, Skr. *váhati* 'conveys, draws, leads', O. H. G. *wagan*, E. *wain*, *way* ; √*u̯eĝh-* ;—W. *gwîr* 'true', Ir. *fír* : Lat. *vērus*, O. H. G. *wār* ; Ar. **u̯ēros* ;—W. *gwedd*, *gwŷs* § 63 iv ; *gwall* § 99 iii (1).—So before l or r : W. *gwlyb* § 58 iv, *gwlad* § 63 vii (2), *gwraidd* § 91.

Though *gwr-* generally remains, it became *gwn-* in *gwnâ* 'make, do' : Bret. *gra*, Corn. *gwra* < **u̯rag-* : cf. Corn. *gwreans* 'work', *gwrear* 'worker' < **u̯reg-*. In the Oldest W. *r* remains : *guragun tagc* (≡ *gwraz̨wn tawc*) B.S.CH. 2 'let us make peace', *wreith* B.A. 22 'was made' < **u̯rekt-* ; later *gwnech* L.L. 120, B T. 64 'may do' < **u̯rek-s-* ; Ml. W. *goreu* 'did' < **u̯erāg-* < perf. **u̯e-u̯rōg-e* ; √*u̯ereg-* : E. *work*, Gk. ἔργον (*Fέργον*). Also in *gwnïo* 'to sew' : Bret. *gria* id., Corn. *gwry* 'seam' < **u̯rēg-*, same root ; cf. Ir. *fracc* 'needle', *fraig* 'osier' : Gk. ῥῆγος, etc. (orig. meaning 'bend', hence 'weave', hence 'work' ; see Walde s. v. *vergo*).

When *gwr-* or *gwl-* is followed by a rounded vowel or *w*-diphthong, it may become *gr-* or *gl-* by dissimilation : W. *grug* for *gwrug* § 75 ii ; *glyw* for *gwlyw* § 102 iii (2).

(3) Ar. *-i̯-* and *-u̯-* between vowels remained in Pr. Kelt. ; they disappear in Ir., but generally remain in W., though sometimes altered ; see §§ 75, 76, and iii (1) below.

ii. (1) After an initial consonant *i̯* or *u̯* was liable to drop from the earliest period § 101 ii (2) ; thus W. *doe*, Lat. *heri*, Gk. χθές : Skr. *hyáḥ* § 98 i (3) ;—W. *dall* : Goth. *dwals* § 99 iii (2).—But *u̯* remained in Brit. after guttural mediae, § 92 iv, and after *s-* § 94 iv ; and *i̯* remained in some forms. In W. in this position *i̯* generally became *i* ; thus W. *dïeu* 'days' for *di̯eu* as in Mn. W. *trŭdi̯au* '3 days' (the accentuation implies O. W. *di̯-*) < Brit. **di̯ou̯es*, < **di̯éu̯es* (*i̯ou̯* > W. *i̯eu* § 76 iii (3)). The hesitation between *i̯* and *i* must go back to O. W. when the accent was on the ult. and the *i* would be unaccented. Lat. *i* became *i̯* early, and

we have *di̯awl* monosyll. § 34 ii < *diab(o)lus*, but pl. *di̯|e̯fi̯yl* 3 syll. M.A. i 192*a* for **di̯efyl* < *diabolī*.

After medial consonants u̯ and i̯ remained, as in W. *pedwar* 'four' § 63 vii (4);—W. *celwydd* 'lie' < **kalu̯i̯o-*: Lat. *calumnia* < **calu̯omniā*;—W. *dedwydd* 'happy' < **do-tu̯i̯os*: Lat. *tuēri*, *tūtus*, O. Icel. *þȳða* 'friendship', Goth. *þiuþ* 'good' noun, √*teu̯ē(i̯)-* (not √*teu̯ā-* 'swell, increase' according to Walde s. v. *tueor*);—W. pl. ending *-i̯on* § 121 i; verbal suffix *-i̯-* § 201 iii (6); see also iii (2) below.

(2) Between two consonants u̯ and i̯ had dropped in Brit.; thus W. *garr* 'knee' < **ganr-* < **ĝ̥enu̯r-* § 63 vii (4);—*chwann-en* < **sqond-* < **s-qon(i̯)d-* ib.;—*golchi* < **u̯olk-* < **u̯ol(i̯)q*ᵘ- § 89 ii (2). —On *-w-* which came later between consonants in W., see § 42.

(3) Between i or i̯ and a consonant, u̯ dropped; as in *chwŷd* 'vomit' < **spi(u̯)t-*, √*spei̯eu̯-* § 96 iv (1);—W. *hoed* 'grief', Ir. *saeth* < **sai̯(u̯)t-*: Lat. *saevus* (orig. 'sore, sad', see Walde s.v.); —W. *oed* 'age' < **ai̯(u̯)t-*: Lat. *aetas*, older *aevitas*. Hence while W. has final *-yw*, *-oyw* it has no *-ywd*, *-oywd*, *-ywg*, etc.

iii. (1) In Brit., in the diphthong *ii̯* (*ei̯*, *ai̯*), when accented or following the accent, i̯ became a spirant probably like French *j*, which became ð, and appears so in W. Thus *-íi̯os* > *-yð*, *-íi̯ā* > *-eð*; *'-ii̯-* > *-oeð* § 75 iv. But the change did not take place in *oi̯* or *īi̯*.

(2) The same change took place after l or r following the accent; thus *'li̯* > **lð* > W. ll; and *'ri̯* > **rð* ≡ W. rð. Examples: li̯: W. *gallaf* 'I can': Lith. *galiù* 'I can';—W. *all-* in *all-fro* 'foreigner', Gaul. *Allo-broges* < **ali̯o-*: Lat. *alius*, Gk. ἄλλος < **álii̯os*;—W. *gwell* 'better': Skr. *várya-ḥ* 'eligible', *várīyān* 'better': O. E. *wel*, E. *well*, orig. 'choice', √*u̯el-* 'wish'.—ri̯: W. *arddaf* 'I plough': Lith. *ariù* 'I plough', Goth. *arjan* 'to plough';—Pr. Kelt. *Iu̯ér-i̯on-*, *-iann-* > W. *Iwerddon* 'Ireland', Ir. gen. *Érenn*;—W. *morddwyd* 'thigh': O.H.G. *muriot* 'thigh'; —W. *hwrdd* 'a violent push' < **spuri̯-* (*ur* < *u̯er* § 63 viii (1)) √*sphuerē-* 'hurl, smite' § 96 iv (1): Lith. *spiriù* 'I kick' (*ir* < *er* § 63 iii); also possibly W. *g-ordd* fem. 'mallet' (*g-* excrescent § 112 ii (2)), O. W. *ord* ox. 2, Bret. *orz* < **púri̯-ā* 'smiter': Gk. σφῦρα 'mallet' < **σφυρι̯ᾶ*; in that case Ir. *ordd* is from British (a not improbable borrowing, cf. Pedersen Gr. i 22–4).

(3) The change of *i̯* to *δ in the above cases took place before the Roman period, for there is no example of it in any word borrowed from Lat. The alteration was therefore earlier than the period of vowel affection, and the *δ could not affect; hence *arδaf*, not **eirδaf*, etc.

The fact that the change does not take place initially corroborates the view that it did not happen before an accented vowel. All forms that occur can be explained under this supposition; thus *all-* < **ál̥i̯o-*, but *aïl* 'second' < **al̥i̯ós*, etc.; see § 165 vi.

iv. Ar. *-mi̯-* became *-ni̯-* in Pr. Kelt.; as W. *dyn* 'man', Ir. *duine* < **ĝhðom̥i̯o-*, § 98 i (3), § 121 i;—W. *myned*, 'to go', Ml. Bret. *monet*, Corn. *mones* < **momi̯-* for **mami̯-* § 65 v (2), by assim. for **bam-i̯-* < **gᵘ̯em-i̯-*, √*gᵘ̯em-* : Lat. *venio*, Gk. *βαίνω* both < **gᵘ̯em̥i̯ō*, Goth. *qiman*, E. *come*. The *-i̯-* disappeared before the *-e-* of the suffix; the suffix may have been *-at-*, § 203 ii, which following the accent would become *-et-* after *i̯*, see § 65 vi (1). The *i̯* was lost in the compounds *an-fon*, *dan-fon* 'to accompany, send', prefix § 156 ii (1).

v. In some cases metathesis of *i̯* took place in Brit. Thus Ir. *suide* 'soot' comes from **sodi̯o-*, but W. *hudd-* in *huddygl* 'soot' implies **soi̯d-*; O.E. *sōt*, Lith. *šūdžiai* 'soot' have L°-grade; so W. *suddaf* 'I sink' < **soi̯d-* < **sodi̯-* beside W. *soddaf* 'I sink', *sawdd* 'subsidence' < **sōd-*, √*sed-* § 63 ii.—W. *drum* 'ridge' < **droimm-* < **drommi̯-* < **dros-mi-* : Ir. *druimm* < **drommi-* (*i*-stem) : Lat. *dorsum* < **dr̥s-so-m*, Gk. *δειράς* < **ders-ad-*, Skr. *dr̥ṣ-ád* 'rock, millstone', √*deres-*;—W. *turio* 'to delve' < **toirg-* < **torgi̯-* : Lat. *porca* § 101 iii (1);—W. *ar-o-fun* 'intend', *dam-(f)un-aw*, *dym-un-o* 'desire', with *-fun-* < **moin-* < **moni̯-* : Lat. *moneo*, √*menēi̯-*, extension of √*men-* 'mind';—W. *ulw* 'ashes, powder' < **oilu̯-* < **polu̯i̯-* : Lat. *pulvis* < **polu̯is*;—W. *Urien*, O. W. *Urb-gen* § 25 i < **oirbo-gen-* < **orbi̯o-* : Gaul. *Orbius* 'heir', Lat. *orbus*, Gk. *ὀρφανός*;—W. *wyneb* 'face', in comp. *wynab-* R.M. 30 < **einep-*, **einap-* < **eni̯-əqᵘ̯-* (§ 65 vi (1)) : Skr. *ánīkam* 'face' < **eni-əqᵘ̯-*, √*ōqᵘ̯-*; the un-metathesized form is seen in O. W. *einepp*, where *ein-* is from **en(i̯)-* § 70 v, since old *ei* had then become *ui* ≡ Mn. *wy*; O. W. *enep*, Corn. *eneb* Bret. *enep*, Ir. *enech* show *i̯* lost, which occurs before *e* in Brit., see vi below, and cf. § 35 ii (2), and is usual in Ir., cf. i above;—W. *wybr*, *wybren* 'cloud' IL.A. 104, 91, 'sky', O. Corn. *huibren* gl. nubes < **eibbr-* < **embhri̯-* § 99 vi (1) : Lat. *imber* gen. *imbris* (*i*-stem) < **embhri-*

(: Gk. ἀφρός 'foam', Ir. *imrim* 'storm'); without metathesis and with *i̯* lost, Bret. Van. *ebr*, Corn. *ebron*, *ebbarn*; again, with metath., W. *nwyf-re* 'sky' < **neib-* < **nebhi̯o-*; the root is **enebh-*, of which **embh-* is FV, and **nebh-* is VF; with *-l-* suffix, § 90. (W. *nef* 'heaven' is however from √*nem-* 'curve' hence 'vault', as shown by Bret. *neñv*, Ir. *nem*; also seen in W. *nant* 'vale' < **nm̥-t-*.)

vi. *i̯* drops before *i* or *e*, see iv, v, above; cf. § 75 ii (2).

INTERCHANGE OF CONSONANTS

Consonant Alternation.

§ **101.** i. Comparison of the derived languages points to certain alternations of consonants in Pr. Aryan; they are mostly the result of dialectal variation, and of the accidents of consonant combination. The same causes produced the same results after the dispersion; and while some of the alternations mentioned below may be primitive, others are certainly later, and some comparatively recent. Three kinds of alternations may be distinguished: (1) the consonant alternates with zero; (2) the manner of articulation varies; (3) the place of articulation varies.

ii. The cases where the consonant alternates with zero are the following:

(1) Initial *s-* before a consonant is variable; thus Gk. στέγος, Lith. *stógas* 'roof', Skr. *sthágati* 'conceals': Gk. τέγος, Lat. *tego*, W. *to* 'roof'; √(*s*)*theg-*;—Ir. *scaraim*, W. *ysgaraf* 'I separate' Lith. *skiriù* id.: Lat. *caro* 'flesh', orig. 'piece (of flesh)', Gk. κείρω, Skr. *kr̥ntáti* 'cuts': √(*s*)*qer-*;—W. *chwech* 'six' < **su̯eḱs*: Armen. *veç* < **u̯eḱs*;—Lat. *spargo*, E. *sprinkle*: Gk. περκνός, W. *erch* 'speckled, grey' < **perq-*, § 97 v (3).—This treatment of *s-* persisted long after the dispersion; and many of the examples found are undoubtedly cases of the dropping or the adding of *s-* in the derived languages. In Kelt. *s-* seems to have been added and dropped with a freedom hardly equalled elsewhere.—As *-s* was an extremely common ending in Ar., it is natural to suppose that *-s st-* would be confused with *-s t-*, so that it would not always be easy to decide whether the initial had *s-* or not. But some scholars regard the *s-* as a "preformative" or more or less meaningless prefix; see Schrijnen KZ. xlii 97 ff.

(2) A consonantal sonant after an initial consonant was sometimes dropped. Thus W. *chwech*, Gk. Ϝεξ < **su̯eḱs*: Lat. *sex*, Goth. *saihs* < **seḱs*;—Gk. πλατύς, W. *llydan*, √*plethē-* 'spread out, stretch': without *-l-*, Lat. *patēre*, Gk. πετάννυμι, W. *edau* 'thread';—W. *brau* 'brittle'

< **bhrāg-*, Lat. *frango*, E. *break* : Skr. *bhanákti* 'breaks', Ir. *comboing* 'confringit', Armen. *bek* 'broken';—W. *cryg* 'hoarse' <**qri-q-*, *ysgrech* 'scream' < **s-qriq-nā*, Gk. *κρίζω*, *κριγή*, E. *shriek*, Lat. *crīmen*, √*qrei-* : without *-r-*, W. *cwyn* 'complaint' < **qei-no-*, Ir. *cōinim* 'I mourn', Germ. *heiser* 'hoarse', O. E. *hās* > E. *hoarse* (intrusive *r*);—W. *craff* 'sharp', *crafu* 'to scratch', *crach* 'scabs', E. *scrape* : without *-r-*, W. *cafn* 'trough' (scooped out), E. *scab*, *shave*, *shape*, Gk. *σκάπτω*, *σκάφος*, Lat. *scabo*, Lith. *skabùs* 'sharp' : **sqra-b-/-bh-/-p-*;—Lat. *brevis* < **breĝhuis*, Gk. *βραχύς* < **brĝhus* : without *-r-*, Ir. *berr*, W. *byrr*, Corn. *ber*, Bret. *berr* 'short' < **bek'-s-ro-s* (with *-ro-* suff. like W. *hīr* 'long' < **sē-ro-s*); Ir. *bec*(*c*) 'small' <**beggos* with dimin. gemination; W. *bach* 'small' < **bₑĝh(u)so-*; *bychan* 'small', O. W. *bichan*, Bret., Corn., *bichan* < **biksogno-* < **briks-* < **brĝh(u)so-*; assumed to be f. in W. —Later examples of lost *-r-* are E. *speak* : O. E. *sprecan*, Germ. *sprechen*;—W. *gwaith* 'work' : (*g*)*wreith* § 100 i (2);—*Guto* (*t* ≡ *tt*) hypocoristic form of *Gruffudd*.

(3) Between initial *s-* and a sonant, a labial or guttural was liable to drop; thus *spr* : *sr*, and *sql* : *sl*, etc., Siebs, KZ. xxxvii 285 ff.—W. *cleddyf* 'sword', *ar-choll* 'wound' § 156 i (6), *clais* 'bruise' < **qləd-ti-*, *claddu* 'to bury', √*qolād-* 'strike, cut, dig': W. *lladd* 'kill, cut off, mow', Ir. *slaidim* 'I strike, cut' < **slad-* < **sqləd-*;—W. *ffrwd* 'stream', *ffrydio* 'to gush' < **spru-t-*, Germ. *Sprudel* 'fount, gush, flow of water': W. *rhwd*, *rhewyn*, etc., § 95 i, < **sru-*;—W. *ffroen* f. 'nostril', Ir. *srōn* f. 'nose' < **sprugnā*; without *s-* (*p* . . . *g* > *t* . . . *g* § 86 ii (3)), W. *trwyn* m. 'nose' < **prugno-s*, *trywyδ* 'scent' < **prugíĝo-*: Gk. *ῥύγχος* 'pig's snout' < **srunghos* § 97 v (3).—So prob. Lat. *scaevus*, W. *chwith* § 96 iii (2) < **sq-*, by (2) above for **sql-*: Lat. *laevus*, Gk. *λαιός* < **sl-*; by (2) **sl-* > **s-*, whence W. *asswy* < **ad-souĝ-*, Skr. *savyáh*; as *sk-* alternates with *sq-*, see iv (1), the simple root is perhaps **klei-* : Lat. *clīno*, *clīvus*, W. *cledd* 'left (hand)', *go-gledd* 'north'. So perhaps Lat. *lact-* for **slact-* for **sqlact-* : Gk. *γάλα*, W. *glas-dwr* § 63 vii (3);—W. *ffreu* B.B. 37 'fruit' < **sprāg-* : Lat. *frāgum* < **srāg-*.

(4) A semivowel after a long vowel was often dropped: Skr. *aṣṭáu* 'eight', Goth. *ahtau* : Skr. *aṣṭā́*, Gk. *ὀκτώ*, Lat. *octō*. The reduced grade may come from either form; see √*uerē(u̯)-* § 63 vii (5).

Other sonants might disappear finally after long vowels, as Gk. *κύων* : Skr. *śvā́* 'dog', Lith. *szů̃*, Ir. *cū*, W. *ci*;—Gk. *μήτηρ* : Skr. *mātā́*.

iii. While the place of articulation remained the same, the mode of articulation might vary.

(1) At the end of a root a tenuis frequently alternated with a media. Thus O. E. *dīfan*, E. *dive* < **dheup-* : W. *dwfn* 'deep', Gaul. *dubno-*, Lith. *dubùs* 'deep' < **dhub-*, √*dheup/b-*;—Lat. gen. *pācis* : Lat. *pango* √*pāk/ĝ-*;—Lat. *sparg-o* : Gk. *περκ-νός*, W. *erch*, ii (1) above;—Lat. *plancus*, W. *talch* : E. *flake*, √*pelāq/g-* § 86 ii (3);—Lat.

lūceo, Gk. λευκός, W. *llug* 'light': W. *go-leu* 'light', Gaul. *Lugu-*, √*leuq/g-*.—So Lat. *porca*, W. *rhych* 'furrow' < **pr̥k̂*: W. *turio* 'to delve' < **torĝi-* (*t-* for *p-* § 86 ii (3)); W. *tyrchio* 'to delve' is a late form from *twrch* = Lat. *porcus*, prob. allied to the above words despite Armen. *herk* 'newly ploughed land' which implies *-q-*; (Lith. *paršzas* 'pig' implies *-k̂-*); see iv (1).

In the same position an aspirated media alternated with a media: —W. *oen* 'lamb', O.E. *ēanian* 'yean' < **agʰhn-* : Gk. ἀμνός < **agᵘn-* : Lat. *agnus* ambiguous;—Skr. *budhná-ḥ* 'bottom', Gk. πυθμήν < **bhudh-* : O.E. *botm* < **bhud-* : W. *bôn* 'bottom' < Kelt. **budn-ó-* ambiguous.

An aspirated tenuis alternated with an aspirated media:—Skr. *nakhá-ḥ* 'nail': Ir. *ingen*, W. *ewin*, Lat. *unguis*, Lith. *nãgas* 'nail'.

(2) Initially a tenuis alternated with an aspirated media, more rarely with a media. Thus W. *craidd*, Lat. *cord-*, Gk. καρδία, Lith. *szirdìs*, E. *heart*, Sk. *śrad-*, all from *k̂-* : Skr. *hŕd-*, Av. *zərədā*, from **ĝh-*;—Ir. *cingim* 'I go, stride', W. *rhy-gyngu* 'to amble', Ir. *cēimm* 'stride', W. *cam* id. < **kn̥gh-smen-*: Germ. *Gang*, E. *gang-way*, Gk. κοχώνη for **καχώνη* < **ĝhn̥gh-*, Lith. *žengiù* 'I step, stride' < **ĝhengh-*; cf. √*skeg-* § 96 iii (1);—Lat. *porcus*, Ir. *orc*, *torc*, W. *twrch*, O.H.G. *fur(a)h* < **p-* : O.H.G. *barah*, O.E. *bearh* < **bh-*;—O.Lat. *dingua*, O.H.G. *zunga*, E. *tongue* < **d-* : Ir. *tenge*, W. *tafod*, Corn. *tavot*, Bret. *teod* < **t-*, see § 92 v, § 97 v (2);—W. *erch* 'grey, speckled', Gk. περκνός : W. *brych*, *brith* 'speckled', *lwrw* 'cast, sprinkle', see § 97 v (3). As in the last equation, several examples occur in W. and Ir. of *b-* for *p-* pointing to the alternation of *p-* : *b(h)-* before the disappearance of *p-* in Kelt. Thus Lat. *pūs*, *puter*, Gk. πῦον, πύθομαι, Goth. *fūls*, E. *foul*, Skr. *pūyati* 'putrefies, stinks', √*peu(ā̆ˣ)-*, *pūu-* : W. *baw* 'dirt' < **b(h)eu-*, *budr* 'dirty' < **b(h)eu-tr-*; also with *i̯* for *u̯*, iv (1), Lat. *paedor* < **pai̯-d-*, √*pēi̯-* : W. *baeddu* 'to dirty' < **b(h)ai-d-* (*-d-* present);—Lith. *plùskos* 'hair', O.E. *flēos*, E. *fleece*, Ger. *Fliess*, √*pleus-* : W. *blew* 'hair' (mostly of animals, not of man's head in W., as in Corn. and Bret.) < **b(h)leus-*;—Lat. *pasco*, Gk. πατέομαι, Goth. *fōdjan*, E. *food*, W. *yd* 'corn', Ir. *ith* id., Skr. *pitú-ḥ* 'food', √*pā(i̯)-* : O.W. *bit* 'food' < **b(h)it-*, Ir. *biad* id. < **b(h)ii̯-*, W. *bwyd* do. < **b(h)ei-t-*;—Lat. *piget*, Lith. *pẽikti* 'to blame', O.E. *ficol*, E. *fickle*, √*peiq/g-* : W. *bai* 'blame, fault' < acc. **b(h)igi̯n̥*;—Gk. πέπρωται, ἔπορον, Lat. *pars*, W. *rhan*, √*perō-* § 63 vii (2) : W. *barn* 'judgement' < **b(h)r̥n-*, *brawd* id., Ir. *brāth* id. < **b(h)r̥t-* (for meaning cf. Germ. *Teil* 'part' : *Urteil* 'judgement').—The above alternation may be accompanied by a similar alternation medially; thus Lat. *caper*, Gk. κάπρος, W. *caer-i̯wrch* 'roebuck', all < **qap(e)r-* : W. *gafr* 'goat', Ir. *gabor*, *gabur*, Gaul. *Gabro-* < **g(h)ab(h)r-*;—Lat. *capio*, Goth. *hafjan*, W. *caffel* 'to get' < **qap-*: Lat. *habeo*, W. *gaf-el* 'to take hold (of)' < **ghabh-*.

There seems to have been a later tendency to substitute a media for a tenuis initially before a sonant in Brit. and Goidelic; as in Brit. *Britan-* for **Pritan-* § 3 iii;—so W. *brig* 'top (of a tree), crest

(of a wave), hair of the head, border (of a country)', *briger* 'hair of the head' < **brīk-* for **prīk-*, metath. for **krīp-* > W. *crib* 'comb, crest, ridge (of a roof)' : Ir. *crích* 'boundary of a country' < **qrī-q-u̯o-* broken redupl., √*qerēi-* 'separate, divide, cut off' : Lat. *crēna* 'notch', *crista* 'crest', *crīnis* 'hair of the head';—Ir. *droch* 'wheel' : W. *tro* 'turn';—Ir. *gēc* : W. *cainc* 'branch' < **k̑n̥q-* : Skr. *śā́khā* 'branch';—W. *gast* 'bitch' : *ci* 'dog' § 96 ii (3).—Cf. W. *Grawys, Garawys* 'Lent' § 138; < Lat. *quadragēsima*.—Still later is the softening of the initial of an adverb, and of a proclitic, as *dy* 'thy'; these are regarded as mutated forms, and are not mutated further (except occasionally by false analogy).

(3) Alternations like the above occur also in suffixes; as **-tro-* : **-dhro-* and **-tlo-* : **-dhlo-*.

(4) Though *l* and *r* are not mixed indiscriminately, several doublets occur in which they alternate, as √*ĝhuer-* / *ĝhu̯el-* § 92 iv. These alternations may have originated, as suggested by Meillet, Intr.[2] 143, in reduplicated forms in which, by dissimilation, *r* may become *l*, or even *n*. Thus √*gᵘerē-* 'devour' gives **gᵘer-gᵘel-*, **gᵘ̯n̥-gᵘ̯r-*, etc., also with *g* for *gᵘ* by dissim.; thus Gk. *βιβρώσκω*, Lat. *vorāre*, W. *barus* 'greedy' < **gᵘ̯r-* : (broken redupl.) Gk. *ἔβροξε*, Ml. H. G. *krage*, Ir. *brāge*, W. *breuant* 'windpipe' < **gᵘ̯r̥g-n̥t-* : (full redupl.) Lat. *gurgulio*, O. H. G. *querechela*, Gk. *γάγγραινα* : Lat. *gula*.

iv. The place of articulation might vary.

(1) The different gutturals sometimes alternate. Thus, *q/k̂*:—√*leuq/k̂-* : Skr. *rócate* 'lights, shines', *roká-ḥ* 'bright', Lith. *láukti* 'to expect', with **-q-* : Skr. *rúśant-* 'bright, white', Lith. *lúszis* 'lynx' with **-k̂-*;—the suffix **-qo-* : **-k̂o-*, as Skr. *maryaká-ḥ* (*márya-ḥ* 'young man') with **-q-* : Skr. *yuvaśá-ḥ* (*yúvan-* 'young') with **-k̂-* : Lat. *juvencus*, W. *ieuanc* ambiguous;—√*aḱ-/oq-* § 63 v (2);—√*k̂ei-* : √*qōi-* : √*qᵘei̯ē-*, see Walde s.v. *civis*. For a large number of examples see Brugmann[2] I 545 ff. After *s-*, *-q-* predominates, § 84 Note 2; and *k̂/q* alternate, as Skr. *chināt́ti* 'cuts, severs' < **sk̂-* : Lith. *skẽdžiu* 'I separate' < **sq-*, √*sk̂(h)eid-/sq(h)eid-*.

gᵘh/ĝh:—Lat. *fī-lum* 'thread' < **gᵘhī-* : W. *gī-au* 'nerves, sinews' < **ĝhī-*;—W. *gwres*, Gk. *θερμός*, etc. < **gᵘh-*, § 92 iii : Lith. *žarýjos* 'glowing coals', Alb. *zjar* 'fire' < **ĝh-*;—W. *gwelw* 'pale', Lith. *geltas* 'tawny' < **gᵘh-* : Lith. *želiù* green, W. *glas* 'green' < **ĝh*, § 92 iii.

Exactly the same change of position as the last is involved in the alternation of *u̯* and *i̯*, which occurs in some roots, as √*ĝhēu-* : √*ĝhēi-* 'yawn'.

(2) The Ar. consonant series *p*, *t*, *k*, *q*, *qᵘ* is not a line with *p* and *qᵘ* as loose ends, but as it were a circle, in which *p* and *qᵘ* approach one another. *qᵘ* combines the back with the lip position, and the shifting of the stop to the latter position makes it *p*. It is not surprising therefore that *qᵘ* became *p* in some languages as W., Osc.-Umb., Gk., or that under certain conditions *p* > *qᵘ*, § 96 iv. Already in Ar. there seem to be some cases of *p* alternating with *qᵘ*, and even

with *q*; this takes place before *l*, and before *r* when it is a variant of *l*. Thus we have the parallel roots **pel-*, **q*ᵘ*el-*, **qel-* 'to turn', also with *r*, **q*ᵘ*er*. Examples:—**pel-* : Lat. *poples* 'bend of knee', Ir. *imb-el*, W. *ym-yl* 'rim, edge' < **mbi-pel-*, W. *cyf-yl* 'border, vicinity' < **kom-pel-*, *ol-wyn* 'wheel', Gk. πέλομαι < **pel-* (since *q*ᵘ*e* > τε § 89 i);—**q*ᵘ*el-* : Lat. *colo*, *incola*, Gk. τελέθω, πολεύω, W. *dy-chwel-af* 'I return' < **do-sq*ᵘ*el-*; redupl. Gk. κύκλος, O.E. *hweohl*, E. *wheel*;—**qel-* : Gk. κελλόν · στρεβλόν Hes., Lat. *coluber*;—**qer-* : Lat. *curvus*, Gk. κορώνη, Ir. *cor* 'circle', W. *côr* 'circle, close', *cored* 'round weir', Ml. W. *at-coraf* 'I return', Ir. *cruind*, W. *crwnn* 'round'. —— So the roots **spel-*,**sq*ᵘ*el-*,**sqel-*,**sqer-* 'to split, separate, scatter'; thus **spel-* : O. H. G. *spaltan*, E. *split*, Skr. *sphāṭáyati* 'splits', Bret. *faouta* 'to split', W. *fflochen* 'splinter', *hollti* 'to split' § 96 iv (1);—**sq*ᵘ*el-*, **sqel-* : Lith. *skeliù* 'I split', Bret. *skula*, W. *chwalu* 'to scatter', Ir. *scāilim* 'I scatter';—**sqer-* : Lith. *skiriù*, W. *ysgar*, etc. ii. (1);—also in the sense of 'snatching'; with **p**, Lat. *spolium* : with **q**, W. *ysglyfio* 'to snatch', *ysglyfaeth* 'prey' < **sql-m-*. —— So Gk. πλεύμων, πνεύμων 'lung', Lat. *pulmo* (for **plumō*), O. Bulg. *plušta*, O. Pruss. *plauti* 'lung', the 'light' member (cf. E. *lights* 'lungs'), W. *lluman* 'banner' < **pleus-m̥n-* : Skr. *klóman-* 'right lung' < **qleumon-*, W. *ysgyfaint* dual 'lungs' < **s-qum̥n-* (*l* lost ii (2), see also § 121 iv), Bret. *skevent*, Ml. Ir. *scaman* (? < Brit.), Ml. W. *yscun* B. B. 4 ≡ *ysgwn* 'light, soaring', O. W. *scamn-*, W. *ysgawn*, *ysgafn*, Bret. *skañv* 'light' < **s-qumn-* § 76 vii (4); W. *cwhwfan* for **cy-chwyfan* 'to wave in the breeze, flutter' < **ko-squmon-*, *chwŷf* 'waving' < **squmō* : √*pleu-/(pneu-)* 'float, waft'.

(3) The change of *p* to *t*, which sometimes occurs is doubtless always secondary, as in Skr. *ṣṭhīvati* 'spews' (: Lat. *spuo*, E. *spew*) where the *t* is due to the following palatal, cf. Gk. πτύω < **pi̯ū̯i̯ō*. In Kelt. *p* became *q*ᵘ before *q*ᵘ, but sometimes *t* before a palatal or velar § 86 ii (3), perhaps a compromise between the labial and guttural positions.

Assimilation, Dissimilation and Metathesis.

§ 102. i. Assimilation, dissimilation and metathesis of consonants have taken place at all periods; most of the examples occurring have arisen since the Ar. dispersion. In many cases the change has become a phonetic law; but most of the changes, especially of dissimilation and metathesis, occur only accidentally.

ii. (1) Assimilation of joined consonants: (*a*) Ar. *pd* > *bd* etc. § 93 i; *sd* > *zd* § 97; *ghþ* > *ghð* § 98.—(*b*) In most of the derived languages *mt* > *nt*, etc. § 84, Note 3.—(*c*) In Kelt. *tk* > *kk*, etc. § 93, ii (2), (3); *nl* > *ll*, *nr* > *rr*, *ln* > *ll* § 99 iii; *lδ* > *ll* § 100 iii (2). —(*d*) In W. *nt* > *nnh* etc. § 106, *llt* > *ll* § 105; *dδ* > *d-d* > *t* § 111 vii (2); *lχ* > *l l* § 110 ii (2). In Late Mn. W. *nff* > *nth* in *benthyg* < Ml. W. *benffic* < Lat. *beneficium*.

(2) Assimilation of separated consonants: Italo-Kelt. *p* . . . q^{u} > q^{u} . . . q^{u} § 86 ii (2).—Kelt. *b* . . . *m* > *m* . . . *m* in **momiat-* > W. *myned* § 100 iv.

iii. (1) Dissimilation of joined consonants: (*a*) Ar. *tt* > $t^{s}t$ § 87 ii.—(*b*) When two continuants come together there is often a tendency to alter one of them either to an explosive or to a semivowel: thus in Brit. *ml-* > *bl-*, *mr-* > *br-* § 99 ii (1); in W. *nð* > *nd* as in *bendith* 'blessing', *sð* > *sd*, *lð* > *ld* > *lld*, *llð* > *lld* § 111 vii (2); *ðl* > *dl* as in *bodlon*, *ðr* > *dr* as in *cadr* § 111 vii (1); *mχ* > *mc* as in *amcan* § 156 i (4); *nṽ* > *nw̃* as in O. W. *anu* § 99 iv (1), *rv* > *rw̃* as in *syberw* § 105 ii, *fl* > *w̃l* § 104 v. In many cases the spirant disappeared: *fn* > *n* § 110 iii (4), *ðn* > *n* § 104 iv (1).—(*c*) In W. *mnį* > *ml* in *teimlo* 'to feel' < **teimnįo* < **tamn-* < **tang-smen-*: Lat. *tango*.

(2) Dissimilation of separated consonants: (*a*) Already in Ar. *r* . . . *r* > *r* . . . *l* etc. § 101 iii (4); and *tr* . . . *r* > *t* . . . *r* in **tisores* 'three' fem. > W. *tair*, Skr. *tisráḥ* § 69 iv.—(*b*) In Kelt. *gn* . . . *n* > *gl* . . . *n* in **glūn-* > W. *glin* 'knee' § 63 vii (4); *l* . . . *l* > *r* . . . *l* in **aralios* > W. *arall* 'other', Ir. *araile*.—(*c*) In W. *gw̃* . . . *w̃* > *g* . . . *w̃* in *glyw* 'lord' < **gw̃lyw̃* < **u̯li-u̯o-s*, VR of √*u̯elē(i̯)-* § 63 vii (2); *gw̃* . . . *v* > *g* . . . *v* in *greðf* 'instinct' (*greðfu* 'to be inbred') < **u̯rd-mā*: Ir. *frēm* § 91; *r* . . . *r* > *r* . . . *l* in *Chwefrol* § 138 i (2); *l* . . . *l* > *l* . . . *r* in *llefrith* 'new milk' for **lle-flith* < **lo-vlith* '*calf-milk'; *th* . . . *th* > *t* . . . *th* in *gwrtaith* 'manure' < **u̯er-tek-t*, √*theg-* § 92 i; *l* . . . *ð* > *l* . . . *d* in late Mn W. *machlud* for Ml. W. *ymachluð* etc. § 111 vii (3); *ð* . . . *l* > *d* . . . *l* in *pedol* 'horseshoe' for **peðawl* < Lat. *pedālis*.

iv. (1) Metathesis of joined consonants: (*a*) Nasalized stems may be the result of the metathesis in Ar. of the suffix *-n-* with the last consonant of the root; thus **jug-n-* > **jung-* > Lat. *jungo*, √*jeug-*; if so, forms like Skr. *yunákti* 'joins' are analogical formations which arose in imitation of forms with *n* as part of the root; but the effect is the same as that which would be produced by an Ar. infix *-ne-*.—(*b*) In Brit. *dį* > *į̯d*, etc. § 100 v.—(*c*) In W. *lg* > *gl* in *annwyl* 'dear' < **induglens* < Lat. *indulgens*; *chl* > *lch* in *allweð* 'key' for **alchweð*, Bret. *alchouez*, for **achl-* § 99 vi (1); *nm* > *mn* in *amnaid* 'nod' < O. W. *enmeit* § 95 ii (3); *dn* > *nd* in *andaw* 'listen' for **adnaw* § 76 iii (1), *andwyo* § 76 iv (4).

(2) Metathesis of separated consonants: (*a*) Ar. **bhudh/d-* 'bottom' and **dhub-* 'deep', if not originally the same, are confused in the derived languages: W. *annwfn* 'hell' < **n̥-dub-n-* for **n̥-bud-n-* 'bottomless': Gk. *ἄ-βυσσος*; cf. O. Bulg. *dŭno* 'bottom' and Armen. *andundk'* "*ἄβυσσος*" with *d* . . . *d* for *b* . . . *d* by assimil.—(*b*) In Kelt. *n* . . . *r* > *r* . . . *n* in Gaul. *Taranis* 'Juppiter tonaus', *Taranu-*, W. *taran* 'thunder', Ir. *toran* 'din', < **taran-*, **toran-* for **tr̥nər-* **tonər-*: Brit. (-Lat.) *Tanar-o* Chester insc. (re-metath.?), O. E. *þunor*, E. *thunder*, Lat. *tono*, Gk. *στένω* √(*s*)*tenā-*; *b* . . . *g* > *g* . . . *b* in Ir. *goba*, W. *gof* 'smith' < Kelt. **góbann-* for **bog-* < **bhog-*: Gk. *φώγω*, E. *bake* < **bhog-*, Germ. *backen* < **bhog-n-*, Lat. *focus*

√*bhŏk/g-*; in early Kelt. before the loss of *p*, *k*...*p* > *p*...*k* in W. *archen* 'shoe', Bret. *archen* < **park-* for **karp-* < **q*$_e$*r'p-* √*qerā*^{x}*p-* 'shoe' § 86 i (5).—(*c*) In Brit. *n*...*l* > *l*...*n* in W. *telyn* f. 'harp', Bret. *telen*, Corn. *telein* < **telenī* for **ten-el-ī*, √*ten-* 'stretch': W. *tant* 'harpstring', Lat. *tendo*, Gk. τείνω, etc.—(*d*) In W. *l*...δ > δ...*l* in *meδal* 'soft' for **melaδ* < **meləd-* : Lat. *mollis* < **moldu̯is*, Skr. *mr̥dú-ḥ* 'soft', etc. √*melā*^{x}*-*; and in *eiδil* 'feeble' for **eiliδ*, § 156 i (2) : *ymlā́δ* § 204 i, √*lēd-* 'weary, weak'.

BRITISH AND LATIN CONSONANTS IN WELSH

The Soft Mutation.

§ **103.** i. (1) Brit. and Lat. **p**, **t**, **k**, **b**, **d**, **g**, **m** between vowels became **b**, **d**, **g**, **f**, **δ**, **ʒ**, **f** respectively in W. Thus W. *Cyndaf* < Brit. *Cunotam(os)*;—W. *saeth* 'arrow' < **saʒeth* < Lat. *sagitta*; —W. *deg* 'ten' < Brit. **dekan* < Ar. **dek̂m̥*;—W. *cybydd* 'miser' < Lat. *cupidus*;—W. *llafur* 'labour' < Lat. *labōrem*. Numerous examples occur in the above sections. The change is called the "soft mutation".

(2) As the same changes took place generally between a vowel and a sonant (see the details § 104), and as every initial consonant must be followed by a vowel or a sonant, it follows that where the preceding word ended in a vowel the initial is changed as above; thus while Brit. **oinos markos* gave *un march* 'one horse', Brit. **oinā mammā* gave *un fam* 'one mother', not **un mam*.

(3) The conditions are, however, not quite the same initially as medially. Medially *-sk-* became -χχ- by the reaction of the two sounds on one another before the period of the present changes. But in the case of final *-s* and initial *k-* no reaction took place in the earlier period, and the sounds came down to later Brit. unchanged. It was then too late for *sk* to give χχ, as shown by the retention of Lat. *sc*, see (5), and of Brit. medial *sk* from *ksk* etc. § 96 iii (5); thus the *k-* remained, and the final syllable with its *-s* ultimately disappeared. For similar reasons final *-s* preserved an initial media or *m-* intact. Hence we have the radical consonant after words or classes of words which ended originally in *-s*, such as mas. sg. nouns or adjectives; thus **dí̯i̯ēus dagos* > *dydd da* 'good day'.

But when the final syllable of the first word was accented, its *-s* combined with an initial tenuis, which thus became a spirant. For this reason we have the spirant mutation of a tenuis after Ml. W. *y* 'her' (now written *ei*) < **esiás* = Skr. *asyáḥ* 'her'; *tri* 'three' < Brit. **treiés* (for **tréies* would have given **trydd*); *a* 'with' and *a* 'and' < Brit. **aggós* § 213 iii (1), § 222 i (3). On the mutation after *ni*, see § 217 iv (1); after *chwe* § 108 iii.

tair and *pedair* had the same accentuation, and in Bret. *ter*, *peder*, and also *pevar* (=*pedwar*), cause the spirant mutation. The radical has been substituted in W., as in the majority of cases where the spirant occurred from the above cause.

(4) After final *-s* initial **l** and **r** were unvoiced; cf. *sl-* > *ll-*; *sr-* > *rh-*, § 95 i; but between vowels **l** and **r** underwent no change. Thus we have **ll** and **rh** now in those positions where the radical occurs of the consonants mentioned in (1) above, and **l** and **r** in those positions where the said consonants are softened. Welsh grammarians therefore speak of **ll**, **rh** as "radical", and **l**, **r** as "mutated" consonants. Though the reverse is historically the case, it is convenient to retain the old terminology in dealing with the interchange of the sounds in the present language.

Note. The term "soft mutation", first applied to the change where it occurred initially, is due to Dr. Davies, who called it "forma mollis" D. 26. It has also been called "vocal" and "middle". The latter name, used by Rowland, owes its origin to the term "forma media" used by Davies as a name for the change of the tenues to the mediae; as applied to the six others it is meaningless. Continental scholars use "Lenition" as a term embracing the Welsh "soft mutation" and the corresponding Irish "aspiration".

(5) Lat. **sp**, **st**, **sc** remained, as Ml. W. *yspeil* < *spolium* § 69 iv (1), *ystyr* < *historia* ib., *escyn* < *ascend-*. An explosive before the group dropped in W., as in *estron* < *extrāneus*; so after the loss of an intervening vowel, as W. *esgob* < *episcopus*, W. *esgud* 'active' < *exsecūtus*. See further § 111 vi (2). Except where *c* dropped as above Lat. *x* > *ȝs*, § 108 v.

ii. (1) Medially between vowels *ȝ*, the soft mutation of **g**, disappeared completely after the O. W. period; as in *saeth* i (1);—*maes* < **maȝes* § 29 ii (2) : Gaul. *-magus*;—*teyrn* 'ruler' < **tyyrn*

< *tigirn-*;—also finally, as *da* 'good' < **dag-* § 63 v (2);—*ty* 'house' < *tigos* § 65 ii (3);—*bro* < **mrog-* § 99 ii (1);—*bre* (prob. f.) 'hill', Corn. *bre* f. < **brigā*, Gaul. *-briga* < **bhr̥gh-*: Germ. *Berg*;—*bore* 'morning', O. W. *more* in B.A. 17 l. 20, Bret. *beure* < acc. **mārig-an* (< **-ɱ*): Ir. *imbūrach*, Mn. Ir. *mārach* < **mārig-*: Kelt. **mārig-* < **mōrigh-* L°R_2 of √*merē(i)q/gh-*: Skr. *márīciḥ* 'ray of light', Goth. *maurgins*, E. *morn*.—Already in O. W. we find *ncrtheint* (< *-eɀint*), beside *scamnhegint* (*g* ≡ ȝ).

ig gives **y**, affected to **e**, as above; it is often assimilated to the following vowel, as in *dyléd* < Ml. W. *dylyet* < **dliget-* § 82 ii (3); Ml. W. *breenhin* 'king' < **brigant-īn-*: Skr. acc. *br̥hánt-am*, gen. *br̥hat-áḥ* 'high, great' < **bhr̥gh-ént-*, *-n̥t-*. Before *ei* it was lost, as in *braint* 'privilege', Ml. W. *breint* < O. W. *bryeint* L.L. 120 < **briganti-*; Ml. W. *Seint* < **Sigontio* 'Segontium'.—**wy** comes not from *ig*, but from **eig**, as in *mod-rwy* 'ring' < F-grade **reig-*, as in *rhwym* § 95 ii (2); *mor-dwy* 'sea-voyage' < **teig-*, Ir. *tīagu* 'I go': Gk. στείχω; so *canhorthwy* 'assistance' < **kanta-u̯er-teig-*, lit. '*go over with'.—**āg** gave **eu**, **au**, § 71 iii.

Initially ȝ disappeared completely; but as the initial of the second element of a compound it often became ẑ > i̯ after a dental (*d*, *δ*, *n*, *l*, *r*), as *Llwyd-iarth* < **leito-garto-* § 95 iv (3); *Pen-iarth* < **penno-garto-*; *mil-iast* D.G. 278 beside *mil-ast* 'greyhound bitch'; *arw-floedd-iast* § 157 ii (1); *Mor-ien*, O. W. *Mor-gen* '*sea-born'; *Ur-ien*, O. W. *Urb-gen* § 100 v.

For ȝ before and after sonants see § 104 ii, § 105 ii, § 110 ii.

(2) The soft mutation of **m** was originally the nasalized spirant *ṽ*. The nasalization generally remains medially in Bret., but disappeared in W. towards the end of the O. W. period. As **f** was thereafter the soft mutation of both **b** and **m**, there has always been the possibility of its being referred to the wrong radical. This probably accounts for the substitution in some cases of one for the other, as in *bawd* 'thumb', O. W. *maut* f. (*y fawd* 'the thumb'), still with *m-* in *mod-rwy* orig. 'thumb-ring'. In a few cases *m-* and *b-* interchange, as *bath* and *math* (*y fath* 'the kind of'), *baeddu* and *maeddu* 'to dirty'.

Nid adwaen, iawn yw dwedyd,
Weithian i **bath** *yn y byd.*—G.I.H.

'I know not, it is right to say it, her like now in the world.'

Och imi! pe marw chwemwy,
O bydd i **math** *mewn bedd mwy.*—D. N., F.N. 90, C.C. 267.

'Woe is me! though six times more died, [I doubt] if her like will ever more be in a grave.'

In *bore* for *more* we may have dissim., as in *mr- > br-*.

iii. In O. W. softened consonants were represented by the corresponding radicals; see § 18 i, § 19 i. It would be wrong to conclude from this that the softening had not then taken place, for its occurrence initially is due in almost every case to a vocalic ending which was then already lost. The difference between the radical *m* in *un march* and the soft *f* in *un fam* cannot be accounted for if assumed to have taken place since the O. W. period when 'one' was *un*; it must be referred to the Brit. m. **oinos*, f. **oinā*. The O. W. spelling was doubtless a survival from the time when the mutated consonant could still be regarded as a debased pronunciation of the radical. On the Ml. final tenues see § 111 v.

§ **104.** i. The mutable consonants, **p**, **t**, **k**, **b**, **d**, **g**, **m** normally underwent the soft mutation between a vowel and a sonant; thus **pr > br** in W. *Ebrill* < Lat. *Aprīlis*; W. *go-bryn-af* 'I merit' < Brit. **u̯o-prinami*, ✓*q*reiə̯ā-* § 201 i (4);—**pl > bl** in W. *pobl* < Lat. *pop'lus*;—**tn > dn** in W. *edn* 'bird' < **pet-no-* § 86 i;—**tu̯ > dw̯** in W. *pedwar* < Brit. **petu̯ares* § 63 vii (4);—**kr > gr** in W. *gogr*, *gwagr* 'sieve' < **u̯o-kr-*, ✓*qerēi̯-*: Lat. *crībrum*;—**br > fr** in W. *dwfr* 'water' § 90;—**bn > fn** in W. *dwfn* 'deep' ib.; W. *cefn* 'back' < **kebn-*: Gaul. *Cebenna* 'les Cévennes' (**qeb-* allied to **qamb/p-* § 106 ii (1));—**dm > δf**, see iv (2).

ii. (1) **g** before *l*, *r*, *n* gave *i̯*, which became *i̯* forming a diphthong with the preceding vowel. The Mn. developments are as follows: **ag > ae**; **eg > ei** or **ai**; **ig > i**; **og > oe**; **ug > ŵỹ**; **āg > eu** or **au**; **īg > i**. Thus W. *aer* 'battle', Ir. *ār* 'slaughter' < **agr-*: Gk. *ἄγρā*;—W. *draen* 'thorn' < **dragn-* < **dhr̥ghn-*: Gk. *τρέχνος*;—W. *tail* 'manure' < **tegl-* § 35 ii (3), ✓*(s)teg-* 'cover' § 92 i, cf. *gwrtaith* 'manure' < **u̯er-tekt-*;—W. *oen* 'lamb', Ir. *ūan* < **ognos* § 65 ii (2);—W. *oer* 'cold', Ir. *ūar* < **ogr-*: Gaul. (Seq.) *Ogron...* name of a month;—W. *annwyl* § 102 iv (1);—

W. *ceulo* < **cāgl-* § 71 iii. Examples of **gm** are uncertain. On *swyn* < Lat. *signum* see § 72 ii.

Following the accent, **g** after *a* became ȝ and disappeared; as in the suffix *-agno-*, < **'-o-gno-* (**-o-* is the stem vowel, which becomes *a* in Ir., and when unacc. before *g* in Brit.), as seen in Brit.-Lat. *Maglagni, Corbagni, Broccagni* giving W. *Maelan, Carfan, Brychan*; Ir. *-ān* as *Broccān*; so O.W. *bichan*, W. *bychan*, Ir. *becān*.

For the affected forms of the above groups see §§ 69, 70.

(2) **gi̯** > ȝ̂ > **i̯**; thus W. *cae* 'enclosure, field' < **kagi̯o-*, Gaul. 5th cent. *caium*, whence Fr. *quai*, √*kagh-/kogh-* : Lat. *cohus*, E. *hedge*, Germ. *Hecke*;—Ml. W. *daeoni* 'goodness' < **dag-i̯ono-gnīm-* (re-formed as *da-ioni* in Mn. W.). It is seen that the vowel is not affected by the *i̯*, but it may be by a following *ī* < *ô*; thus W. *llai*, Ml. W. *llei* 'less', Ir. *laigiu*, both < **lagi̯ōs* < **l̥gh(u)i̯ōs* : Lat. *levis*, Gk. ἐλαχύς;—W. *-(h)ai*, Ml. *-(h)ei* < **-sagi̯ō* § 121 i, § 201 iii (4).—So **igi̯** affected by *a* gave *egi̯* becoming **-ei, -ai**, as W. *tai*, Ml. *tei* 'houses' < **tigi̯a* < **tigesa*, pl. of **tigos* 'house';—W. *carrai* 'lace' < Lat. *corrigia*. When unaffected, **igi̯** gave *ii̯* > **ī**; as in *brī* 'honour' < **brigi̯o-* : *brenin, braint* § 103 ii (1); and *llīon* in Ml. W. *Kaer-llion* < **ligi̯ŏnos*, Brit. gen. for Lat. *legiōnis*.

Similarly **ogi̯** > *oe* > **-o**, § 78 i (1), in *to* 'roof' < **togi̯o-* : Ir. *tuige* gl. stramen, and *amdo* 'shroud' < **m̥bi-togi̯o-* : Ir. *im-thuige* 'clothing' : Lat. *toga*, √*(s)theg-*.—**ugi̯** > *ŵy* > **-w**, § 78 i (2), in *llw* 'oath' < **lugi̯on* : Ir. *luige, lugae* < **lugi̯on*. (Ml. W. pl. *llyeu, llyein*, Mn. *llwon*, dial. *llyfon* are all analogical formations.)

(3) **gu̯** > ȝ^{u} > **w̯** : W. *tew* 'thick' < **tegu-* § 76 viii (2).—**og^{u}i̯** > *oui̯* > **eu** in *euod* 'worms in sheep' < **og^{u}i̯-* < Ar. **og^{u}hi̯-* : Gk. ὄφις, Skr. *áhiḥ* 'snake'.

iii. (1) Before *n* Brit. **k** > χ̂ > **i̯**, so that **kn** gives the same result as *gn*; thus W. *dwyn* 'to bring' < **duk-n-* § 203 iv (3);—*braenu* 'to rot' < **brakn-* < **mrəq-n-* § 99 ii (1);—*croen* 'hide, rind' < **krokn-*, Bret. *croc'hen*, Ir. *crocenn* < **krokn-* (*kn* > *kk*) < **qroq-*, VF° of **qereq-* broken redupl. of √*qer-* 'divide, rip' : Lat. *corium, cortex*, O. Bulg. *(s)kora* 'rind', *korĭcĭ* a kind of vessel, W. *cwrwgl* 'coracle';—W. *gwaun* < **u̯ākn-* < **u̯o-akn-* : W. *ochr* see below;—W. *tīn* 'buttock' < **tāknā* < **tūqnā*, Ir. *tōn* < **tūknā*: E. *thigh* O. H. G. *dioh*. This may be due to gemination of **k**,

see (2) below; in many cases **kn** > **gn** regularly; thus W. *sugno* 'to suck' < **seuk-n-*, √ *seug/g-* : Lat. *sūcus*, *sūgo*, E. *suck*, etc.;—W. *dygn* 'grievous' < **dikn-* < **deɴgn-* : Ir. *dingim* 'I press down', O. E. *tengan* 'to press';—W. *rhygnu* 'to rub' < **rukn-* : Gk. *ρυκάνη*;—W. *dogn* 'portion, dose' < **dok-n-*, √ *dek̂-*: Gk. *δέκομαι*, *δοκάνη · θήκη*.

(2) Before *r*, **k**, **t** give **g**, **d** regularly, as in *gogr* i above;—*chwegr* < **sṵekr-* § 94 iv;—W. *deigr* 'tear' < **dakrū* § 120 iii (1);—W. *aradr* < Ar. **arətrom* § 87 i;—W. *modryb* § 69 ii (4); etc.

But W. *ochr* 'edge, side' beside Ir. *ochar* < **okr-*, √ *ak̂-/oq-*, W. *rhuthr* 'rush' beside Ir. *rūathar* < **reu-tro-*, √ *reu̯-* : Lat. *ruo*, imply *kkr*, *ttr* for *kr*, *tr* § 99 v (4). Compounds like *go-chrwm* : *crwm* 'bent' may owe their *ch* to this, or to *s* before *k*.

An example of *k* < *gg* giving the same result is Ml. W. *achreawdyr* B.T. 9 'gathering' < Lat. *aggregātio*, with excrescent *-r*; cf. *cyngreawdr* < *congregātio* in *Cyngreawdyr Fynydd* ('Mount of Assembly') 'The Great Orme'.[a] Similarly *g* before *r* may be treated as *gg* and give *g*, as in *llygru* 'to injure, violate, corrupt' : Gk. *λυγρός*, Lat. *lugeo*, Skr. *rujáti* 'breaks', Lith. *lúžti* 'to break', √ *leug/ĝ-*.

iv. (1) Brit. **dn** > W. **n** (not **nn*); as in W. *bŏn* 'stem' < **bud-nó-*, *bonedd* 'nobility' < **budníiā* : Ar. **bhudh-* 'bottom' § 102 iv (2);—W. *blynedd* < **blidníās* § 125 v (1).

(2) Brit. **dm** > W. **δf**; as W. *greddf* 'instinct' § 102 iii (2);—W. *deddf* 'law' < **dedmā* < **dhedh-mā*, √ *dhē-* : Gk. *τεθμός*, *θεθμός* < **dhedh-mos*;—W. *add-fwyn* etc. § 93 ii (3), q. v.

(3) Brit. **dl**, **dr** after a back vowel became *δl*, *δr*; the *δ* remained after the accent, and was provected to **d**, as *hadl*, *cadr* § 111 vii (1), and disappeared before the accent, as in *iŏr* < **i̯ud-rós* § 66 v. After a front vowel **dl**, **dr** > *gl*, *gr*, and developed accordingly, ii (1); thus W. *cadair*, Ml. *kadeir* < Lat. *cat(h)edra*;—W. *eirif* 'number' < **ed-rīm-* < **ad-rīm-* : Ir. *āram*;—W. *i waered* 'downwards' < **di woiret* < **do upo-ped-ret-*; *gwael* 'base' < **upo-ped-los*, √ *ped-* 'foot';—W. *aelwyd* 'hearth', Bret. *oaled*, O. Corn. *oilet* < **aidh-l-eti̯-* : Gk. *αἴθαλος* 'soot', Lat. *aedes*, √ *aidh-* 'burn', cf. § 78 ii (3).

v. **bl** > **fl** or **wl**, as in *gafl* 'fork' : Ir. *gabul*, Lat. *gabalus*

[a] The identification of the name (treated as two common nouns by Silvan Evans) is the discovery of Professor J. E. Lloyd, Tr. Cym. 1899–1900, p. 158.

< Kelt.; Ml. W. *nywl* § 90, *dịawl* § 100 ii (1).—**ml**, **mr** § 99 ii. —**mn** § 76 vii, § 99 iv.

Other groups of explosive + sonant are regular.

§ **105.** i. After *r* Brit. and Lat. **p**, **t**, **k** become respectively **ff**, **th**, **ch**; thus W. *corff* < Lat. *corpus*;—W. *gorffwys* § 89 ii (2); —W. *porth* < Lat. *portus*;—W. *archaf* § 63 iii, etc.

lk > **lch**, as W. *golchi* § 89 ii (2);—W. *calch* < Lat. *calc-em*.— **lp** > **lff**, as W. *Elffin* < Gallo-Lat. *Alpīnus*.—**lt** > **llt**, as in Ml. W. *kyfeillt* 'friend' = Ir. *comalte* 'foster-brother' < **kom-alt(i)ios*; W. *allt* 'declivity; grove' < **alt-*, √*al-* 'grow, nourish': Lat. *alo*, *altus*;—medially it becomes **ll** as in W. *cyllell* 'knife' < Lat. *cultellus*; W. *di-wyllio* 'to cultivate': *gwyllt* 'wild' § 92 iv; except in re-formations, as in *hollti* 'to split' from *hollt* § 96 iv (1); the *t* is sometimes lost finally in an unstressed syllable, as in Mn. W. *cyfaill*, Ml. and Mn. *deall* § 75 vi (4).

ii. **rb** > **rf**, as in W. *barf* 'beard' < Lat. *barba*; also **rw̥**, as in *sýberw̥* 'proud' < Lat. *superbus*.—**rd** > **rð**, as in *bardd* < Brit. **bardos* (*βαρδοί* · *ἀοιδοὶ παρὰ Γαλάταις*, Hesych.).—Medially **rg** > **ri̯** as in *ariạn* 'silver' = Ir. *airget* < Kelt. **argn̥t-om*: Lat. *argentum*, Skr. *rajatá-m* : Gk. *ἄργυρος*, √*areĝ-*. Finally **rg** > *-r*, *-ry*, *-ra*, *-rw̥* § 110 ii.

lb > **lf**, as in *gylfin* 'beak', O. W. *gilbin* : Ir. *gulban* id. < Kelt. **gulb-*.—Medially **lg** > **li̯**, as in *daliạf* § 110 ii (2); for final **lg** see ib.—Medially **ld** > **ll** as in *callawr* 'caldron' < Lat. *caldārium*; —finally **llt** as in *swllt* 'money, shilling' < Lat. *sol'dus*.

iii. **rm** > **rf** or **rw̥** § 99 ii (2);—**lm** > **lf**, ib.;—**nm** > **nf** or **nw̥** § 99 iv (1).

The Nasal Mutation.

§ **106.** i. (1) A nasal before an explosive was assimilated to it in position where it differed; thus Ar. *kn̥tóm* '100' > Brit. **kanton*; Ar. **penqᵘe* '5' > Kelt. **qᵘenqᵘe* > Brit. **pempe*. This may be assumed to have taken place in Late Brit. when the nasal ended one word and the explosive began the next if the syntactical connexion was a close one. Subsequently a media, or (later) a tenuis, was assimilated to the nasal, becoming itself a nasal. This is called the "nasal mutation" of the explosive.

The order of the changes was the following: *y*n 'in' + **B***angor* first became *y*m **B***angor*, and then *y*m **M***angor*. The recent spelling *y*n **M***angor* is therefore not only a misrepresentation of the present sound, but a falsification of its history.

(2) There is a sporadic assimilation of *n* to *i* in the groups *ĭn* or *ein*, the *n* becoming *ŵ*; thus *pringhaf* R.P. 1278, spv. of *prĭn* 'scarce' ib. 1280 (< **q*ᵘ*rīt-sno-s* : *prid* 'precious', √*q*ᵘ*reiā-* 'buy'); *meithring* (*-iŵ*) D.G. 69 for *meithrin* 'to nourish'; *Einion* is often written *Eingion* or *Eingnion* ≡ *eiŵon*, which has become *eŵŵan* in Gwynedd, e.g. *Llan-engan* near Pwllheli.

ii. (1) Brit. **mb**, **nd**, **ŋg** became respectively **mm**, **nn**, **ŋŋ**; they remain so in W., *mm* being generally written *m*; *nn* finally written *-n* (but *-nn* in monosyllables in Ml. W.); *ŋŋ* written *ng* (and Ml. W. *gg* or *g*); see § 51 iv, § 54 i (2). Thus W. *cwm* 'valley' < Brit. **kumbo-*, √*qeub/p-* 'curve': Lat. *cūpa*, *-cumbo*, Gk. κύμβος, etc.;—W. *cam* 'bent, crooked' < Brit. **kambo-* : Gaul. *Cambo-dūnum*, Gallo-Lat. *cambiāre* : Lat. *campus* (orig. 'vale'), Gk. καμπή, κάμπτω, √*qamb/p-* 'curve';—W. *twnn* 'bruised, broken' f. *tonn* < Brit. **tund-os*, *-ā* : Lat. *tundo*, Skr. *tundate* 'strikes', √(*s*)*teu-d-*;—W. *tonn* 'wave' < Brit. **tundā* < **tum-dā* : Lat. *tumeo*, W. *tyfu*, √*teu̯ā*ˣ- 'swell';—W. *cann* 'white', *cannu* 'to whiten', *llóer-gan* 'moon-lit' < **qand-* : Lat. *candeo*, Gk. κάνδαρος < **qand-*, beside W. *cynneu* 'to kindle', *cynne* 'a burning', *cynnud* 'firewood', Ir. *condud* < **qond-* : Skr. *cand-*, *ŝcand-* 'shine' < *(*s*)*qend-* : √*sqand-/sqend-*;—W. *llong* 'ship' < Lat. *longa*;—W. *angel* < Lat. *angelus*.—So before a sonant, as *Cymro* pl. *Cymry* < Brit. **kom-brog-os*, *-ī*;—W. *amrwd* 'raw': *brwd* § 63 vii (4);—*Cyngreawdr* § 104 iii (2);—except where the nasal has become a media § 99 vi (1).—The double nasal was simplified after an unaccented syllable § 27 ii, and before a sonant § 54 i (3).

Kelt. *ng*ᵘ (< Ar. *ng*ᵘ*h*) was unrounded and gave *ŋŋ*, as in *llyngyr*, *angerdd* § 92 v. When *ŋŋ* came before a sonant, including *u̯*, it was first simplified to *ŋ* and then lost, as in *ewin*, *tafod*, see ib. So we have *nawraδ* R.P. 1331, G.R. [372] 'nine degrees' < Brit. **nou̯aŋ-grad-* (*navg̃raδ* B.B. 42 may have old *ŋ*, but is prob. analogical);—W. *cyni* (one *n*) 'trouble' < **koŋnīm-* < **kon-gnī-mu-* § 203 vii (4);—W. *aren* 'kidney', Ir. *āru* < **aŋr-* < Kelt. **aŋg*ᵘ*r-* < **ang*ᵘ*hr-*, √*aneg*ᵘ*h-* : Gk. νεφρός, Lat. Praenest. *nefrōnēs*, Lanuv. *nebrundinēs*

(: Lat. *inguen* with g^{u}, Walde s.v.). But after *e* or *i* and before *r* or *l*, the *ŋ* became *ŋ̂* and gave *i̯*, as in *eirin* Deut. xxiii 1 for **eiryn*, § 77 iii, < **eŋryn* pl. of *aren* above;—W. *cilydd* 'mate' < **ciŋ̂lyδ* (*ii̯* > W. *i* not *y*, cf. § 104 ii (2)) < **keŋglíi̯os* (§ 65 iii (1)) = Ir. *cēle* < **keŋglii̯os* : Ir. *cingim* 'I go', W. *cam* 'stride', see § 101 iii (2); for meaning, cf. Ml. W. *keimat* 'mate' < *cam*. The rule only applies to old formations where the *ŋŋ* already existed in Brit.; in newer formations, and Lat. derivatives *ŋ* remains, as *Cyngreawdr* above.

(2) The above changes took place before the loss of Brit. syllables, for *nd* coming together after the loss of a syllable remains, as in *trindod* < Lat. *trīnitāt-em*. Initial mediae were assimilated to final nasals before the latter were lost; e.g. *naw mlynedd* 'nine years' < **nou̯am mlidníi̯as* < **neu̯n̥ bl-*.

Every Brit. *nd* became *nn*, so we have no words ending in *nd* except where a vowel has been lost in the Mn. period between the sounds, as in *ond* etc. § 44 vi; see iii (4).

iii. (1) Brit. **mp**, **nt**, **ŋk** remained finally as in W. *pump*, *pymp* < Brit. **pempe*; W. *cant* < Brit. **kanton*; W. *ieuanc* < Brit. **i̯ouaŋkos* § 100 i (1). For exceptions see (2). Medially they became **mmh**, **nnh**, **ŋŋh** respectively, as in Ml. W. *ymherawdyr* < Lat. *imperātor*; W. *cynhesu* 'to warm' < Brit. **kon-tess-*, √*tep-*, § 96 ii (5); W. *angheuol* 'deadly' < Brit. **aŋkou̯-*, √*anek̂-* : Lat. *neco*, Gk. *νέκυς*, *νεκρός*, etc. After an unaccented vowel the nasal is simplified as in the above examples, § 27 ii; after an accented vowel the aspiration was lost, as in *cynnes* 'warm', *angeu* (≡ *aŋŋeu*) 'death' § 48 ii, iv.

(2) Final **nt**, **mp** are mutated in *gan* 'with' ≡ *gann* § 211 iv (1); in *cant* '100', *pump* '5' which appear as *cann*, *pum* before nouns; in *ugeint* '20' which appears as *ugeyn* as early as A.L. MS. A. see i 4, 8, 12, etc., and is *ugain* in Mn. W.; in *aryant* A.L. i 6, now *ari̯an* 'silver'; in *diffrint* (*i* ≡ *y*) B.B. 91 'vale' (< **dyfr-hynt* 'water-way'), already *diffrin* in B.B. 74, Mn. W. *dyffryn*; in *cymaint* sometimes, especially in the phrase *cymain un* Eph. v 33; and often in poetry, as always in the spoken language, in the 3rd pl. of verbs and prepositions § 173 x, § 208 iii (2). It is seen in these examples that the *h* of the nasal mutations of *t* and *p* is lost finally; this is because it follows the accent of the word, see (1) above. But the aspirate was often retained before a word beginning with an accented vowel, as *kymein hun* LL.A. 116 'every one'; *can hwr* W.M. 136 '100 men'; *Pum heryr* '5 eagles' G.Gl. M 1/606.

Gwledd echdoe a doe'n i dy,
Gwledd **cann** *hannedd cyn hynny.*—G.Gl. M 146/278.

'A feast yesterday and the day before in his house, the feast of a hundred dwellings before that.'

Llyfr Ofydd a fydd i ferch,
Ag yn hwn **ugain** *hannerch.*—B. Br., IL.H. ii 99.

'The maid shall have a book of Ovid, and in it a hundred greetings.'

Final **-nc** was often mutated in Ml. W. where the tenuis was generally retained, and survives in Mn. W.; e.g. *ceing* W.M. 108, Mn. W. *cainc* 'branch'. *nc* is often written *ngc* (cf. § 18 iii), but *nc* is adequate and unambiguous, as *nk* in Eng. *bank*.

(3) Medial **nt**, etc. remain when originally followed by *h* as in *cyntedd* 'porch' for **cynt-heδ* < **kintu-sed-* § 63 ii; *cyntaf* 'first' < **cynt-haf* < **kint-isamos*; and in newer formations, as *plentyn* 'child' from *plant*, *llanciau* 'lads', sg. *llanc*. Some vocables, with mutation in Ml. W., are re-formed without mutation in Mn. W., as *amranneu* W.M. 41, *amrantau* Job xvi 16; *seinnẏeu* § 128 ii, Mn. W. *seintiau* 'saints'; *gwynnoeδ* IL.A. 5, *gwyntoedd* Matt. vii 25; *heinẏeu* IL.A. 123, *heintiau* Luc xxi 11; *ceiĝheu*, *ceingeu* IL.A. 144, *ceingciau* Can. vii 8.

(4) The nasal mutation of the tenues does not date from the Brit. period, for the nasal endings of **nouan* 'nine', **dekan* 'ten', etc., while they mutated initial mediae, did not mutate initial *p*, *t*, *k*; thus *naw cant* '900', *deg pwys* '10 lbs.' The mutation of the tenues was caused by nasals which survived the loss of the Brit. endings; it takes place after the prefixes *an-*, *cyn-*, and in other cases where *mp*, *nt*, *ŋk* occurred medially.

There is no trace in O. W. of an unmutated media; we find e.g. *am-* for Mn. W. *am-* < **mbi-*, *scribenn* M.C. < Lat. *scrībend-*, *crunn-* M.C. 'round' (: Ir. *cruind*), etc., but no *mb*, *nd*. But the tenues are found unmutated, as in *tantou*, Mn. W. *tannau*, sometimes mutated as in *brouannou* M.C., pl. of *breuant* 'windpipe'. In *pimphet* OX. 'fifth', *hanther* OX. 'half' is perhaps reflected the transition stage in which, as the *p* and *t* were disappearing, the *h* was becoming more noticeable; see § 107 v (1). In any case it is safe to conclude that this mutation came about in the O. W. period.

In Ml. W. the tenuis is mutated, as in *breenhin* B.B. 75, § 103 ii (1), *aĝheu*, *aĝhen* B.B. 23, *emen* etc. § 24 i. Though

often written unmutated after a prefix and after *yn*, there is evidence that it was in fact mutated, § 107 iii, v.

iv. The nasal mutation of an explosive does not mean its disappearance, but its conversion into a nasal by the loosening of its stop. In *annoeth* 'unwise' < Brit.-Lat. **an-doct-* the *d* became a continuation of the *n*, so that *nn* represents an *n* which is continued during the time it took to pronounce the original *nd*. As the W. tenues are really aspirated, that is *t* ≡ *t-h*, see § 84 Note 1, when the stop was loosened the aspirate remained; thus *nt*, properly *nt-h*, became *nnh*. That Early Ml. W. *nh* as in *synhuir* § 48 iv is short for *nnh* is proved (1) by such spellings as *morcannhuc*, *brennhin* L.L. 120, and (2) by the fact that when it lost its aspirate after the accent it appeared as *nn*, as *synnwyr* R.M. 13, W.M. 20, while *breenhin* in which *nn* had become *n* after the long vowel, is *brenin* (not **brennin*), and an original single *n* + *h* always gives *n*, as in *glánaf* for *glánhaf*, superlative of *glán* 'clean'. It is clear therefore that the mutation of *nt* is strictly *n-nh*, not *n-h*.

§ 107. i. While initial mediae are nasalized after several numerals, initial tenues are nasalized only after *yn* 'in' and *fy* 'my', and this mutation is not original after *fy*.

ii. Taken in conjunction with the following noun, *yn* 'in' (< Brit. **en*) has a secondary accent, but *fy* 'my' (< Brit. **men* < Ar. **mene* gen. sg. of the 1st pers. pron.) is wholly unaccented—the emphasis when required is thrown on an auxiliary pronoun: 'my head' is not *fy *mhen*, but *fy mhen* i. This difference between *yn* and *fy* is old, for Brit. **en* has kept its *-n*, but **men* (already a proclitic in Brit. § 113 ii) had lost its *-n* before the O.W. period. This is clearly seen is phrases where the following word began with a vowel or an immutable initial; thus **yn**: *ynn lann* L.L. 120, *in alld* B.B. 64, *in llau* do. 63, 64, *yn amgant* do. 66, *in llurv* do. 65, etc.; but **fy**: *mi-hun* M.C., *vy argluit* B.B. 51, *wi-llav-e* (≡*fy llaw i*) do. 50, *vy llen* do. 59, 62, etc. Thus *yn* before a consonant is necessarily a closed syllable, closed by its *-n*, while *fy* is an open syllable, ending with its vowel. The O.W. *ny* L.L. 120 'in its' is probably *n̥ y*, with syllabic *n̥* or *n̥n*, a pronunciation still often heard.

iii. After *yn* in Early Ml. MSS., **b** and **d** are generally mutated,

and probably **g** is to be read *w*. Thus in B.B. we find *innechreu* 29, *innvfin* (≡ *yn nwfn*) 87, *inyffrin* 65, *inyganhvy* 47, *yg godir*, *ygodir* 63; in A.L. MS. A. *eniokel* (≡ *yn niogel*) i 46, 50, *emon e kolouen* (≡ *ym môn y golofn*) i 10. Non-mutation is rarer: *ym brin* B.B. 33, *in diffrin* 47, 48. On the other hand **p**, **t**, **c** are rarely mutated, the usual forms being *in tyno*, *im pop* B.B. 33, *ym pob* 87, *im pen* 42, 57, *impell* 82, *yg coed* 49; *en ty e-clochyd* A.L. i 52, *en-tal e-ueiȝ* 72. But examples of mutation also occur, *mh*, *nh*, *ngh* appearing at first as *m*, *n*, *g* § 24 i, as *ymlith* B.B. 20, *in hal art* do. 49, *eghyd* (≡ *ynghŷd*) A.L. i 40, *emop lle* do. 60. These examples show that the mutation had already taken place, and that the written radical was a survival of O.W. spelling. It is to be noted that the *n* of *yn* is in every case assimilated in position to the explosive, even where that is unmutated. So before **m**, as *im mon* B.B. 61, *im minit eidin* do. 95.

N.B. iv. Since *yn* kept its nasal, it is natural that it should mutate tenues as well as mediae; but as *fy* lost its nasal ending early, we should expect it to mutate the mediae but not the tenues, like *naw*, which gives *naw* **m***lynedd* '9 years', but *naw* **p***wys* '9 lbs.' In O.W. and Early Ml. W. this is, in fact, the case. Thus in O.W. we have *mi-telu* 'my household', *mi coueidid* 'my company', JUV. SK. (9th cent.); and in B.B. we find *vy tud* 13, *vy perchen*, *vy parch* 42, *wy clun* 49, *vy pen*, *vy crawn* 62, *vy penhid* 81, *vy ki* 99; the form *wympechaud* 83 is a rare exception, and in no case is the tenuis nasalized. But **b** and **d** are generally nasalized in B.B., **g** being also probably for *w*; thus *vy nruc* 24, *wy-nragon* 51, *vi-mrid* (≡ *fy mryd*) 82, *wi-nvywron* (≡ *fy nwyfron*) 100, *wy-nihenit* 50, *vy martrin* 67. The occurrence of a number of examples like *vy bartrin* 67, *wy duu* 82, *vy dewis*, *vy Dews* 42, is probably due to the influence of the regular non-mutation of **p**, **t**. We do not seem to meet with such forms as *vyn drwc*, *vym bryd* which appear in later MSS.; *vy* is written as an open syllable, and **p**, **t**, **k** are not mutated after it. The later mutation of these is analogical; the mutation caused by *fy* in the mediae was extended to the tenues in imitation of the complete and consistent system of mutation after *yn*.

But in spite of the levelling of the mutation after the two

words, the difference between the words themselves—the closed *yn* and the open *fy*—remained, and persists in the ordinary spelling of to-day, as in *yn nhy fy nhad* 'in my father's house'.

v. (1) The representation of the nasal initial mutation after *yn* and *fy* has presented considerable difficulty to writers of the language. In Late Ml. W. MSS. **p, t, k** appear unmutated, and *fy* is treated as *fyn*; thus *yn ty vynntat i* LL.A. 35. That this is a conventional spelling is shown by the fact that scribes so rendered forms already mutated in their copies. Thus where A.L. MS. A. has *emen* i 84, the later MS. B. has *em pen*. Similarly the R.B. scribe writes down the radical of a consonant mutated in the same passage in the W.B., as *vyȳhof* W.M. 104 = *vyȳ cof* R.M. 76, *vymhechawt* W.M. 399 = *vym pechawt* R.M. 255, etc. Further, the cynghanedd always implies the mutated form; as

yn-**tr***ugareδ yn ṙi gwirion*,—R.P. 1216;
*o syrth y*m-**p***erigẏl swrth a*m**h***arawt*,—do. 1250;

where *ntr* is to be read *nhr* to correspond to *nṙ*, and *mp* must be *mh* to answer *mh*. In W.M. and W. we sometimes find a survival of the curious transitional form met with in O. W. § 106 iii (4); thus *ymphen* W.M. 256, *vyȳchret* do. 390; *vyȳ khof* W. 7*b*. The last example shows that what is meant is not the voiceless spirant, for χ is never written *kh*.

(2) The mediae **b, d** also are frequently written unmutated, especially after *yn*; thus *yn diben* W.M. 129 made *yn niben* in R.M. 202; conversely *ymlaen* W.M. 54 made *ym blaen* in R.M. 38; both have *ymon colofyn* W.M. 181, R.M. 84. Here again the cynghanedd belies the non-mutation, as in

yg-karchar **yn-d***aear yn yt*,—R.P. 1168,

where we must read *yn naear* (to give *ná/ný* as required by the cynghanedd saiu). With *yn*, **g** is generally doubled, as in *yȳgovot*, *yȳgwyδ* W.M. 123, but is sometimes single, esp. before *w*, as in *yȳuales* W.M. 57; in all cases it is doubtless to be read *ŋ*. After *fy* the single nasal is used; thus in W.M. we have *vy mot* 32, *vy maryf* 59, *vy mrawt* 62, *vy-ȳwreic* 62, *vy ni waradwyδaw* 43; more rarely the nasal and mute, as *vym-brawt* 51, *vyn da* 459. It is seen that in spite of inconsistencies, the difference between closed *yn* and open *fy* is unconsciously reflected in these spellings.

(3) In MSS. of the 15th and 16th cent. the consonant is regularly mutated, and the two words are generally joined; thus in the Report on the Peniarth MSS., we find *ynghaer llion* 50/90, *ymyellt*, *ynghaer* 53/126, *ymorgannwg* 54/37, *vymod* 54/21, *vyngwallt* 54/280, *ymhob* 54/209, *vymhennadur* 57/27. Sometimes the words are separated; thus *yn nef* 75/172; *ym hob* 54/250, 61/18, 67/330; *y mendith* ('*y* for *fy*) 54/78; *vy nolur* 56/72.

(4) Salesbury wrote *vi-dew*, *vi-popul* for *fy Nuw*, *fy mhobl*, "to saue the word the les maimed," as he explains (1586 Pb. Preface). G.R.

mutated the consonants and joined the words, *fynhy* 41, *ynnhy* 79; he states that *m* is double—"*ymhob a leissiir ymmhob*" 80 (see § 54 i (2)). His reason for joining *fy* appears to be that *ng* cannot be initial, "*canys rhy anoδ yw sillafu fy ngwaith, fy nghaws*" 42. Dr. Morgan separated the words in the case of *n* and *m*; as *fy nhŷ* Job xix 15, *yn nhŷ* do. i 13, *fy mhen* xxix 3, *ym mha beth* vi 24; but he appears to think like G.R. that *ng* cannot be initial, and writes *fyng-halon* xxxvii i, *yng-hilfach* xxxviii 16, thus missing the distinction which he elsewhere observes between *yn* and *fy*, and wrongly representing *fy* as a closed syllable. The prejudice against initial *ng* was overcome in the 1620 Bible, and *fy nghalon* was written as freely as *fy nhy*. That settled the matter as far as *fy* was concerned.

But the representation of *yn* in the same combination still presented a difficulty. The *ng* (≡ *n*) was part of the preposition *yn*; at the same time *ngh* or *ng* was the initial of the noun, and Dr. M.'s hyphen in the middle of the trigraph *ngh* was absurd; the 1620 Bible therefore used *ynghilfachau*, returning to the MS. forms. Here *ng* does double duty, the inconvenience of which appears when the noun requires a capital initial. Dr. M. wrote *yng-Hrist*; M.K. has *yngHymry* p. [iv]; the 1620 Bible *ynGhrist* 1 Cor. xv 18, 19, 22; so in the Bibles of 1677 and 1690. Later, we find *yng Haerlŷdd* T.J. title (1688); *yn Ghymru* RH.B.S. dedic. (1701); *Yngroeg* S.R. 16 (1728). In all these the capital is misplaced by being either put in the middle of the trigraph or transferred to the preposition. The form *yn Ngh-* which appears about this time, see B.CW. lxxv, grew out of *yn Gh-* because it was felt that the initial was *Ngh-*; it is objectionable because *n* is not accepted as a symbol for *n* except before *k* or *g*. The later form *y' Ngwynedd* D.G. 41 (1789) misrepresents the preposition as an open syllable. Pughe adopted *yn Ng-*, *yn M-*, because, in the teeth of all the facts, he denied that the *n* of *yn* was mutable. This unphonetic spelling, which stultifies the history of the nasal mutation, § 106 i, has predominated since his day.

J.J. wrote *yng nolau* P 312/iv/1 R., and Dr. Davies pointed out in 1621 that *ynghanol* was short for *yng-nghanol* D. 202; but it was not until about a hundred years later that the form *yng Ng(h)-* came into regular use. We find *yng Nghrist* in the 1717 Bible, and subsequently in those of 1727, 1746, 1752, and nearly all later editions. This form has been used and advocated by most of the Welsh scholars of the 19th cent., including Iolo Morgannwg (who denounces "*dull ffiaidd Mr Owen Pughe*" C.B.Y.P. 237), R. I. Prys, T. Stephens, T. Rowland, and Silvan Evans.

(5) *Fy* being unaccented, the following nasal, though of double origin, is simplified, and belongs to the second syllable § 27 ii, i; thus the syllabic division is *fy|núw*. As words are separated in modern orthography, the usual spelling *fy Nuw* is in every way correct. Similarly *fy merch, fy ngardd*. But *yn* is accented, and the double consonant remains, extending to both syllables § 27 i; hence *ýn|núw*, ordinarily and correctly written *yn Nuw*. In the same way we have

ym Mangor, yn Nwynedd. With our present alphabet we have to write the last *yng Ngwynedd*; so *yng Nghadelling.* It is objected to this that it is clumsy; but that is the fault of the alphabet. It is the only way of expressing the sound fully and correctly, and is the exact equivalent in modern characters of the Ml. W. *yggwyned* W.M. 108, *yg gadellig* W. 9*a*, § 24 i.

(6) There are, however, a number of adverbial and prepositional expressions, in which *yn*, followed by the nasal mutation, is wholly unaccented. In this case the nasal is single, as after *fy*; and the preposition is naturally joined to its noun, exactly like the *in* in the Eng. *indeed.* These expressions are **ynghyd, ynghylch, ynglŷn, yngholl, ynghudd, ymhell, ymhlith, ymysg, ymron, ymlaen, ymhen, yngham, ymhellach, ynghynt,** etc. No principle of accentuation is violated in this spelling, as asserted by Silvan Evans, Llythyraeth 50, who recommends *yng nghyd* etc. See above § 47 ii.

The Spirant Mutation.

§ 108. i. Brit. or Lat. **pp, tt, kk** gave W. **ff, th, ch** respectively. Thus W. *cyff* 'stem' < Lat. *cippus*; *Brython* < Brit. *Brittones*; *pechod* < Lat. *peccātum*; *hwch* : Ir. *socc*, etc., § 93 iii (2). It occurs when an initial tenuis follows an explosive in word-composition, as in *achas* § 93 ii (2), *athech* § 93 iii (1), *athrist* § 99 v (4). This is called the "spirant mutation" of the tenuis.

ii. In Brit. **s** + tenuis had already become a double spirant § 96 i; and original oxytones ending in *-s* caused the spirant mutation of a following initial tenuis § 103 i (3), as *tri* **ch***ant* '300'. In this case **th-** and **ph-** were chosen as the mutations of **t-** and **p-**, as their relation to the radicals is clearer than that of the alternative forms *s*, χ^{u}.

iii. The spirant mutation after *chwe* 'six' is irregular. From Kelt. **sụeks kantom* we should expect **chwe cant*, since *ksk* gives *sk*, and final *-s* would drop. But the independent form of **sụeks* was already **$\chi^{u}e\chi$* in Brit.; and we may assume that this was generalized, so that the *ch-* in *chwe chant* comes from *-χ k-*.

iv. (1) Brit. or Lat. **kt** > **$\hat{\chi}t$* > **$\hat{\chi}\hat{p}$* > *i̯p̂*; the *i̯* forms *i*-diphthongs § 29 i, cf. § 104 ii (1); thus **akt** > **aeth**; **okt** > **oeth**; **ukt** > **wyth**; **ekt** > **eith**, Mn. **aith**; **ikt** > **ith**. Thus W. *caeth* < Brit. **kaktos* § 86 ii (1); *doeth* < Lat. *doctus*; *ffrwyth* < Lat. *fructus*; *saith* < Brit. **sektan* < Ar. **septṃ*; *perffaith* < Lat. *perfectus*; *brith* < Brit. **briktos* < **bhṛktos* § 101 iii (2); *eithin*

'furze' < **ektīn-* < **ak-tīn-*, √*aḳ-/oq-*; *seithug* 'fruitless; < **sek-touk-* < **seqᵘ-* 'without' + **teu-q-*, √*teu̯āˣ-* 'increase'; *eithaf* 'extreme' < **ek-tᵉm-os* : Lat. *extimus*.

(2) In Ml. W. there was a tendency to voice this *th* to *δ*, as in *perffeiδjaw* IL.A. 19 from *perffeith*, now re-formed as *perffeithio* 'to perfect'; *arhwaeddont* do. 32 'they may taste' (: *chweith* 'taste'). The *δ* survives in *cynysgaeδu* from *cynysgaeth* 'endowment'. In *aeth* + vb. 'to be' forming old perfects and pluperfects, the diphthong was simplified, giving *ath-*, affected to *eth-*, as *ethyw* IL.A. 82, more commonly *eδyw* 'went'; so *aδoeδ* 'had gone', etc., § 193 vi (3), (5).— Final *δ* so produced disappeared in *heno, yna*, etc. § 78 i (1).

v. Lat. **x** > **χ̂s* > *i̯s*; thus *ax* > *aes*, etc.; as W. *llaes* 'trailing' < *laxus*; *pais*, Ml. W. *peis* < *pexa* (*tunica*); *coes* 'leg' < *coxa*. So *Saeson* < *Saxones*, *Sais* < *Saxō* § 69 ii (2). Similarly Brit. *-ks-* from *-nks-* etc., § 96 iii (6).

Initial Mutation.

§ 109. We have seen that Welsh has nine mutable consonants. Initially the radical and mutated forms exist side by side in the living language. The use of the various mutations is determined by syntactical rules which have sprung from generalizations of prevalent forms. Thus an adjective after a fem. sg. noun has its soft initial because most fem. sg. nouns ended in a vowel.

The following table shows all the mutations of the nine mutable consonants:

Radical	p	t	c	b	d	g	m	ll	rh
Soft	b	d	g	f	dd	—	f	l	r
Nasal	mh	nh	ngh	m	n	ng	No change		
Spirant	ph	th	ch	No change			No change		

The words "No change" in the table mean that the consonants under which they are placed retain their radical forms in those positions where the others undergo the respective mutations. Thus after *yn*, which nasalizes the explosives, **m, ll**, and

rh remain unchanged; and words which cause the tenues to become spirants do not alter the other six. This is always understood when the nasal or spirant mutation is named, and there is no need to particularize except in case of irregularity.

Strictly speaking, of course, words which caused the nasal and spirant mutations changed *l*, *r* to *ll* and *rh*. But for practical purposes it is simpler to treat the changes as above; see § 103 i (4).

Later Consonant Changes.

Loss of Voiced Spirants and Sonants.

§ 110. i. The soft mutations of **b**, **d**, **g**, **m** have all tended to be softened to the vanishing point. Being very soft "buzzes" δ and *f* were liable to be confused; and so we find one substituted for another as in *cuddygl* (*kuδygɣl* W.M. 140, R.M. 211) 'cell' for **cufygl* < Lat. *cubic'lum* (prob. influenced by *cudd* 'hidden'); *Eiδɣonyδ* R.P. 1287 for *Eifionydd* (*eiwonit* B.B. 69); Late Mn. W. *Caer Dydd* for *Caer Dyf* 'Cardiff'; or two metathesized, as in *clefyδeu* R.M. 182 for *cleδyveu* do. 126, and in *clefytaud* (*t* ≡ δ) B.B. 48 for *cleδyfawd*: W. *cleddyf*, § 76 viii (2) (Ir. *claideb* 'sword' < W.).—S.V. (P.IL. xci) says of the line *Kawn vedd rhad kyneddvau Rhys* (by H.K., see C.C. 344) that it pleases the ear though it violates the rule. The ear does not notice the inversion *v* δ / δ *v*.

ii. (1) The soft mutation of **g** has uniformly disappeared as an initial sound. Thus **dy* ʒardd has become *dy ardd* 'thy garden'. Medially it disappears or becomes i̯ before a vowel, or before *l*, *r* or *n* § 103 ii (1), § 104 ii. Medial *nɣn* > *n*, as in *ynad* § 62 ii; cf. § 106 ii (1).

(2) Medially after *l* or *r* it appears as i̯, § 105 ii, which is lost before *y*, as in *cŏlyn* < O. W. *colginn* § 54 ii. This palatalization of ʒ to ʒ̯ > i̯ after a liquid is comparatively late, for it does not take place finally; in that position ʒ remained dark, and became non-syllabic *y*, as in Ml. W. *daly* (1 syll.) 'to hold'; this was either assimilated to the *l* as in N. W. *dăl* (< **dal-l*, double *l*, not *ll*), or was lowered to *a* and became syllabic, as in S. W. *dala*; from Brit. **dalg-* < **dₑl'gh-*, √*delāˣgh-*: Skr. *dīrgháḥ* 'long', Lat. *indulgeo*, *longus*. Medially it is i̯ from the same stem, as in *dali̯af* 'I hold, maintain, continue'. So we have Ml. W. *hely* 'to hunt', N. W. *hĕl* 'collect', S. W. *hela*; Ml. W. *boly* 'bag, belly', N. W. *bŏl*, S. W. *bola*; Ml. W. *gwaly*, Mn. W. *gwala* 'sufficiency'; Ml. W. *eiry* 'snow', Mn. W. (N. and S.) *eira*, and *eir* in *eir-law* 'sleet', *ces-air* 'hail'; Ml. W. *llary* 'generous' < Lat. *largus*, Mn. W. *llari̯aidd*. The form *-a* appears in writing as early as the B.B., e. g. *llara* 7, where, however, the word counts as only one syllable in the metre.

In the 16th cent. the sound of *-y* in the above Ml. W. forms was not known. J.D.R. writes it *y* (≡ *ɣ*), p. 136; but Dr. Davies compares it with Eng. final mute *-e*, as in *take*, and writes it *y*, as *boly*, *hely* D. 19. The correctness of this transcription is confirmed by the B.CH., where it appears as *e* (≡ *y*, § 16 iii), as *dale* A.L. i 20 ≡ *daly*. [ʒ > *y* > *a* forms an interesting parallel to the supposed Pre-Ar. ʒ giving *ə* and then mostly *a*.]

(3) Lat. *virgo* > W. *gw̯yry* (1 syll.) D.G. 156, IL.A. 84, 87, 90, etc., whence *gwyrdawt* R.B.B. 119, though we have also *gweryndawt* IL.A. 17, 50, 84, B.B. 40, direct from *virginitātem*. In B.B. 70 occurs the pl. *gwirion* < Brit. **u̯irgones*. Later we find *morwyn wyra* A.L. i 518; Gwynedd dial. *menɣn gw̯ɣrδ* (for **gwɣr-r* cf. *dal-l*) 'unsalted butter', Dyfed *menyn gw̯ɣra*, Rhys CC. 46. We also have *gwyrf* (1 syll.) D.G. 118, *gwyrɣf vireindawl* (4 syll.) R.P. 1199, and *gweryδ* (2 syll.) R.P. 1200, D.G. 137, pl. *gweryδon* (3 syll.) R.P. 1199, B.B. 71. The latter cannot be derived from *virgo*; no medial syllabic irrational *y* is known in Early Ml. W.; *gweryδ* must be Kelt. and may represent **gᵘheríi̯ō*, pl. **gᵘheríi̯ones*: Ir. *gerait* 'virgin', *gerait* (i. mac bec) 'little boy' O'Dav.: redupl., Gk. παρθένος < **gᵘhr̥-gᵘhén-* (not: Skr. *pr̥thukaḥ* 'boy, calf', since **th* > Gk. τ), Lat. *virgin-* < **gᵘer-ghen-*, dissim. for **gᵘher-gᵘhen-*, and perhaps W. *gwyrf* < **gᵘhergᵘhō*, which fits exactly, § 92 iii.—Dr. Davies wrongly takes Ml. W. *gwyrɣf* as a disyllable *gwy|ryf*, which it may have become dialectally, § 16 v (3). The biblical pl. *gwyryfon* is formed from the new disyllable.

(4) In *bwrw* < **burg-* § 97 v (3), *llwrw* < **lurg-* < **lorg-* § 215 ii (7), the -ʒ was rounded by the preceding *w*, and became *-w̯*. In derived forms, however, it became *i̯* regularly; as Ml. W. *byrẏaf* 'I cast down', now *bwri̯af*.

(5) In *hy* 'bold' (< **hyʒ* < **sig-* < **sego-*: § 92 i) a final *f* is now wrongly written. The *f* is not pronounced, and there is no evidence of it in Ml. W. or the poets; see *hy* R.B.B. 265, D.G. 42, 269, 313, etc. It does not occur in old derivatives: *kyn-hyet* S.G. 277, *hy-der*, *hy-dab*. In the dialects, however, *f* is inserted in new derivatives, as *hyf-dra*, *hyfach*, which, like *llefydd*, *brofydd*, dial. pl. of *lle*, *bro*, are due to false analogy. Other spurious forms like *hyf* occur in late MSS., such as *daf*, *llef*, *brof* for *da*, *lle*, *bro*. In none of these is the *f* an old substitution for ʒ; they are sham-literary forms made on the analogy of *tref* for the spoken *tre'*.

iii. (1) Final **f** was lost before the Ml. period after *aw*, as in *llaw* 'hand' < **llawf* < Kelt. **lāmā* < Ar. **pl̥mā* § 63 vii (2);—*rhaw* 'spade' < **rhawf* < **rā-mā*, √*arā-* § 63 ix. When a syllable is added and *aw* is replaced by *o* § 81 i, the *f* reappears, as in *llof-rudd* 'murderer', lit. 'red-handed', *llof-yn* D.G. 107 'wisp', *lloffa* 'to glean' < **llof-ha*, *rhofiau* 'spades'. So *praw* IL.A. 24, R.P. 1215 'proof' for *prawf* a back-formation from *provi* IL.A. 38, 72 < Lat. *probo*. The re-introduction of *f* in *praw* is artificial, and inconsistent with the N.W. pron. *prāw*, § 52 iii, Exc. (1).

Na wrthod, ferch, dy berchi;
Na **phraw** *ymadaw â mi.*—D.G. 108; see 238, 240.

'Refuse not, lady, to be honoured; do not try to leave me.'

It was lost after *iw* in *Rhiwabon* 'Ruabon' for *ŕiw vabon* R.B. 1066, and after *w* in *tw* 'growth', *dŵr* 'water', reappearing in *tyfu* 'to grow', *dyfroedd* 'waters', in which *w* is mutated to *y*. It disappeared regularly after *u*, as in *plu* 'feathers' sg. *pluen* < Lat. *plūma*;—*cu* 'dear', O.W. *cum* (*m* ≡ *v̂*), Corn. *cuf*, Bret. *kuñ, kuñv*, Ir. *cōim* < **koi-m-*, √*k̂ei-*: Skr. *śéva-ḥ* 'dear' < **k̂ei-u̯-os*, Lat. *cīvis*;—*du* 'black', Corn. *duv*, Ir. *dub* < **dhubh-*, √*dheubh-*: Gk. *τυφλός*;—so in derivatives *cu-dab, cu-ed, du-ach*, etc.

f being originally bilabial, § 19 ii (4), when it followed *u̯*, *w* or *u* (≡ *ŭ*), it was in effect little more than the narrowing of the lip-rounding at the end of the syllable, and so came to be disregarded. For a similar reason, when **f** followed *m*, it was also lost or assimilated, as in *mámaeth* for **mám-faeth* 'foster-mother'; *im 'y hun* for *im fy hun* 'for myself'.

Ni byddai bwn, heb ddau bâr,
Im 'y hunan *o'm heiniar.*—I.D. TR. 138; cf. E.P. 277.

'Without two pairs [of oxen] there would not be [even] a burden for myself of my crop.' It remained in *cam-fa* 'stile' (Gwyn. dial. *cam-ða*, Dyfed *canfa* by dissim.).

(2) Initial **f** often disappears in *fy* 'my', especially in poetry, the following nasal mutation showing that *'y* means 'my' not 'the'; as *yŋ̊korn* (≡ *'y nghorn*) *ym neðeir* B.T. 35 'my horn in my hand'; *'Y nam* R.M. 194, l. 5 'my mother' ('the mother' is *y fam*); so *'Y myd wen* § 136 iii, *'y mun* D.G. 17 'my girl', *'y nghefn, 'y mraint*, do. 274, etc.—It is lost in *vab* 'son' in patronymics, as *Hywel ab Einion*;—in *ychydig* for *fychydig*, rad. *bychydig*.

Dêuaf—myfi yw d' ẽos—
Dïau, **'y nŷn**, *o daw nos.*—D.G. 114.

'I will come—[for] I am thy nightingale—assuredly, my lady, if night comes.'

(3) Medial **f** drops after an explosive, when followed by a rounded vowel or a liquid, as in *testun* 'text' for **testfun* < Lat. *testimōnium*. Hence in compounds, where it is the initial of the second element, it is often lost, as in *Bod-órgan* for **Bod Forgan* ('Morgan's dwelling'), *Bod-ŵrog* for **Bod Fwrog*, etc.; *Bendigéidran* § 45 i (2) for *Bendigéid-Vran* (*Bendigeitvran*, first written without the *v* in R.M. 26, and *v* inserted above the line). Between a consonant and liquid it dropped early in some cases as in *yr llynedd, Gwenllïant* § 111 i (1) and *Hydref* do. vii (1). Rarely before an explosive, as in *agwyðawr* for **afgwyðawr* § 74 i (1).

(4) Final **fn** in unaccented syllables is generally reduced to *n*, especially after rounded vowels, as in *eon* for *eofn* 'fearless' § 156 i

(15); *únon* Gr. O. 118 for *ún-ofn* 'one fear'; *annwn* for *annwfn* 'hell'; *dodren* in the dialects, and sometimes in the bards, for *dodrefn* § 82 ii (3); *colon* for *colofn*, see example; *ysgafn* 'light' retains its *f* in N.W. dial.; in S.W. *ysgawn* or *ysgon* is used.

Val Samson wrth **golon** *gynt*
A fu'n rhwym yw fy nhremynt.—G.Gl. P 83/59.

'Like Samson, who was bound to a column of old, is my condition.'

Final **fl** gave *l* in S.W. *côl* L.G.C. 280, for *cofl* 'bosom, embrace.'

(5) Final **f** began to disappear very early in the spoken language; we already find *gwartha* for *gwarthaf* in L.L. 196. Its earliest regular loss (apart from the cases cited in (1) above) occurred after *i*, as in the v. n. termination *-i*, e.g. *moli* 'to praise' for **molif*, O.W. *molim* JUV. SK.; *lli* for *llif* 'flood'; *divri* R.P. 1149 for *difrif* 'serious'; *cyfri* D.G. 4 for *cyf-rif* 'to count'. But in the 14th cent. it had come to be freely dropped after any vowel, as the following rhymes show: *ne'/bore* G.Gr. D.G. 238, *ydwy'/mwy* D.G. 72, *cry'/Iesu* do. 474, *ha'/Efa* do. 157; so *wna'* D.G. 72, *kynta'* R.P. 1277. The word is treated in every way as a word ending in a vowel; thus it is followed by *'n* for *yn*, *'r* for *y* or *yr*, etc., as *ofnwy 'r* D.G. 321 for *ofnwyf y*; *ydwy 'n* for *ydwyf yn* § 125 iii ex. 1; *Tre'rkastell* R.P. 1210 for *Tref y Castell*.

Final **f** is not known to drop in the old words *glaif* 'sword', *of* 'raw', *blif* 'catapult' or in lit. W. *llef* 'cry', *sef* 'that is'. It is still retained in the spoken language in *dof* 'tame', *rhwyf* 'oar', *bref* 'bleat', *prif* 'chief', *Taf* 'Taff', and in borrowed words, as *braf* 'fine': Fr. *brave*, E. *brave*.

iv. (1) Initial **δ** in O.W. *di* 'to' disappeared, giving Ml. W. *ŷ*, Mn. W. *i*, 'to' § 65 iv (2).

(2) Medial **δ** disappears in *mewn* : Ir. *medōn* § 215 iii (1); in the verb *rhoddaf*, v.n. *rhoddi* 'to give', which became *rho-af* > *rhôf*, v.n. *rhoi*; see *rhoist*, etc. § 33 iii (1); but the **δ** also persisted in the written language; see § 186. Similarly *arhoaf* for **arhoddaf* § 187 iii. Medial **δ** also disappears in *tyddyn* > *tyn* in place-names of the form *Tyn-y-mâes* (**tyyn* > **tyyn*, **tȳn*, *tyn*).

Medial **δ** is sometimes lost as the initial of the second element of a compound; thus *rheg-ofydd* (*rec ouyt* M.A. i 324, 344) 'lord of gifts' for *rheg-δofydd* (*recδovyδ* W.M. 452, R.M. 100); *Duw Ofydd* for *Duw Ddofydd*, *Cred-ofydd* for *Cred-δofydd*, etc. It was also lost before an explosive, as in *Blegywryt* A.L. i 338 (MS. L.) for *Bleδ-gywryd* (*Bledcuurit* L.L. 222); *diwédydd* (*diwedit* B.B. 90) 'evening' for **diwéδ-dyδ*; *gwybed* 'flies' for *gwyδbed* (*gwyδbet* R.M. 54).

(3) Final **δ** was lost in the relative *ydd* before a consonant, § 162 i. It disappeared early in the 2nd sg. pres. ind. of verbs, § 173 iii (2). It dropped in *yssyδ* 'who is' (often *issi* ≡ *yssŷ* in B.B.), though *sydd* may still be heard as well as *sy*. Sometimes in *naw Duw!* F.N. 63 for *nawδ Duw!* 'God's protection!' (i.e. God help us!). In *i fynydd*

'up' the final -δ was lost early, though it is sometimes found written in Ml. W., as *kyvodi y vynyδ* LL.A. 111, and survives to this day in parts of Dyfed. With its δ, *i fyny* lost all trace of its original signification, as seen in the unconscious repetition in *ỳ vyny ỳ vynyδ Oliver* R.P. 1280 'up to Mount Olivet'. The final -δ of *eisteδ* also disappeared very early; it is *eiste* in the B.B. and B.CH. So in W.M., e.g. 4 times in col. 449, in each case changed to *eisteδ* in R.M. 293–4. The -δ is deduced from *eisteδaf*, etc., and its re-insertion finally is artificial; it is not sounded in *eiste* in the spoken language. Final -δ also disappeared in *hwnnw* etc. § 78 i (1).

v. (1) The final -r of the article *yr* was lost before a consonant after the O. W. period; see § 114 iii. So -r after a consonant in *brawd* § 113 i (1).

(2) Final -nn was sometimes lost in unaccented syllables; as *cyfa* 'whole', Ml. W. *kyfa* R.P. 1285 for *cyfan(n)*, cf. *kyfannu* W.M. 129; *yma* 'here' for *yman(n)* § 220 ii (11); *(e)felly* 'so' < **hefel hynn* 'like this', cf. *fell hŷnn* § 215 iv (2); Ml. W. *ky-* for *kynn* 'as' before the eqtv. § 147 iv (4); *-fa* for *-fann* § 143 iii (16). The tendency was arrested, and *-nn* generally remains; it had not gone far in *kynn* before it was checked, and *-n(n)* was restored. The loss also occurs in Corn. and Bret., so that it must be referred to an early peculiarity in the pronunciation of *-nn*.

Provection.

§ 111. i. (1) When **n** or **r** came before a liquid after the loss of an intervening vowel, the liquid became voiceless; thus **nl** > **nll**; **rl** > **rll**; **nr** > **nrh**; **rr** > **rrh**. Examples: *gwinllan* 'vineyard' < **gwinlann* < **vīno-landā*; *hirllaes* 'long trailing' for **hir-laes*; *penrhyn* 'promontory' for **penn-ryn*; *an-rheg* § 156 ii (1); *Henllan, Henllys*, etc. Also in combinations in which no vowel had intervened, as *gŏr-llanw* 'high tide', *an-llygredig* 'incorruptible'. So initially: *yn llawn* for *yn lawn* 'full'; *yn rhad, mor llawn, mor rhad* (*yn* and *mor* generally cause lenition of adjectives); so *pur llawn* 'very full'; *hēn llew* Job iv 11 (1620), *hēn llys* P 121/35 B.

This change had taken place before the loss of ȝ and δ as described in § 110, and did not take place later. So where ȝ or δ originally stood between the sounds it did not occur. Thus we have *Cŷn-las* < **Cyn-ȝlas* < *Cuno-glasos*; *tŏr-lan* 'brink' < **torr-ȝlann* 'broken bank'; *Hâr-lech* < *Harδ-lech* W.M. 38; *cŏr-lan* 'fold' < **corδ-lann*. Thus *yn lân, mor lân* from *glân* 'clean, fair'; and while we have *y llân* 'the hamlet' from **yr lann* from *llann* 'enclosure', we have *y lān* 'the bank' from **yr ȝlann* from *glann* 'bank', both nouns being fem. But *f* appears in some cases to have dropped out early enough to allow of the change; as in *y llynedd* more fully *yr llynedd* for **yr flyneδ*; *Gwenllïan* < **gwenn-fliant*.

(2) l was palatalized and became ll in two positions: (a) after Brit.

ei, Lat. *ē*; thus *cannu͡yll* < Lat. *candēla*; *tu͡yll* 'deceit' < Lat. *tēla*; *tywyll* 'dark' § 38 x for **tyw-u͡yll* § 76 vii (2) < **temeil-* < **temes-elo-s*: Bret. *teval*, *teñval* for **teñvol*, Corn. *tiwul*, Ir. *temel*: Lat. *tenebrae* < **temesrai*, Skr. *tamasáḥ* dark-coloured'; but not after Brit. *ai*, e. g. *coel* 'omen' < **kail-* < **qai̯(u̯)l-*: O. H. G. *heilisōn* 'augurari': Ir. *cēl* < **keil-*.—(*β*) Between two *i*'s, as in *Ebrill* < Lat. *Aprīlis*; *pebyll* 'tent' < Lat. *pāpilio*.

ii. (1) When **b-b, d-d, g-g** came together after the loss of a vowel they became double **p, t, c** respectively, simplified before the accent, and before a sonant; as in *Catéyrn* for *Cattéyrn* < **Cad-diɣirn-* < Brit. *Cato-tigirn-* (Rhys no. 47); *meitin* < **meid-din* < Lat. *mātūtīnum* § 70 v; *wynepryd* 'countenance' < **wyneb-bryd*; and in the example *bywiócledd* < *bywiog gledd*:

A'm bwcled a'm **bywiócledd**
Yn arfau maen ar fy medd.—G.Gl., M 146/198.

'And my buckler and live sword as weapons of stone [carved] on my grave.'

When the explosives came together in different words they resulted in a double consonant, voiced at the implosion, but voiceless with the new impulse at the explosion. This change is not now represented in writing; but in MSS. and early printed books *-d d-* etc. frequently appear as *-d t-* etc.; thus *Ni***d** **T***oethineb heb len* P 54/356 R. 'There is no wisdom without learning'; *Gwnae***d** *tuw ag enaid howel* P 63/7 R 'Let God do with the soul of Howel'; *Ygwae***d** *ta a vac tëyrn* P 52/22 'Good blood begets a king'; *Glowe***d** *tim ond y glo***d** *tau* C.C. 342 'To hear anything but thy praise'; *i'r wla***d** *tragwyddol* B.CW. 86 'to the eternal land'; *Y Ddrai***g** *côch ddyry cychwyn* G. 177 'The Red Dragon gives a leap'. "Two */b/* standeth in force of */p/*....*mab byχan* most be pronounced as if ytt were wrytten *mab pyχan*" J.J. L 144/51. In all cynghanedd prior to the 19th cent. such a combination corresponds to a tenuis. The writers of the recent period sometimes treat it as a media.

(2) **δδ** became **th** in *nyth, syth*, etc. § 97 ii; cf. dial. *rhōth* for **rhoδδ* < *rhoδoδ* 'gave'. Similarly **ɣɣ** became **ch** in *dichon* § 196 ii (2). But generally two voiced spirants remained, written single, as in *ɣrifarδ* for *prif-farδ* 'chief bard'.

iii. (1) When a media was followed by **h** the two became a double tenuis; thus *ateb* (*t* ≡ *tt*) 'reply' < **ad-heb* < **ati-seqᵘ-*, √*seqᵘ-* 'say'; *drycin* 'storm' § 27 i < **dryg-hin*; *gwlypaf* 'wettest' for **gwlyb-haf* § 147 ii.

When the sounds came together in different words they gave the double sound *dt* etc., see ii (1) above; and in all standard cynghanedd *-d h-* corresponds to *t*, *-b h-* to *p*, *-g h-* to *c*; as *Oer yw he***b** **h***wn, ŵr hy* **p***ert* Gr.H. G. 99.

(2) Similarly in some cases **fh** > **ff**; **δh** > **th**; as in *lloffa* 'to glean' § 110 iii (1), § 201 iii (4); *diwethaf* 'last' § 149 i; *rhotho* § 186 ii;

bytho § 189 ii (4). So **fr-h > ffr** in *dyffryn* § 106 iii (2); **f-rr > f-rh > ffr** in *cyffredin* § 156 i (9). But as a rule the groups remain, as *dyldháu, dyfrháu*; and *-f h-, -δ h-* do not correspond to *ff, th* in cynghanedd.

iv. When two similar consonants, whether explosives or spirants, one voiced and the other voiceless, came together, they became a double voiceless sound medially, simplified where double consonants are usually simplified, as before a consonant; thus *pópeth* (*p* ≡ *pp*) < **póp-peth* 'everything'; *gwrthrych* 'object' < **gwrth-ɛrych*. In ordinary pronunciation the result is the same when the sounds occur in different words; and in Ml. W. MSS. *-th δ-* frequently appear as *th* only; thus *a***th***iweδ* LL.A. 157 for *a'th δiweδ* 'and thy end'; *A***th***elw a***th***wylaw ar llet* R.P. 1220 'And Thy image with Thy hands extended'; cf. 1205 l. 34, 1321 l. 32; similarly *weinllian tec* 1424 for *(G)wenllïant deg*; *cereint ṭ̇duw* 1220 (*d* deleted by dot, *t* substituted).

v. (1) When two unlike mediae came together, the group was unvoiced at the implosion, but not necessarily at the explosion. In Ml. W. both are usually written as tenues; thus *di***c***ter* R.P. 1209, *a***tk***essynt* 1309, *he***pc***or* 1230, *dywe***tp***wyt* W.M. 96, *du***cp***wyt* do. 183, *a***ttp***awr* B.B. 35. The second is, however, often written as a media, as *o wa***cd***er* R.P. 1280, *a***tb***oryon* do. 1208, *ky***tb***ar* do. 1300, *llyga***tg***all* do. 1308. In the 1620 Bible we have *a***tc***as, da***tc***uddiad*, etc.; but the more usual spelling later was *a***tg***as, da***tg***uddiad*, etc., which perhaps represents the sound more accurately. When however the second consonant was a dental it tends more to be voiceless. In the Bible we find such forms as *di***gt***er* for *di***ct***er*, the *g* being due to *dig*. In cynghanedd either consonant may correspond to a tenuis or a media. Pughe's etymological spellings *a***dg***as, u***dg***orn, he***bg***or*, etc., misrepresent the sound, which is as nearly as possible *a'gas, utyorn, hepgor*.

(2) A media was frequently, though not necessarily, unvoiced before **l, r, m, n, δ, f** and even **w, ẏ**. Thus in Ml. W. we find *llwtlaw* R.P. 1222 'Ludlow', *a***t***rawδ* 1251, *ta***t***maetheu* R.M. 24, *a***t***newyδwys* 93, *wrei***c***δa* 23, *dynghe***t***ven* 73, *a***t***wen* 245, *lle***t***ẏeith* R.P. 1222. But while R.M. has *grwy***t***raw* 86, the older W.M. has in the same passage *grwy***d***raw* 183. In R.P. 1269, 1303 we have *sy***g***neu* 'signs' but in 1214, 1215 it is written *sy***c***neu*. Indeed the R.B. scribe, who had no ear for cynghanedd, writes tenuis and media where they should correspond; as *hei***d***ẏaw/ehe***t***ẏat* R.P. 1283, *chene***d***loeδ/chyna***t***leu* 1204, *dili***t***ẏa/dy aelo***d***eu* 1216. In the last example the sound is certainly *d*, as *aelodeu* cannot have *t*. It might therefore be supposed that the sound was always a media, and that to write it a tenuis was a mere orthographical convention. But though the sound is now generally a media, there is evidence that it might be, and often was, a tenuis: (α) D.G. has such correspondences as *Dadli***t***ẏa 'r/diwyd la***t***ai* p. 19, *nei***t***ẏwr/na***t***ur* 133; and (β) the tenuis has survived in a number of examples, as *Coe***t***mor* (for *coed-mor* < *coed mawr*); *tyc̨io* 'to prevail' < *twy* 'prosperity' < **tuq-*, *√teu̯ā^x-*, cf. § 108 iv; *e***t***o* for *e***t***wo* < *edwaeth*

§ 220 ii (7); *ysgatfydd* 'perhaps'; *Llan Decwyn*; *caneitio* 'to brighten' (of the moon) < *cannaid*; *cartref*, *pentref*.

(3) The mediae were unvoiced before voiceless consonants; thus *atsein* B.T. 20, *datsein* R.M. 289, *Botffordd* G. 102. In Late Mn. orthography etymological spellings prevail, as *adsain* Ezec. vii 7, *Bodffordd*. The latter, the name of a place in Anglesey, is always sounded *Botffordd*, in spite of the spelling with *d*.

(4) It is seen from (1), (2) and (3) above that a media is liable to be unvoiced before any consonant in the middle of a word. But we have seen in the preceding subsections that a change which took place medially also occurred when the group belonged to different words. Hence final mediae must frequently have been sounded as tenues before an initial consonant; and this is very probably the reason why they were so commonly written as tenues, the pre-consonantal form being generalized in writing. The facts are briefly summarized in § 18 ii.

But before an initial vowel it is certain that a final explosive, though written as a tenuis, was in fact a media in the 14th cent. In the following examples from R.P. (which might easily be multiplied) it is seen that the final **t** or **c** in heavy type must be pronounced **d** or **g** to correspond to a media in the other part of the line:

*Digystu***d** | *anrec am* (*de***c** *ystwyll* 1202,
*Glo***t** *oleu* | *yn* (*glew* **d***alu* 1203,
*Gwle***d***i***c** *eurswllt* | *vu* (*gwla***t** *a* **g***orse***d** 1208;

so before a liquid:

*Temy***l** *ỳ* **g***rist* | *teu amlwo* **c** *rat* 1200.

Such a slip as *Se***t** *libera nos a malo* IL.A. 150 shows that the scribe was in the habit of writing final **t** where the sound was *d*. Cf. also § 18 iii. That the written tenuis does not mean that the vowel was short in a monosyllable like *gwac* now *gwãg* is proved by such a spelling as *yn waac...y gadeir waac* W.M. 449, R.M. 293. Cf. § 55 i.

The final media before an initial consonant, however, corresponds to a tenuis in much later cynghanedd, especially when the initial is voiceless:

*He***b** *swydd* | *mor* (*ha***p***us a hwn* G. 239
*Bri***g** *ffydd* | *a bair* **k***offa hwn*, etc., P.IL. lxxix.

Though the explosive is now a media before an initial consonant as well, we have a trace of the tenuis in *ap* for *ab* (for *fab* § 110 iii (2)), as in *ap Gwilym* beside *ab Edmwnd*.

(5) Since the explosive was a tenuis before a consonant we have *-p m-* and *-t n-*; these combinations were mutated to *mh* and *nh* in the following examples, the voicelessness of the tenuis being retained after its assimilation: *Amhadawc* P 61/18 R. for *Ap Madawc*, *Amhredydd* C.C. 334 for *Ap Maredud*, *am mydron* B.B. 94 (*m* ≡ *mh* § 24 i), etc.; *prynhawn* W.M. 70, R.M. 50, IL.A. 121 for *pryt nawn* W.M. 162, R.M.

229. The late spelling *prydnawn* is an artificial reconstruction ; the spoken language preserves the traditional pronunciation *prynháwn*.

Ag un lliw, gannwyll awyr,
Y barnwn haul **brynhawn** *hwyr.*—I.D. 7.

'And of the same colour I judged the late evening sun,—the candle of the sky.' Cf. *bry***nh***awn/bcry'***n** **hir** D.G. 73, *Barn* **hen***/bry***nh***awn* do. 428.

vi. (1) A media was unvoiced after nasal + tenuis. The following cases occur : **nk-d** > **nkt** or **nt**, as in *ieuenctid* 'youth' also written *ieuengtid* ;—**nt-g** > **nk**, as in *difuncoll* D.G. 387 'perdition' < **difant-gell* ; *deincryd* D.G. 385, R.P. 1157 'gnashing of teeth' < **deint-gryd*.

(2) A media was generally unvoiced after a voiceless spirant ; as *glastwfyr* R.M. 146 for *glasdwfr* § 96 ii (5) ; *neill***p***arth* do. 148 for *neillbarth* ; *dywes***p***wyt* do. 90 ; *gwnaeth***p***wyt* do. 89 ; *gwall***c***o* B.CW. 37 for *gwallgof* ; *all***t***ud* for *all-dud*. On the other hand **p** and **c** are voiced, sometimes even in Ml. W., after **s** ; thus while we have *ys***k***yn* R.M. 11, *kys***c***u* do. 21, *ys***p***ryt* IL.A. 99, we also find *dis***g***ynnent* R.M. 14, *gores***g***yn* do. 91, *ys***b***ryt* IL.A. 3, *es***g***ussawd* W. 1*a*, *pas***g***adur* ib. Though the tenuis was commonly written up to the 18th cent., Dr. Davies's orthography has generally prevailed since the appearance of his dictionary ; in this the media is written except in the groups **st**, **llt**, **cht**, **fft**, **thp**.

(3) An initial media is sometimes found written as a tenuis after a voiceless spirant : *Canys* **c***ollyghy* W.M. 78 changed to *Kan nys* **g***ollynghy* in R.M. 56 ; *Bei ys* **c***uypun* B.B. 81 'If I knew' ; *os* **k***ovyn* A.L. ii 18 'if he asks it' ; *seith* **p***echawt* IL.A. 143 for *seith* **b***echawt* S.G. 36 'seven sins' ; *a'th* **c***aledrwydd* RH.B.S. 74 'and thy hardness.'

vii. (1) **ðl** > **dl**, as in *bodlon* 'satisfied' < **boð-lawn*. The recent spelling *boddlon* is a reconstruction due to Pughe ; the natural pronunciation is *bodlon* (S. W. *bŏlon*) ; cf. *Fo***dl***on im dan fe***dw***lwyn ir* D.G. 172 'contented with me under fresh birch-trees' ; *Bo***dl***oni by***d***ol* *anwyn* Gr.O. 34 'to satisfy a worldly wretch' ; *hadl* 'lying in ruins' for **haðl* < **sẹd-lo-*, √*sed-* 'settle' § 63 ii. Similarly **ðr** > **dr**, as in *cadr* 'puissant' for **caðr* : Gaul. *Belatu-cadrus* ep. of Mars, O. Bret. *cadr* gl. decoreo, Bret. *cazr*, *kaer* 'handsome' : Gk. κεκαδμένος, Skr. *śāśad-* 'distinguish oneself'. It took place after the loss of *f* ; thus *Hydref* 'October' < *hyðfref* (*heðvref* A.L. i 24, *calan hyddfref* M.A. i 346*b* 'Oct. 1st'), *dedryd* 'verdict' < **deðf-fryd*.

On the other hand **d** (< orig. **t**) is sometimes treated as **ð** before a sonant, and in S. W. dial. has remained ð or disappeared. Thus *cenedl* is *kenetɣl* in B.B. 10, 16, where *t* ≡ ð, but in O. W. is *cenetl* B.S.CH. 2, where *t* ≡ *d* (S. W. dial. *cenel*) ; *hoedl* (with *d* < *t*, cf. Late Brit. *Vennisetli*, and see § 63 vii (5)) is treated as *hoeðl* by Casnodyn, *hoeðɣl / heðwch* R.P. 1248, cf. 1234, 1241, but G.M.D. has *hy***d***er / hoe***d***ɣl* do. 1320, cf. 1212 ; so I.G., *Hu***d***ol / hoe***d***l* 310. S. W. *hwẹðel* for *chwedl* cannot mean that the suff. was **-dhlo-*, for *-edl-* would give

-eil § 104 iv (3). So S. W. *gwaδan* for *gwadn* 'sole' has orig. *t*, since *dn* gives *n*; *gwadn* < **u̯o-t-n-* < **u̯o-dd-no-* < **upo-bd-no-* '*under foot', √*ped-*.

The late change of *drum, drem* to *trum, trem* is probably due to the soft mutation *δr-* becoming *dr-*, and the *d-* being then mistaken for the soft mutation of *t-*. It certainly is not a phonetic law that *dr-* should become *tr-*, for *drwg, drych, drain, drud*, etc., all retain *dr-*.

(2) **δ > d** after *s, t, d*, and in old formations after *l. ll, n*; thus *treisdwyn* for **treis-δwyn* 'a taking by force', *dreis-***d***wyn/dristyt* R.P. 1288; *atal* 'to withhold' < **ad-dalʒ* < **ad-δalʒ* < **ati-dalg-*; *llygeitu* for *llygeid-δu*, etc.; *bendith* for **ben-δith* < Lat. *benedictio*; *melltith* or *melldith* for **melδith* < Lat. *maledictio.*

This change also takes place initially; thus *nos* **d***a* 'good night' § 146 iii (2), *nos* **d***u* Diar. vii 9 'black night', for **nos δ-* (*nos* being f.—the orig. mutation was rad. after **no*(*k*)*ts*, but this cannot be assumed to have survived); so *yr wythnos* **d***iwethaf* 'last week'; *tros* **D***afydd* G. 237, *tros* **d***aear* E. xiv for *tros δ-*; *Bleδyn tu* R.P. 1284 for *Bleδynt* **d***u* for *Bleδynt δu*; *lleian* **d***u* D.G. 20 'black nun'; *Siwan* **d***u* L.G.C. 319, 321 'black Joan'; *holl* **d***aear* do. 446.

> *Pan aeth Tomos ap Rhoser*
> *At* **D***uw a'r saint trwy y sêr.*—L.G.C. 38.

'When Thomas ap Rhosser went up to God and the saints through the stars.'

> *Llyma 'r blaid lle mae'r blodau*
> *A 'r holl* **d***awn o'u rhyw ill dau.*—T.A., c. ii 83.

'This is the band [of children] in whom are the flowers and all the gift of their [the parents'] two natures.'

> *Yna nosa, myn Iesu,*
> *Einioes dyn megis nos* **d***u.*—G.Gl., c 7/44.

'Then, by Jesus, man's life darkens like black night.'

(3) **δ > d** before or after the above sounds, and continuants such as **m**, **f**, even when separated from them, see § 102 iii (2); as Late Mn. W. *machlud* < *ym-achludd* § 44 v < Lat. *occlūdo*; Late Mn. W. *gormod* for *gormoδ* the usual form in the bards; *Maesyfed* 'Radnor' for *Maes Hyfeiδ*; *didol* < **di-δawl* § 156 i (11), *pedol* § 102 iii (2). The change, being a form of dissimilation, is only accidental.

(4) The change of *ʒ* to *g* and of *f* to *b* under similar conditions is rare: *arglwyδ* 'lord' beside *arlwyδ* (both in W.M. 160) < **ar-ʒu̯lwyδ* < **p̥ri-u̯lei-* VR$_{1e}$ of √*u̯elēi-*; cf. *glyw* § 102 iii (2); *cwbl* for **cwfl* § 168 iii (3); *parabl* 'saying' for **parafl* < Lat. *parabola*; *cabl* 'calumny' for **cafl* < **kaml-* met. for **kal'men*: Lat. *calumnia* § 100 ii (1); so Bret. *cablus*, Corn. *cabal.*

§ **112.** i. (1) In O. W. and Early Ml. W. an initial vowel or a medial vowel in hiatus seems to have been pronounced with a distinct breathing which is often represented by *h*. This breathing was voiced,

and so differed from *h* < *s*, which was voiceless. Examples are, initial: O. W. *ha, hac* ox. 'and'; *heitham* do., Ml. and Mn. W. *eithaf* § 108 iv (1);—Ml. W., from A.L. i, *huydvet* (*wythfed*) 58; *huchof* ib. 'above me'; *hun din* (*un dyn*) 124 'one man'; *yr hun* (*yr un*) 256; *huiui* (*wyf i*) 114; *er hyd* (*yr yd*) 326 'the corn'; *ohyd* (*o yd*) 82 'of corn'; *hercki* (*erchi*) 152; *hodyn* (*odyn*) 78, etc. Medially it occurs not only where a soft spirant had disappeared, as in *diheu* R.M. 181 < **di-ɣeu*, Mn. W. *diau* 'truly'; *rohi* A.L. i 118 < *roδi*; but also where no consonant ever existed, as in *diheu* IL.A. 21 'days'; *dihaĝei* R.B.B. 48 'escaped'.

(2) Although this breathing has generally been smoothed away, it was liable to become voiceless before an accented vowel, and in that case it survived as *h*; thus medially in *di***h***angol* 'escaped, safe'; initially, after a vowel in *pa* **h***ám* for **pa am* 'what for', *pa* **h***achos* IL.A. 123, *pa* **h***awr* do. 13; after *r* in *un ar* **h***ugain* '21', *yr* **h***oll* § 168 ii (3); in all positions in *hogi* 'to whet' for **ogi* < **āk-*, *√aḱ-/oq-*: W. *agalen* 'whetstone'. This occurs in several cases in which an initial accented vowel was followed by two consonants, so that it was pronounced rather forcibly; thus W. *hagr* 'ugly' for **agr*, Bret. *akr, hakr, √aḱ-/oq-*;—W. *hardd* 'handsome' for **arδ* 'high': Ir. *ard*, Lat. *arduus*, cf. *Harδ-lech* orig. quite evidently 'high rock';—so sometimes *henw* 'name' (*henw* 'noun' R.G. 1121), generally with *h-* in Gwyn. dial., but *anwédig* without it: Bret. *hañv, hanu, hano*, Corn. *hanow*; O. W. *anu*, Ir. *ainm*, see p. 81.

(3) On the other hand initial *h* (< *s*) might come to be confused with the soft breathing, and so disappear before an unacc. vowel, as in *eleni* 'this year' < **he-fleni*: Bret. *hevlene*, with the same prefix as *heδiw* 'to-day'; *yvelly* W.M. 41 for **hefelly*, see § 110 v (2); O. W. *anter-metetic* gl. semiputata (*hanner mededig*).

(4) In O. W. the breathing is found (rarely) before a suffix where it was clearly marked off from the stem, as in *casulhetic* (*casul-edig*) M.C., but no trace of a breathing in such a position remains. We have, however, a medial **h** before an accented vowel under the following conditions:—(α) Where the vowel is followed by two consonants, as *cenhédloedd* Ps. ii 1; *kynhel-lis* R.B.B. 234, *cynhaḷiaeth* (*l-l* and *ḷi* < **lɣ*); *cymhedrawl* M.A. ii 343 (*cymedrawl* ib. 355); *cynhyrchol* Marc iv 8; but this never became a strict rule; it is carried somewhat further in the recent than in earlier periods: *cynneddfau* Diar. xxxi cyn. (1620), *cynheddfau* in late edns.—(β) Where *n* stands for *δn*, as in *bonhéddig* from *bonedd* < **budníi̯ā*, as if the δ had left a soft breathing; *blynyddoedd* is a late formation § 122 iv (2) and has no *h*.—(γ) Where *r* comes after *n*, as in *anrheithi*; this occurs even after the accent, as *anrhaith* § 111 i (1).

An **h** which has always been voiceless occurs before the accent (*a*) in the nasal mutation of *p, t, c* § 106 iii (1), as *danheddog* for **dant-eδawc*; *kynhellawδ* R.B.B. 327 < Lat. *compell-*; *anghenus* < **aɯk-*; *angheuol* < **aɯk-*, etc.; probably *plannhedeu* § 48 i followed the analogy of *planhigi̯on* < **plant-*; *canhwylleu* R.B.B. 380 seems to be due to the treat-

ment of Lat. *nd* as *nt*, cf. Corn. *cantuil*, Bret. *cantol*.—(*b*) For original *s*, as in *anheδeu* W.M. 81, *cyfanheddu* do. 73, *Anheδu mewn crwyn* hyδod LL., from *ann(h)eδ* < **n̥do-sed-* § 63 ii; *glanháu, parháu* etc. § 201 iii (4); probably *-he-* in *iscolheic* B.B. 91, pl. *yscolheigon* R.B.B. 235. Mn. W. sg. *ysgolháig* is the suffix *-ha-* < **sag-* see ib. *-s-* between sonants disappeared, e. g. *amynedd* § 95 ii (3); but *kenhadeu* § 48 i may contain a reflection of it: *kennad* 'message, messenger' < **k̂ens-n-ətā*, √ *k̂ens-* 'speak with authority, etc.' see Walde² 151: Lat. *censeo*, W. *dangos* § 156 ii (1).—The *h* which provects mediae always comes from *s*; in no case is provection caused by an "accentual *h*", or *h* developed from a soft breathing.

ii. (1) The semivowels i̯, u̯, ü̯ seem to have been pronounced in Early Ml. W. with friction of the breath, which is often represented by *h* before *i* or *u*, especially in the B.CH. Thus *yhu* (*yw*) A.L. i 6; *Mahurth* (*Mawrth*) 64; *entehu* (*ynteu*) 130; *nehuat* (*neuaδ*) 78; *arnehy* (*arnei*) 100. More rarely it occurs between two *u*'s (*uu* = *w*), or two *i*'s, as in *arnauhu* (*arnaw*) 132; *doissihion* (*doythi̯on*) 124. With u̯ such a breathing would be equivalent to back ɣ, and at an earlier period it was represented by *g*, which survives in *enguy* A.L. i 100 for *enwi* 'to name' (which never had the media *g*, as the u̯ is from *m*); this also may stand between two *u*'s in this MS., as *dim or auguenel* (*a u̯nel*) *dyn medu* B.CH. 120 'anything that a drunken man does'; *auguenelhont* (*a u̯nelhont*) do. 118. In O. W. u̯ is written *gu* as in *petguar* OX. for *pedwar* '4'. The sound of u̯, then, was virtually ɣʷ; this after *h* < *s* became χʷ, written *chw-* § 26 vi, § 94 iv. Initially on the analogy of *g* : ɣ it became *gʷ* in the position of a radical consonant, remaining ɣʷ as a soft mutation; later *gu̯-* : *u̯-*. This had taken place before the separation of Bret. and Corn.

(2) The breathing before a vowel might also take the form ɣ, so as to give a new initial *g-*; thus **orδ* § 100 iii (2) > *gorδ* f. B.T. 7 through **ɣorδ*, this being taken for the soft mutation after the art., as in *ir guit* (≡ *yr ɣwi̯δ*) f. B.B. 97 'the goose'. Later *gallt* for *allt* f. 'slope'; *gerfydd* beside *herwydd* for *erwyδ* § 215 ii (5). The Mn. *godidog* G. 252 for *odidog* 'rare', and N.W. dial. *gonest* for *onest* probably involve a confusion of initial *o-* with the prefix *go-* § 156 i (16).

(3) Conversely initial *g* is sometimes lost, as in *euog* 'guilty' for *geuog* (*geuawc* LL.A. 155 "mendaces", *gau* 'false'); *elor* f. 'bier' for *gelor* M.A. i 205*a*, met. for **gerol* < Lat. *gerula* (*elawr* G. 234 is factitious).

Loss of Syllables.

§ 113. i. (1) The last syllable of every Brit. word, or Lat. word borrowed in the Brit. period, which contained more than one syllable, is lost in W. Thus W. *gwynn* f. *gwenn* 'white' < Brit. **u̯indos* f. **u̯indā*, W. *ciwed* < Lat. *cīvitas*, W. *ciwdod* < Lat. *cīvitātem*, § 115 i. The syllable doubtless became unaccented

in all cases; its vowel then became indistinct, and was ultimately lost, with the final consonant, except when the latter was a sonant. Brit. final *-l* is unknown, and *-m* had become *-n*; the only final sonants therefore were *-r* and *-n*. When the syllable ended in one of these it seems to have become **-r̥* or **-n̥*, which became non-syllabic. Final *-r* remained, as in W. *chwaer* < Brit. **s̥uesīr* < **s̥uesōr*, § 75 vii (2); W. *ymherawdr* < Lat. *imperātor*; but in common words it disappeared after a consonant in W., as in *brawd* 'brother' for **brawdr* (= Bret. *breur*) < Brit. **brāter*. Final *-n* nasalized a following initial media § 106 ii (2), and was lost before other initial consonants. In the comparative it attached itself to the following *o*, as in *glanach no* 'cleaner than' for **glanachn o* § 147 iv (3). It survived after a vowel in *namen* § 78 ii (1), *cymerwn* § 180 iii (1).

A sonant coming before the final vowel also remained, as in *ffenestr* < Lat. *fenestra*, *perigl* < Lat. *perīc'lum*; later this was liable to drop where the new ultima was unaccented § 16 v (3), and probably the vacillation between liquid and zero accounts for the development of excrescent liquids in some words: *tymestl* < Lat. *tempestas*, *achreawdyr* § 104 iii (2).

(2) The vocalic ending of the first element of a compound, § 155 ii (1), became an obscure vowel, and disappeared; thus Brit. *Maglo-cunos* > W. *Maelgwn*; Brit. **Katu-mannos* > W. *Cadfan*; Brit. *Mori-dūnon* > W. *Myrddin*; Lat. *bene-dictio* > W. *bendith*. Similarly the vowel before the suffixes *-tāt-*, *-tūt-*, *-tero-*, etc., as *ciwdod* < Lat. acc. *cīvitātem*, *gwendid* 'weakness' < Brit. acc. **n̥anno-tūtan*; and the *-i-* in the spv. suffix **-isamos*, as *tecaf* 'fairest' for **teghaf* < **tek-isamos*. In many words of four or more syllables the vowel of the second syllable was elided, as Ml. W. *agwyδawr* < Lat. *ābēcēdārium*, *meitin* < *mātūtīnum*, *Saesneg* < **Saxonikā*, etc. Stems in *-ā-* had *-o-* in composition; thus Kelt. **teutā* 'people' was *Teuto-* in compounds; and *ă* in the second syllable generally remains in nouns, as in *Caradog* < Brit. *Caratăcos*, *ffurfafen* < Lat. *firmāmĕntum*. But in many formations *-a-* in the ante-penult was lost, as in Ml. W. *karhont* < **karasonti* § 183 ii (1), and the suff. *-gar* < **-ākaros* § 153 (8).

The loss of the root vowel in such forms as *allweδ* < **n̥-ql'u̯-iį̆ā* § 99 vi (1), *dedwyδ* < **do-t'u̯-iį̆os* § 100 ii (1) had probably already taken

place in Brit. So in some cases the *-i-* of the spv., as in Ml. W. *nessaf* < **ned'samos* § 148 i (1).

Disyllabic and compound prefixes are treated like the first element of a compound; thus Kelt. **ari-* > Brit. **are-* > W. *ar-*; Brit. **kanta-* > W. *cannh-* § 156 i (6), (7); **kom-(p)ro-* loses its *-o-* and gives *cyfr-* as in *cyfr-goll*; so **u̯or-en-sed-* loses its *-e-* and gives *gorsedd* 'high seat', as if from **u̯ore-ssed-*.

(3) The inscribed stones (5th to 7th cent.) do not throw much light on the above changes. The ogam inscriptions are Goidelic, and those written in Roman letters are in bad Latin, while many of the names even in the latter are Goidelic in form. In some cases a name has the Lat. nom. ending *-us*, as *Catamanus* Rhys no. 6 (LWPh.[2] 364), *Aliortus* no. 14, *Veracius* 9, but most have the Lat. gen. ending *-i*, as *Cunogusi hic jacit* 5 '[the body] of C. lies here'. The names and the following *maqᵘqᵘi* of the ogams show that *-i* is gen., and not a debased form of the Brit. nom. *-os*. (The ogam *-i* is the Kelt. gen. suffix **-ī*, being the Italo-Kelt. gen. of *-o-* stems.) As a rule the Lat. *fili* agrees, but often does not, thus *Dervaci filius Justi ic jacit* 37. Fem. nouns end in *-e*, which is doubtless the ordinary late Lat. *-e* for *-ae*, though the noun in apposition stands in the nom., as *Tunccetace uxsor Daari hic jacit* 77, *et uxor eius Caune* 20. A nom. in *-a* appears in *Avitoria filia Cunigni* Eglwys Cymun insc. Possibly a Brit. nom. ending in *-o* for *-os* occurs in *Aliortus Elmetiaco hic jacet* Rhys 14 (the only stone with *jacet*) and *Vitaliani Emereto* 76. In a few cases no ending occurs: *Etterni fili Victor* 71, in which the legend is complete, and *Victor* is gen.; *Velvor filia Broho* 32. These and the false concords seem to indicate that the case endings were lost in the spoken language.

The stem-vowel *u* appears as *-u-* and *-o-*, as *Catu-rugi* Rhys 60, *Cato-tigirni* 47; and *-o-* appears as *-o-*, *-u-*, *-e-*, *-i-*, as *Cuno-gusi* 5, *Vendu-magli* 45, *Vinne-magli* 21, *Vende-setli* 12, *Venni-setli* 67, pointing to *-ə-* for which the Roman alphabet has no symbol. The form *-a-* for *-u-* or *-o-*, as in *Cata-manus* 6, is Goidelic; cf. in bilingual stones *Cuno-tami* in Roman characters, *Cuna-tami* in ogam 75; *Trene-gussi* in Roman, *Trena-gusu* in ogam 73. In some cases the stem-vowel was preserved, and forms containing it survive beside forms in which it is lost; thus *Dumnagual* beside *Dumngual* both in GEN. v. That the former is not merely an archaic spelling of the latter is shown by the survival of both in the Mn. language:

Mal mab i **Ddyfnwal** *Moel-mûd*
Yw Phylip braff i olud . . .
Mae yn llaw hil **Dyfnawal**
Yr erwi mawr a'r aur mâl.—L.G.C. 209.

'Like a son of Dyfnwal Moelmud is Philip of vast wealth. In the hand of the descendant of Dyfnawal are the broad acres and the milled

gold.' Other similar doublets are *Tudwal* and *Tudawal* R.P. 1394, *Dingad* and *Dinogat* B.A. 22. The *aw* in *Dyfnawal* is the regular development of *o̯u* before a vowel, see § 76 iii (1); before another consonant the *-o-* remains, as seen in *Dinogat*.

(4) The forms used in writing are always traditional, and in the above inscriptions the names have probably archaic forms preserved with the Latin in which they are embedded, since other evidence points to the loss of the terminations at this period. The re-formations consequent on the loss of the endings are largely the same in Bret. and W.; thus W. *-au*, Bret. *-ou* represents the pl. *-o̯ues* of *u*-stems, § 120 i; these stems could not have been very numerous, and the addition of W. *-au* and Bret. *-ou* to nouns of all classes denoting common objects, and to *tad*, *mam* and others, can hardly be an accidental coincidence, and is clearly subsequent to the breakdown of the Brit. declension. It seems therefore probable that the new language was in an advanced stage of development before the separation of the two dialects.

In the oldest MS. of Bede, A.D. 737, the stem-vowels and terminations are completely lost, as in *Car-legion*, *Ban-cor*, *Dinoot*. The reduction was therefore an established fact in the early 8th cent.

(5) The vowel of the penult is sometimes lost after a diphthong, apparently when the accent originally fell on the ultima, as in *cluer* < **kl̥i̯arós* § 75 vi (1); *haul* < **sāu̯el̥iós* § 76 v (1); so probably *cawr* < **kou̯arós* § 76 iii (4). With *haul* 'sun' < **sau'l̥iós* < **sāu̯el̥iós* contrast the disyllable *huan* 'sun' < **sā́u̯anos* < **sā́u̯ₑnos* (with *n*-suff. like E. *sun*, cf. Walde² 721); affected *au*, short because unaccented, gives W. *au* § 76 v (1); and accented *ā́u* gives W. *u* § 76 iii (5); see § 76 v Note, p. 108.

ii. In a disyllabic proclitic a final short vowel might disappear in the Brit. period; thus Ar. **mene* 'my' > **men*, and caused the nasal mutation, § 107 ii, iv.

iii. (1) The final consonant of a monosyllabic proclitic was lost in W.; thus Brit. **men* 'my' gave W. *fy* 'my'; but not till after it had mutated the following initial (in this case causing the nasal mutation of mediae § 107 iv).

(2) But the consonantal ending of an accented monosyllable was in general retained; thus W. *chwech* 'six' < Kelt. **su̯eks* (but *chwe* before a noun); W. *nos* 'night' < Brit. **noss* < **nots* < **noqᵘts* § 96 ii (5); W. *moch* 'early' : Lat. *mox*; W. *yn* 'in' < Brit. **en* < Ar. **en*.

ACCIDENCE

THE ARTICLE

§ 114. i. The definite article is *yr*, *'r* or *y*. There is no indefinite article in Welsh.

ii. The full form *yr* is used before a vowel or *h*, as yr *afon* 'the river', yr *haul* 'the sun', *dwfr* yr *afon*, *gwres* yr *haul*; the *y* is elided after a vowel, as *i'r afon* 'into the river', *o'r ty* 'from the house'; before a consonant the *r* is dropped, unless the *y* has been elided as above, as *yn y ty* 'in the house'.

w- counts as a consonant: y *waedd* 'the cry'; *i-* as a vowel in Mn. W. yr *iaith* 'the language'; in Ml. W. as a vowel or a consonant, as yr *iarll* R.M. 188 l. 25; 189 ll. 13, 30; 190 l. 7; y *iarll* 189 ll. 2, 20. As initial *wy* is *ŵy* § 38 iv, we have in the standard language *yr ŵy* 'the egg', *yr ŵyr* 'the grandson', *yr ŵyth* 'the eight', *yr ŵythnos* 'the week', *yr ŵylo* 'the weeping', *yr ŵyneb* 'the face', *yr ŵybren* 'the sky'. Similarly *yr ŵyddfa* 'Snowdon', *yr ŵyddgrug* 'Mold', with radical *gŵy-* fem., see v.

iii. O. W. has only the first two forms, written *ir* and *r*; thus ir *tri* OX. 'the three', ir *pimphet* do. 'the fifth', ir *bis bichan* do. 'the little finger', ir *maut* do. 'the thumb', ir *guollenni* JUV. 'the light', or *deccolion* M.C. gl. decadibus, or *bardaul leteinepp* M.C. gl. epica pagina, *dir escip* L.L. 120 'to the bishops'. After a diphthong we have *ir*, as *nou* ir *emid* M.C. 'that of the brass'. The form *y* is in regular use in early Ml. W., as E *betev ae gulich* y *glav* B.B. 63 'the graves which the rain wets'.

In Ml. W. *r* is used after *a* 'and; with', *o* 'from', *ỳ* 'to', *na* 'nor', *no* 'than'; but usually *y* or *yr* after other words ending in vowels, as *kyrchu* y *llys*, ... *a chyrchu* y *bordeu* W.M. 5, *llyna* y *llys* do. 6, etc. The reason is probably that the article, as a proclitic, was generally joined to the following word, thus y*llys* 'the court', so that these groups became isolated in the scribe's mind, and were written in their isolated forms. On the other hand, the article could not be separated from the above monosyllables (cf. *yny* which is the regular form of *yn y* 'in the'), hence after these it assumes its post-

vocalic form. It was undoubtedly spoken *r* after all vowels then as now, except when a pause came between the words; for we find early examples of *r* even after diphthongs; thus *kir llaw* **r** *eircheid* B.B. 10 'beside the suppliants', *mi yw* **r** *iarll* W.M. 137 'I am the earl', *gwiryon yw* **r** *vorwyn* do. 138 'the maid is innocent', *erglyw* **r** *pobloeδ* R.P. 1201 'the peoples will hearken'. In some cases *y* is written where the metre requires *r* as *Pa gur yw* **y** *porthaur?* B.B. 94 'What man is the porter?', where we should have *yw* **r**, as the line is 5 syll. Sometimes *yr* is written before a consonant: *Pieu* **ir** *bet* B.B. 66 for *pieu'r beδ?* 'whose is the grave?'; *llyma* **yr** *weδ* R.M. 2 for *llyma'r weδ* 'this is the manner'. In the early Mn. bards *'r* is regular, esp. after pure vowels; and it is general in later prose, e.g. the 1620 Bible, though not without exception here. Pughe attempted to substitute *y* for it everywhere, and under his influence *y* was adopted in many late edns. of the Bible, except after *a, o, i, na.* This preference for *y* is chiefly due to the mistaken notion that *r* forms no part of the word, but was put in before vowels "for the sake of euphony". We have seen above that the article is **yr**, and of the clipped forms **'r** is older than **y**.

iv. The Ir. article is *ind*, after prepositions *sind*, from Kelt. **sendos*, which gives W. *hynn* 'this', see § 164 vi. This occurs in W. in *yn awr* 'now', lit. 'this hour' (O. Bret. *annaor*, Ir. *ind or sa*), and *y naill* for **yn aill* § 165 (Bret. *ann eil* § 166 iii, Ir. *ind-ala*). The art. in Corn. is *en* or *an*; in Ml. Bret. *an*; in Mn. Bret. *ann* before vowels, *t-, d-, n-* and *h-, al* before *l-, ar* before other consonants (so the Bret. indef. art. *eunn, eul, eur*, from *un* 'one').

Pedersen Gr. i 153 ff. quotes late examples of *n* > *r* after a cons. in Ir. dialects and Bret., and one or two cases of the change before a cons. as Ml. Ir. *marbad* for O. Ir. *mainbad*, Bret. *mor-go* 'horse collar' for **mon-go* (obviously cases of dissim. of nasals). No such change as *n* > *r* is known in Welsh, which prefers to change *r* to the easier *n* § 100 i (2). W. *yr* can only be identified with Ir. *ind* by a rule made ad hoc; this is the only form of the art. in W. (*yn awr* is not 'the hour' but 'this hour'); the *-r* abounds in the earliest period, and cannot be compared with Bret. *-r*, which is late, and may have spread from *ar* before *r-*. The fact that there is a demonst. pron. *ar* in W. used before the rel., see § 164 v, makes the derivation of *yr* from *hynn* still less probable. There is no reason why the W. and Ir. articles should be the same word; the use of a demonst. as art. is much later than the separation of the P and Q groups. Gaulish has no art.; Pedersen Gr. ii 177 quotes *σοσιν νεμητον* 'this temple' as an example of the art. in Gaul., which is as if one were to quote *in hoc tumulo* from a Lat. inscr. as an example of the Latin "article" *hic.*

Though common in the O. W. glosses and prose fragments, the art. seldom occurs in the early poetry; it is not found in JUV. SK., and is rare in the B.A.: *Gwyr a aeth Gatraeth* '[the] men who went to Catraeth'. It does not occur in O. Corn. or O. Bret., see Loth Voc.

38 (*ann* is the demonst. in *annaor* above). Brit. no doubt had several demonstratives used before nouns; but the adoption of one to be used as an art. seems to be later than the separation of W., Corn. and Bret., and independent in each. The origin of the W. *yr* is not clear. Brit. had an *l*-demonstrative seen in Ml. W. *y lleill* beside *y neill* § 165 vi, cf. *yll* § 160 i (2); and *-l* is more likely than *-n* to have become *-r*. But *yr* may come from a demonst. with locative *-r*-suffix, as in E. *here*, *there*, which might be declined with stem *-ro-*, cf. Lat. *suprā*; *yr* < **is-ros*? cf. Lat. *ille* < *is-le*.

v. The initial consonant of a fem. sg. noun (except *ll-* and *rh-*) undergoes the soft mutation after the art.

Note initial *gŵy-* : *yr ŵyl* 'the holiday', *yr ŵydd* 'the goose'; initial *gwy-* : *y ŵyrth* 'the miracle', *y ŵŷs* 'the summons'.

The mutation shows that the art. had the *o*/*ā*-declension in Brit.

NOUNS

§ 115. i. The old Keltic declension is lost in W., §§ 4, 113; a noun has one form for all cases. This is usually derived from the old nominative, as *ciwed* 'rabble' < Lat. *cīvitas*; sometimes from the accusative, as *ciwdod* 'people' < *cīvitātem*. (In W., *ciwed* and *ciwdod* are different words, not different cases of the same word.) Traces of the oblique cases survive in adverbial and prepositional expressions, §§ 215, 220.

ii. The noun in W. has two numbers, the singular and the plural. Traces of the use of the dual are seen in *deurudd* 'cheeks', *dwyfron* 'breasts', *dwylaw* 'hands'; the last has become the ordinary pl. of *llaw* 'hand'.

The dual of *o*-stems may have given the same form as the sg., as in Ir., where we have *fer* 'man' < **u̯iros*, and *fer* '(two) men', apparently from **u̯irŏ*, as **u̯irō* would have given **fiur* (cf. Gk. δύο. Vedic voc. *-a*; but W. *dau* implies *-ō* in **dúu̯ō* itself). Thus W. *dau darw* 'two bulls' (*deudarw* p. 52), *déu-wr* L.G.C. 185 'two men' (*-wr* keeps its sg. form while the pl. became *gwŷr* § 66 iii (1)). But in nouns with consonant stems the dual must have taken the same form as the pl.; thus Ar. **uqsō* > W. *ych* 'ox', but the dual **uqsene* and the pl. **uqsenes* both gave *ychen*; so we have Ml. W. *deu ychen* R.M. 121 'two oxen', *deu vroder* do. 26 'two brothers'; and, by analogy, *dwy wrageδ* A.L. ii 98 'two women'. In Late Mn. W. the sg. form only is used.

The dual, whether it agreed in form with the sg. or the pl., formerly preserved the effect of its old vocalic ending in the soft mutation of a following adj., as *deu wyδel vonllwm* W.M. 56 'two bare-backed Irishmen', *y ddwy wragedd rywiogach* L.G.C. 127 'the two women [who are] kinder'.

iii. In W. the noun has two genders only, the masculine and the feminine.

The following traces of the old neuter survive: (1) nouns of vacillating gender § 142 i.—(2) The neut. dual in Kelt. had been reformed with *-n* on the analogy of the sing., e.g. Ir. *da n-droch* '2 wheels'; hence in W. after *dau*, some nouns, originally neuter, keep *p-*, *t-*, *c-* unmutated § 106 iii (4); thus *dau cant* or *deucant* '200', *dau tu* or *deutu* 'both sides'; and by analogy *dau pen* or *deupen* 'two ends'.

Number.

§ 116. The plural of a noun is formed from the singular either by vowel change or by the addition of a termination, which may also be accompanied by vowel change. But where the singular has been formed by the addition to the stem of a singular termination, this is usually dropped in the plural, and sometimes a plural termination is substituted for it, in either case with or without change of vowel. There are thus seven different ways of deducing the pl. from the sing.: i. change of vowel; ii. addition of pl. ending; iii. addition of pl. ending with vowel change; iv. loss of sg. ending; v. loss of sg. ending with vowel change; vi. substitution of pl. for sg. ending; vii. substitution of pl. for sg. ending with vowel change.

Parisyllabic Nouns.

§ 117. i. The vowel change that takes place when the pl. is formed from the sg. without the addition or subtraction of an ending is the ultimate *i*-affection; see § 83 ii. This was originally caused by the pl. termination *-ī* of *o*-stems; thus **bardos* gave *barδ* 'bard', but **bardī* gave *beirδ* 'bards'; and also by *-ī* of neut. *i*-stems, as in *mŷr* 'seas' < **morī* § 122 ii (4); possibly *-ū* of neut. *u*-stems, but original examples are doubtful. Later, when the cause of the affection had been forgotten, it came to be regarded merely as a sign of the pl., and was extended to all classes of stems.

Examples: Ml. and Mn. W. *march* 'horse', pl. *meirch*; *tarw* 'bull', pl. *teirw*; *carw* 'deer', pl. *ceirw*; *gwalch* 'hawk', pl. *gweilch*; *alarch* 'swan', pl. *eleirch*, *elyrch*; *salm* 'psalm', pl. Ml. *seilym* LL.A. 107, beside *salmeu* R.P. 1303, Mn. *salmau*; *llygad* 'eye', pl. Ml. *llygeit*, Mn. *llygaid*; *dafad* 'sheep', pl. Ml. *deveit*, Mn. *defaid*; *brân* 'crow', pl. Ml. *brein*, Mn. *brain*; Ml. *manach*, Ml. and Mn. *mynach* 'monk', pl. Ml. *meneich*, *myneich*, Mn. *menych*, *myneich* (late *mynachod*); *paladr* 'beam, ray', pl. *peleidr*, *pelydr*; Mn. *bustach* 'bullock', pl. *bustych*; Ml. and Mn. *maen* 'stone', pl. Ml. *mein*, Mn. *main* Dat. xvii 4 (later *meini*); *cyllell* 'knife', pl. *cyllyll*; *castell* 'castle', pl. *cestyll*; *gwaëll* 'knitting needle', pl. *gwëyll* D.G. 458; *kerdd* 'song', pl. *kyrdd* R.P. 1245 (poet.); *môr* 'sea', pl. *mŷr* D.G. 146 (poet.; in prose generally *moroedd*); *porth* 'gate', pl. *pyrth*; *Cymro*, pl. *Cymry*; *esgob* 'bishop', pl. *esgyb*, see § 129 i (1); *amws* W.M. 472 'horse', pl. *emys* do. 85; *asgwrn* 'bone', pl. *esgyrn*; *croen* 'skin', pl. *crŵyn*; *oen* 'lamb', pl. *ŵyn*; *croes* 'cross', pl. *croesau*, but *crwys* as late as Wms. 102.

Ni roddwn yn Hiraddug
Fy **eleirch** *er dengmeirch dug.*—D.I.D., M 148/676 R., D. 36.

'I would not exchange my swans in Hiraddug for ten of a duke's horses.'

M'redudd Fychan lân i lys,
Oedd aml i dda a'i **emys**.—G.Gl., M 146/188.

'Maredudd Fychan of the bright court, many were his goods and his horses.'

Myneich *a rhent*, **main** *a* **chrwys**,
Mintai rugl mewn tair eglwys.—G.Gl., M 146/271.

'Monks with a rental, [and] stones and crosses, a prosperous community in three churches.'

There does not seem to be an example of *aw* > *eu* in a pl. noun; but another affection *aw* > *yw* (§ 76 v (2)) occurs in *alaw* 'water-lily', pl. *elyw* B.T. 32.

ii. *haearn* 'iron' has pl. *heyrn*, and *rhaeadr* 'cataract' has *rhëydr*, *rhyeidr* § 69 ii (3), § 75 vi (3); *pennog* 'herring' has *penwaig* § 36 iii; *iwrch* 'roebuck' has *yrch* § 36 ii, later *iyrchod* G. 167; *gŵr* 'man' is for **gwŵr* and has pl. *gwŷr* § 66 iii (1), and so its compounds, as *pregethwr* 'preacher', pl. *pregethwyr*; *gwrda* 'goodman', pl. *gwyrda*.

D. 38 gives *ieirch* rh. with *llenneirch*; but the pl. of *llannerch* 'glade' is *llennyrch*; the correct reading seems to be *yrch/llennyrch* see I.G. 287.

iii. Anomalous vowel changes occur in—(1) *troed* 'foot', pl. *traed* § 65 ii (1); and *tŷ* 'house', pl. Ml. *tei*, Mn. *tai* § 104 ii (2). The compounds of the latter have *-tei* Mn. *-tai*, or *-tyeu* Mn *-tyau*; as *Mordei* B.A. 1, *gwindei* R.P. 1202 'banqueting houses'; *llettyeu* R.P. 1274 'lodgings', *clafdyeu* do. 1269 'hospitals', *hundyeu* W.M. 5 'sleeping rooms'.

In Gwynedd *-dai* is generally accented, as *beu-dǎi* 'cow-houses', *pop-tǎi* 'ovens', *gweith-dǎi* 'workshops'; but *eleusendai* 'alms-houses'.

(2) Ml. W. *biw* 'ox' (e. g. *karcharaur goruit, cul biw* B.B. 90 'the horse is a prisoner, the ox is lean), pl. *bu* (e. g. *can-mu* W.M. 455 '100 oxen'); *biw* is also frequently pl., e. g. B.T. 59.

biw < Brit. **bū̆s* < **gᵘōus*; *bu* < **bāu̯es* < **gᵘōu̯es*; pl. *biw* from a re-formed **bū̆es*.

(3) Other cases are *carreg*, pl. *cerrig* (for *cerryg*) § 77 i; *crogen, cragen*, pl. *cregin* (for *cregyn*) § 77 ii; *asyn* 'ass', Ml. pl. *essynn* W.M. 81, H.M. ii 226 (the irregularity is in the sg., where the orig. *a* was restored), Mn. pl. *asynnod*; *llo* 'calf' pl. *lloi* for *llo-ï* B.T. 59.

iv. Ml. W. *pebyll* m. 'tent' § 70 i (pl. *pebylleu*), Mn. *pebyll* sg. W.L. 216, is treated as pl. in the Bible, with a new sg. *pabell* f., from Wm.S.'s hypothetic *pabell hwn* glossing *y pebyll hynn* sg. 2 Cor. v 4. It is generally supposed that *amws* is a similar, but natural and early, analogical sg. from *emys* assumed to be pl.< *admissus* (rather **ammissus* since *-dm-* > *ð*) for *admissārius*, but such an error is unlikely at an early period when the word was in common use; *e...y* in the sg. is not unusual, e.g. *ceffyl*.

§ 118. i. In many parisyllabic nouns, after the loss of the Brit. endings, the pl. was not distinguished from the sg. by affection as above. These were (1) neut. nouns, whose pl. ending *-ā* did not affect; thus Brit. **arganton*, pl. **argantā* > W. *arian*, which is sg. and pl. § 133 ii.—(2) Nouns in which the vowel is not capable of *i*-affection (Brit. *ĭ, ā*, etc.); thus Lat. *piscis*, pl. *pisces* > W. *pysc* 'fish' sg. R.M. 131, usually pl.—(3)

Nouns in which the vowel is affected in the sg. and pl.; thus Brit. **ɣradi̯os*, pl. **ɣradi̯ī* > W. *gwraidd* 'root' or 'roots'.

ii. As it is inconvenient to have the same form for sg. and pl., new distinctions grew up. These took three forms: (1) Nouns belonging to the first of the above classes had their vowel affected to form a pl.; probably some of those mentioned in § 117 i are examples of this.—(2) A pl. termination was added; thus as Lat. *medicus*, *medicī* had both become *meδyg*, a new pl. *meδygon* was formed; and for pl. *pysg* a collective *pyscawt* Mn. W. *pysgod* was used, § 123 iii.—(3) A sg. termination, m. *-yn(n)*, f. *-en(n)* was added; thus *gwraidd* in the sg. became *gweiddyn*; and as *pysg* continued to be used as a pl., a new sg. *pysgodyn* was formed from the pl. *pyscawt*.

Imparisyllabic Nouns.

§ **119.** The W. pl. terminations are the Brit. stem-endings of imparisyllabic nouns, which were lost in the sg. representing the old nom. sg., but survived in the pl. after the loss of the pl. endings **-es*, neut. **-a*, § 113 i. Thus Lat. *latrō* and its Brit. pl. **latrŏnes* gave W. *lleidr*, pl. *lladron*, by regular sound-change; then the *-on* of the latter and similar nouns naturally came to be regarded as a pl. ending, and was added to nouns of other declensions where a pl. sign was needed, as to *meddyg*, see above. Such additions were made on some analogy, mostly of meaning, sometimes of form.

u-*stems.*

§ **120.** i. Mn. W. **-au**, Ml. W. **-eu**, O. W. **-ou** comes from Brit. **'-oi̯es*, **'-oi̯a* the pl. endings of *u*-stems; thus Brit. **katus*, pl. **kátoi̯es*, gave W. *cad* 'battle', pl. *cadau*. This termination spread and became the commonest in W. (and Bret.). It was added to—

(1) most names of common objects; as *penn-eu* W.M. 41, Mn. W. *pennau* 'heads'; *clust-eu* ib., Mn. *clustiau* 'ears'; *gueſl-eu* ib., Mn. *gweflau* 'lips'; *amrann-eu* ib., R.P. 1270, Mn. *amrannau*, late *amrantau*, sg. *amrant* 'eyelid'; *arv-eu* W.M. 7, Mn. *arfau* 'arms'; *tlyss-eu* do. 37, Mn. *tlysau*, sg. *tlws* 'jewel'; *loggou* L.L. 120 (*gg* ≡ ȝȝ), *llongeu* W.M. 39, Mn. *llongau* 'ships'; *badeu* W.M. 39, Mn.

badau 'boats'; *tonnou* JUV., Ml. *tonneu*, Mn. *tonnau* 'waves'; *pebylleu* W.M. 44 'tents'; *betev* (*t* ≡ δ) B.B. 63, Mn. *beddau* 'graves'; *fruytheu, llannev* do. 56, Mn. *ffrwythau* 'fruits', *llannau* 'churches', etc. So *drysau* 'doors', *cadeiriau* 'chairs', *canhwyllau* 'candles', *llyfrau* 'books', etc. etc.

The chief exceptions are nouns taking *-i*, see § 122 ii (2), and names of implements taking *-ion*, § 121 ii (2).

(2) Some nouns denoting persons, as *tadau* 'fathers'; *mamau* 'mothers'; *kenhadeu* W.M. 184 'messengers', Late Mn. W. *cenhadon*; *meicheu* W.M. 25 'sureties', now *meichiau*; *dwyweu* R.B.B. 67 'gods', Mn. W. *duwiau*; fem. nouns in *-es*, as *breninesau* 'queens', etc.

(3) A few names of animals, as *hebogeu* W.M. 12 'hawks'; *keffyleu* W.M. 119; *keilogeu* LL.A. 165; *bleiddiau* § 123 iv (4).

(4) Many abstract nouns, as *drygau* 'evils'; *brodyeu* R.P. 1238 'judgements'; *poeneu* W.M. 49, *poenau* 'pains'; *gofidiau* 'sorrows'; *meddyliyeu* § 121 ii (3) 'thoughts', etc.; and abstract derivatives in *-ad* or *-iad, -aeth, -as, -der, -did, -dod, -edd, -yd*; as *bwriadau* 'intentions', *gweledigaethau* 'visions', *priodasau* 'weddings', *mwynderau* 'delights', *gwendidau* 'weaknesses', *pererindodau* 'pilgrimages', *troseddau* 'transgressions', *clefydau* 'fevers'. Also some names of times, seasons, etc., after *dieu* § 132 (2): *oriau* 'hours'; *bore-eu* R.P. 1290 'mornings'; *nosseu* C.M. 1, sg. *nos* 'night', *wythnosau* 'weeks'; but *misoedd, blynyddoedd* § 122.

(5) The neologists of the 16th cent. took *aroglau* 'smell' for a pl., in spite of popular usage which treats it as sg. to this day. They manufactured a sg. *arogl* and a v.n. *arogli*, vb. *aroglaf*, which with various derivatives are used in the Bible. But the word is *aroglau*, see *arogleu* LL.A. 81 translating "odor" 232, vb. *arogleuaf* B.T. 79, v.n. *arogleuo*, present-day coll. *'ogleuo*.

ii. When *-au* is added to a stem ending in *i*, § 35, the combination is *-iau*; e.g. O.W. *hestoriou, cloriou, enmeituou, dificiuou* § 25 i, Ml. W. *gruðyeu* W.M. 140, Mn. W. *gruddiau* 'cheeks'; *glinyeu* W.M. 434, *gliniau* 'knees'. In Mn. W. *iau* is used after *-ei-*, as *geiriau* 'words' § 35 ii. It came to be generally used to form new plurals, especially of borrowed words, e. g. words in *-p, -t, -c*, § 51 ii, as *hetiau* 'hats', *capiau* 'caps', *bratiau* 'aprons' (but Ml. W. *bratteu* W.M. 23 'rags'), *carpiau* 'rags', *llanciau* 'youths', etc.

iii. (1) In Brit. the nom.-acc. sg. neut. ending must in some cases have been *-ū̆ (instead of *-u), cf. Lat. *cornū*, etc. (so sometimes in Skr., see Brugmann² II ii 144), as in **dakrū̆* > W. *deigr* 'tear' (e.g. *llawer deigyr a wyleis i* H.M. ii 129 'many a tear have I wept', *bob deigr* Dat. vii 17 "*πᾶν δάκρυον*"). The pl. ending might be *-o̯ua (< *-uu̯ə) or -ū (< *-uu̯ə contracted, § 63 vii (2)); *deigr* 'tears' from the latter is doubtful, though used by Gr.O. 50; the former gives the usual pl. *dagrau* § 76 iii (2). See also § 125 iii Note.

(2) *cainc* 'branch' may be a fem. u̯ā-stem, with nom. sg. in -ū, Thurneysen Gr. 182; thus *cainc* < **kanku̯ū*, pl. *cangau*, Ml. W. *cağeu* B.B. 48 < **kánku̯ās*.

iv. The pl. ending *-au* does not affect a preceding vowel, see § 76 iii (2); *ceğeu* B.B. 47 is a scribal error as shown by *cağeu* 48.

n-*stems*.

§ **121**. i. -i̯on and **-on** come from Brit. *-i̯ones* and *-ones*, pl. endings of *n*-stems.

The Brit. forms were *-ū̄ < *-ō, pl. *-ones*, as in *Brittones*; but *-i̯ū̄ < -i̯ō, pl. *-i̯ones*, as in *Verturiones*, Gaul. *Suessiones*, seems to have predominated, as in Goidelic (Thurneysen Gr. 202). Hence the greater prevalence of *-i̯on* in W. Borrowed words were of course declined like native, and Lat. *latrōnes* > Brit. **latrŏnes* > W. *lladron*.

In Ar., nouns in *-ō(n)*, *-i̯ō(n)*, *-iu̯ō(n)* (loss of *-n* § 101 ii (4)) were (*a*) nomina agentis, frequently from adjectives with *o-*, *i̯o-*, *iu̯o-* stems; thus Gk. *στράβων* 'squinter' : *στραβός* 'squinting'; *οὐρανίων* 'heavenly one' : *οὐράνιος* 'heavenly'; (*b*) abstract nouns, as Lat. *ratio*. Thus the use of *-ion* in W., which is added to names of persons and instruments, and to abstract nouns, corresponds roughly to the original value of the suffix.

-on goes back to Brit. in nouns in which the vowel is affected in the sg., § 125 iii; after *-hai* < **-saŋi̯ō*, pl. *-heion* re-formed for **-haeon* < **-saŋi̯ones*, and after *-ydd*, pl. *-yddi̯on*, re-formed for *-yðon* < *-i̯ones*, as in *gweryddon* § 110 ii (3). But in most cases it is a new addition in W., as in *ymerodron*, pl. of *ymherawdr* < Lat. *imperātor*. W. *dyni̯on* is also prob. an analogical formation, for Ir. *duine* implies **doniios*, and Bret. and Corn. use *tud*, *tus* 'people' for the pl. The adj. **doni̯os* and its pl. **doni̯ī* would both give *dyn*, to which *-i̯on* was added to form the new pl.

ii. -i̯on is added to (1) many nouns denoting persons, as *dyn* 'man', pl. *dynion*; *mab* 'boy, son', pl. *meibion*, Ml. *meibon* § 35 ii (1), O. W. *mepion* § 70 ii (1); *gwas* 'servant', pl. *gweision*, Ml. *gweisson* W.M. 33; *ŵyr* 'grandson', pl. *ŵyrion*, Ml. *wyron* R.B.B. 49; *gwastrawd* 'groom', pl. *gwastrodyon* W.M. 33; including derivatives in *-(h)ai*, *-ydd*, *-og* Ml. *-awc*, *-or* Ml. *-awr*, *-ig*, *-awdr*, as *gwestai* 'guest', pl. *gwesteion* LL.A. 168; *crydd*, pl. *cryddion*,

Bret. *kere*, pl. *kereon* § 86 i (5); *gwehydd* 'weaver', pl. *gwehyddion*; *marchog* 'knight', pl. *marchogion*; *cantor* 'singer', pl. *cantorion*; *pendefig* 'chieftain', pl. *pendefigion*; *dysgawdr* 'doctor', pl. *dysgodron* (in Recent W. re-formed as *dysgawd-wr*, *-wyr*); and adjectives used as nouns § 145 iii. In a few cases the ending is **-on**, as *meddygon* § 118 ii; *Iddew* 'Jew', pl. *Iddewon*, Ml. W. *Iδewon* LL.A. 19, *Iδeon* do. 17; *athrawon*, etc. § 125 iii.

(2) Some names of implements: *cŷn* 'chisel', pl. *cynion*; *ebill* 'auger', pl. *ebillion*; *trosol* 'bar, lever', pl. *trosolion*; *ysgol*, Ml. *yscawl* 'ladder', pl. *ysgolion*, Ml. *yscolŷon* W.M. 189; *ysgolion* 'schools' follows this probably.

(3) Some abstract nouns: *rhybuddion* 'warnings' (Ml. *rybuδŷeu* W.M. 72); *esgusion* 'excuses'; *trafferthion* 'troubles'; with **-on**: *gofalon* 'cares'; *cysuron* 'comforts'; but most take *-au* § 120 i (4). H.M. has *meddylion* ii 194, M 147/639 R., for the usual *meddyliau*, Ml. W. *meδylŷeu* R.P. 1201, 1303.

(4) *ebol*, Ml. *ebawl* 'colt', pl. *ebolion*, Ml. *ebolŷon* W.M. 45; *keneu*, see § 125 iii; *planhigion* 'plants', sg. *planhig-yn*.

iii. **-en** < Brit. **-enes* < Ar. **-enes* survives only in *ychen* 'oxen', sg. *ych* § 69 v; and in Ml. W. *Pryden* 'Picts' (*Gynt a Gwyδyl a Phryden* B.A. 24 'Danes and Irish and Picts'), O. W. *Priten* GEN. xix.

Ar *-en-* was the F-grade of the suffix, of which *-on-* was the F°-grade, and *-ōn* the L°-grade § 63 iii.

The first occurrence of the misspelling *ychain*, § 31 ii (2), known to me is in *Rhydychain* in the title of the 1690 Bible; it did not come into common use before the 19th cent. The form is always *ychen* in Ml. W. and in the rhymes of the bards before the recent period. See *ychen* W.M. 480, R.M. 121, B.T. 59, LL.A. 109, R.P. 1241, M.A. i 230, 426; *ŷt ychen* 'Oxford' see indexes of R.M. and R.B.B.

Da'r ardd **ychen** *mewn pen pant.*—W.LL. F. 8.

'Well do oxen plough at the end of a valley.'

Dig wyf am dewi gofeg
*Yn pen yn Rhyd***ychen** *deg.*—H.D. (m. I.H.S.), P 100/125.

'I am wroth because the muse of our chief is silenced in fair Oxford.'
—See *ben/ychen* D.G. 400, *gên/ychen* do. 318, *men/ychen* L.G.C. 189; *wên/Rhydychen* S.Ph. C.C. 189; *rryd ychen/dalen* P 54/242 R.

iv. The R-grade *ₑn* of the stem-ending became *-ann-* in Kelt. § 62 i (2). In Ir. it appears as *-ann*; in W. as a pl. ending it was affected

in every case to *-ein(n)*, tending to become *-eint* or to be replaced by *-eu*. The affection prob. comes from neut. dual forms, of which the ending in Pr. Ar. was **-ī*. Thus Ml. W. *ysgyveint* M.M. 2, Mn. W. *ysgyfaint* 'lungs' < **squm$_e$n-ī*, old neut. dual; the noun has no sg.;—O.W. *anu* 'name' pl. *enuein*, Ml. W. pl. *enweu*, with a new sg. *enw*, Mn. W. *enw*, pl. *enwau* (the *a-* survived in *anwedig* G.R. [122, 220], Gwyn. dial. § 112 i (2)) : Ir. *ainm*, pl. *anmann*, neut.;—*cam* 'step', O.W. pl. *cemmein*, now *camau* : Ir. *cēim*, pl. *cēimmenn*, neut.; —*rhwym* 'band', O. W. pl. *ruimmein*, now *rhwymau*;—*gof* 'smith', also *gofan(n)* B.T. 7, pl. Ml. W. *goveỉn* A.L. i 72, Mn. W. *gofaint* : Ir. *goba*, gen. *gobann*;—*edn* 'bird', once *ednan* M A. i 195, pl. *ednein* (printed *ednain* M.A. i 207), *etneint* R.P. 1245, Mn. *ednaint* Gr.O. 10;—*llw* 'oath', Ml. W. pl. *cam lyein* IL.A. 158, *camlyeu* R.P. 1201 'false oaths', Mn. W. *llŵon*, Gwyn. dial. *llyfon*.

i-*stems*.

§ **122.** i. **-i, -ydd, -oedd, -edd** represent the Brit. endings of *i-*, *i̯o-*, *i̯ā-* and *i̯e-* stems.

ii. *i*-stems. (1) The vowel is not affected in the sg. All the above endings occur in the pl.

NB. The Ar. nom. endings were m.f. sg. **-is*, pl. **-ei̯es*; neut. sg. **-i*, pl. **-ii̯ə*, **-ī*. In Brit. the sg. **-is*, **-i* became **-es*, **-e* and did not cause affection; the pl. **-ei̯es* became **-ii̯es* which gave *-i*, *-ydd* or *-oedd* according to the accentuation § 75 v, iv; the neut. pl. **-ii̯ə* > **-ii̯a* > *-edd* or *-oedd* according to accentuation; and **-ī* affected the preceding vowel and dropped.

(2) **-i** and **-ydd** both form the pl. of *tref* 'town'; thus *trewi* (≡ *trefi*) B.B. 54, *trewit* (≡ *trefyð*) do. 91, Mn. W. *trefi* § 160 iii (2), and *trefydd* D.G. 3; *cantref* 'cantred' makes *cantrevoeð* R.B.B. 407 ff., but Mn. W. *cantref-i*, *-ydd* like *tref*; see § 75 iv, v.

eglwys 'church' follows *tref* in Mn. W. (*eglwysyð* P 147/5 R.), but Ml. W. has *eglwysseu* R.P. 1046, M.A. i 273*a*. In. Ml. W. *ffforest* follows *tref*: *foresti* R.B.B. 199, *ffforestyð* R.M. 195, Mn. W. *ffforestydd* only. *plwyf* 'parish' (a late meaning) also takes *-i* or *-ydd* in Recent W., but earlier *plwyvau* M.A. ii 613.

-i was added to some names of persons : *saer* 'craftsman', pl. *seiri* W.M. 189; *maer* 'steward', pl. *meiri* B.B. 54; *cawr* 'giant', pl. *cewri* (rarely *ceuri*) § 76 iv (3); *merthyr* 'martyr', pl. *merthyri* IL.A. 126; *prophwydi* ib.; *arglwydd*, pl. *arglwyðі* M.A. i 198*a*; so all in Mn. W. (in Late W. *merthyron* also).

-i was also added to many names of things with *e* or *a* in the sg., the -i of course affecting the latter; as *llestr-i* W.M. 6 'vessels'; *gwernenn-i a hwylbrenn-i* do. 51 'masts and yards'; *canhwyllbrenn-i*, also *-au*, both in 1 Chron. xxviii 15 'candlesticks'; *fenestr-i* M.A. i 216*a* 'windows'; *cethr-i* I.G. 584 'nails'; *perth-i* R.P. 1272 'bushes'; — *banier-i* M.A. i 197*b* 'banners', sg. *baniar*; *per-i* ib. 'spears', sg. *pâr*; *defn-i* 'drops' § 202 v (3), for *dafneu* R.P. 1184; *der-i* R.P. 1318 'oaks', sg. *dâr* f.

The use of -i has been extended in Mn. W.; thus Ml. W. *kerδeu* W.M. 6 'songs', Mn. W. *cerddi* T.A. and later; Ml. W. *garδeu* R.B.B. 145 'gardens', Mn. W. *gerddi* D.G. 258; Ml. W. *llwyneu* R.B.B. 40 'bushes', so *llwynau* D.G. 60, later *llwyni*; Ml. W. *mein* 'stones' (sg. *maen*), Late Mn. W. *meini* (Ml. *meini* in ZE. 284 is an error for *mein*, see R.M. 196, l. 5); *beddi* B.CW. 59 beside the usual *beddau*, Ml. *beteu* (*t* ≡ δ) B.B. 63.

(3) **-ydd** and **-oedd** are found in *avon-it* (≡ *-yδ*) B.B. 91 'rivers', *avon-oeδ* R.B.B. 40, Mn. W. *afonydd*; *gwladoeδ* M.A. i 199*a*, C.M. 2, R.B.B. 44, W.M. 190, later *gwledyδ* in the last-quoted passage in R.M. 91, Mn. W. *gwledydd*; *keyryδ* W.M. 192 'castles', *kaeroeδ* R.P. 1230, also *caereu* B.A. 26, Mn. W. *keyrydd* W.IL. 64, *caerau* G.Gl. M 146/163; *dinassoeδ* W.M. 190, R.M. 91, 93, Mn. W. *dinasoedd*, rarely *dinessyδ* P 147/5 R., G.Gl. P 152/201. They are added to nouns in *-fa*, as Mn. W. *porfeydd*, *porfaoedd* 'pastures' (most of them with only one in use), Ml. W. *tyrvahoeδ* R.P. 1241 'crowds'; as well as *-au*, Ml. W. *-eu* : *presswylvaeu* IL.A. 57 'habitations', *eisteδvaeu* do. 62 'seats' (*-aeu* later contr. to *-âu*).

-ydd alone occurs in *meyssyδ* R.P. 1188 'fields', Mn. W. *meysydd* (wrongly spelt *meusydd*), sg. *maes*; *heolyδ* R.M. 175 'streets'; *bro-yδ* R.P. 1189 'regions'; *dolyδ* do. 1188 'meadows' (also *doleu* B.T. 33); *gweunyδ* R.P. 1286 'meadows', sg. *gweun*, *gwaun*; *lluoss-it* (≡ *-yδ*) B.B. 66, R.P. 1188 'hosts', sg. *lliaws*; *nentydd* 'brooks', poet. *naint* D.G. 25, sg. *nant*; *coedydd* 'trees', *ystormydd* 'storms', etc.

(4) Old neut. nouns take **-oedd** or **-edd**, sometimes alternating with vowel-affection; as *môr* m. 'sea', pl. *moroedd* < **móriia* beside *mŷr* < **morī*, § 117 i; *dant* m. 'tooth', pl. *dannedd* < **dantíia* beside *deint* R.P. 1036, *daint* D.D. s.v.; *deint* is also sg., see iii (2). **-oedd** may be orig. m. or f. also, see (1).

-edd and **-oedd** are added to nouns orig. of other declensions as follows:

-eδ in Ml. W., **-oedd** in Mn. W. are added to *tir* m. 'land' (an old neut. *s*-stem), pl. *tiret* (*-t* ≡ -δ) B.B. 33, *tireδ* R.B.B. 40 (beside *tirion* § 35 iii), Mn. W. *tiroedd* D.G. 436, 524; *mynydd* m. 'mountain' (< **monṭi̯o-*), pl. *mynyδeδ* W.M. 250, B.T. 11, R.B.B. 40, Mn. *mynyddoedd*; *dwfr* m. 'water' (neut. *o*-stem), pl. *dyfreδ* IL.A. 54, 65, Mn. *dyfroedd*.

mynyδeδ having become *mynyδe* in S. W. dialects (cf. *eiste* § 110 iv (3)), this was wrongly standardized as *mynyddau* by some recent writers, but the traditional lit. form *mynyddoedd* prevails. The same remark applies to *blynyddoedd*, now sometimes written *blynyddau* for dial. *blynyδe* < **blynyδeδ*. In the above words *-oeδ* may be old as a N. W. form, the prevailing forms in Ml. W. being S. W.

-oedd was added to *cant* m. 'hundred' (neut. *o*-stem), pl. *cannoedd*; *nerth* m. 'strength' (neut. *o*-stem); *mīl* f. 'thousand'; *mur* m. 'wall', pl. *muroeδ* W.M. 191, *muroedd* G. 237, later *muriau*; *llu* m. 'host' (m. *o*-stem), pl. *lluoeδ* R.M. 175, Mn. *lluoedd*; *byd* m. 'world' (m. *u*-stem), pl. *bydoeδ* M.A. i 199, Mn. *bydoedd*; *nifer* m. 'host', pl. *niveroeδ* W.M. 54, Mn. *niferoedd*; *mis* m. 'month', pl. *misoedd*; *teyrnas* f. 'kingdom', pl. *tyrnassoeδ* W.M. 50, Mn. *teyrnasoedd*; *tŵr* m. 'tower' (< E. < Fr.), pl. *tyroeδ* W.M. 191, *tyreu* do. 133, Mn. *tyrau*; *iaith* f. 'language', pl. *ieithoeδ* W.M. 469, B.T. 4, Mn. *ieithoedd*; *gwledd* f. 'feast', pl. *gwleddoedd* D.G. 524, *gwleddau* do. 8; *gwisg* f. 'dress', pl. *gwisgoedd*; *oes* f. 'age', pl. O. W. *oisou* (with *ð* added at some distance, see fac. B.S.CH. 2, for 'deest' according to Lindsay, EWS. 46), Ml. W. *oessoeδ* IL.A. 103, *oesseu* B.T. 15, 19, Mn. W. *oesoedd*, *oesau*; *achoet* (*t* ≡ δ) B.B. 53, Mn. *achoedd*, *achau* 'lineage' both in L.G.C. 213, sg. *ach* f.; *dyfnderoedd* 'depths', *blinder-oedd*, *-au* 'troubles'.

iii. *i̯o*-stems. (1) The vowel is affected in the sg.; the pl. ends in **-ydd, -oedd, -edd.**

The Ar. nom. endings were m. sg. **-(i)i̯os*, pl. **-(i)i̯ōs*; neut. sg. **-(i)i̯om*, pl. **-(i)i̯ū*. In Kelt. **-(i)i̯ōs* gave place to **-(i)i̯oi* > **-(i)i̯ī*; this gave *-yδ* or *-oeδ* according to the accent; neut. **-i̯ā* gave *-eδ*; *-eδ* in m. nouns is prob. for *-oeδ*. Where neither sg. nor pl. had *i* before *i̯*, we had e. g. *dyn* 'man' and '*men'; then a new *dynion* for the latter § 121 i.

(2) Ml. W. *bugeil* 'shepherd', pl. *bugelyð* IL.A. 109, R.B.B. 245 < **boukoli̯os* pl. **boukolíi̯ī*. This was a rare type, and in Mn. W. a new pl. was formed : *bugail*, pl. *bugeiliaid*. But the f. *adain* 'wing' (*i̯ā*-stem), pl. *adanedd*, had a new pl. made by affecting this, as if the word belonged to the *-i̯o-* declension : *adain*, pl. *adenydd* § 125 iii.

The word for 'tooth' seems partly to have passed over to this declension ; thus **dantio̯n* pl. **dantíi̯ā* giving sg. *deint* IL.A. 67 translating "dens", Mn. W. *daint*, as *heb un-daint* D.G. 323 'without one tooth', pl. *dannedd* as for sg. *dant* ii (4) above. In Gwyn. dial. the sg. is *daint*.

The ending was **-oeð** in *brenhinoet* B.B. 53 'kings', Mn. W. *brenhinoedd* ; but the more usual Ml. form is *breenhineð* L.L. 120, *brenhineð* W.M. 178–9, prob. with *-eð* for *-oeð* § 78 ii. So *teyrneð* R.P. 1313, D.G. 181 'kings', *ewythreð* R.M. 140 'uncles' ; *cystlwn* 'family', pl. *cystlyneð* R.P. 1267.

Cystlynedd *Gwynedd i gyd,*
Cynafon Hwlcyn hefyd.—G.Gl. M 1/no. 49.

'All the families of Gwynedd, and the scions of Hwlcyn too.'

iv. Fem. *i̯ē-* and *i̯ā*-stems. (1) The vowel is affected in the sg. Pl. ending **-edd**.

i̯ē- and *i̯ā*-stems have R-grade forms in *-ī*, p. 81. In Lat. and Balt. they remain distinct or have become so (Lat. *dūritia* : *dūritiēs*). In Kelt. they seem to be mixed, see Thurneysen, Gr. 180 f. ; but as *ē* > *ī* in Kelt., the meaning of the facts is often obscure. In other branches *-i̯ē-* and *-i̯ā-* are indistinguishable. The W. sg. may come from **-i̯ā*, **-i̯ē*, or **-ī* ; pl. *-eð* < **-íi̯ās*.

(2) *blwyddyn* 'year' (Ir. *blīadain*) < **bleidonī*, pl. *blynedd* < **blidníi̯ās* § 125 v (1) ; this pl. form is used only after numerals ; for other purposes a new pl. was formed by adding *-edd* to the sg., as *blwyðyneð* W.M. 37, then by metath. *blwynyðeð* IL.A. 105, Mn. W. *blynyddoedd*, S. W. dial. *blynyðe*(ð) (whence latterly a false *blynyddau* see ii (4)).—*modryb* 'aunt' < **mātr-aqᵘī* (√ *ōqᵘ-* § 69 ii (4)), pl. *modrabedd* C.C. 282 (so in Gwyn. dial. ; *-o-* < sg.) < **mātraqᵘíi̯ās* ; the form *modrybeð* R.P. 1362 seems to be remade from the sg., as *modreped* OX. 2. — *edau* 'thread', pl. *edafedd* § 76 vii (1) ; *adain* 'wing' pl. *adanedd*, etc., see § 125 iii.

blwydd means 'a year of one's age' or adj. 'year old' pl. *blwydd-iaid*, § 145 iii Note, *teirblwydd* 'three years old', *pymtheg̃mlwyð* R.B.B. 185 'fifteen years old', etc. The use by recent writers of *blwydd* for 'year' is as foreign to the spoken language as it is to the literary tradition, and the forms *blwyddau*, *blwyddi* for 'years' are pure fabrications.

(3) **-edd**, later replaced by **-ydd**, was added to **chwïor* < **s̥uesores*, the pl. of *chwaer* 'sister', as *chwioreð* IL.A. 38, R.B.B. 39, W.M. 158; in the last passage *chwioryð* in R.M. 226; Mn. W. *chwïóredd* T.A., Wm.S., later only *chwïórydd*; § 75 vi (2).

t-stems.

§ **123.** i. **-ed** < Brit. **-etes* occurs in *merched* 'daughters', Ml. W. *merchet* W.M. 469, *merched* (*d* ≡ *d*) 468; *pryfed* 'worms', Ml. W. *pryved* (*d* ≡ *d*) B.B. 81. D.G. has *hued* 30, 93 'hounds' (sg. *huad* W.IL. 166, O.G. c 82 s.v.). In Ml. W. we also have *guystviled* B.B. 53 'beasts'; and in O. W. *ætinet bronnbreithet* OX. gl. cicadae.

The stem-form is seen in Gaul. *Cing-es*, gen. *-etos*, and *Nemetes* 'nobiles?' beside the *-eto-* stem in *nemeto-* 'temple'. As it seems to have been used to form names of persons it may be original in *merch*, which would so be from **merke(s)s* < **merkets* (pl. **merketes*) < **mer(i)k-et-* : Skr. *maryakáḥ* § 101 iv (1). *√merḗi-* § 125 v (1).— *pryf* is an old *i*-stem § 61 i (1), ending therefore in **-es* (< **-is*), which seems to have been mistaken for **-e(s)s* < **-ets*.

ii. **-od**, Ml. W. **-ot** < Brit. **-otes* occurs in *llygod* 'mice', sg. *llyg* (< **lukō(s)s*) and *llygoden* (Ir. *luch* 'mouse', gen. *lochad*, Bret. *logodenn*, pl. *logod*) : Gaul. *Lucot-ios*, *Λουκοτ-ικνος*.

The above is an example of the survival in W. of Brit. *-ot-* as seen by its cognates; but the ending *-od* became fertile in the formation of new plurals. It was added to diminutives, and forms with gemination, which is a peculiarity of child language, and of names of animals § 93 iii (2).

(1) It was added to most names of animals : *llewot* W.M. 229, IL.A. 165 'lions', now *llewod*; *eryrot* IL.A. 167 'eagles', now *eryrod*; *llydnot* R.M. 52, W.M. 73, now *llydnod*, sg. *llwdn* 'pullus'; *hyðot* W.M. 158, now *hyddod* 'stags'; *gwiberot* do. 229, now *gwiberod* 'vipers'; *ednot* IL.A. 130, now *ednod* 'birds' (also *ednaint* § 121 iv, and in O. W. *ætinet* i above). In Mn. W.

cathod, *llwynogod*, *ewigod* (Ml. W. *ewigeð* R.M. 118), *ysgyfarnogod*, *crancod* (Bardsey *crainc*, so G.Gr. P 77/193), *colomennod*, etc.

(2) It was added to some names of persons : *gwiðonot* W.M. 178 'witches' ; *meudwyot* LL.A. 117 'hermits' (also *meudwyaid* D.G. 409) ; *gwrach* 'hag', pl. *gwrachiot* P 12/124 R., Mn. W. *gwrachïod* D.G. 332, in which *-od* seems to be added to an old pl. **gwrechi* (cf. the adj. *gwrachïaidd*).

Er ŵyn a gwlân arwain glod
A chŷwydd i **wrachiod**.—I.B.H., BR. iv 104.

'For lambs and wool he brings praise and song to old women.'

It is found in *genethod* 'girls' sg. *geneth* (old geminated form, § 93 iii (2)) ; and is added to diminutives in *-an*, as in *babanod* 'babies', *llebanod* 'clowns' (whence by analogy the biblical *publicanod*) ; in *-ach*, as in *bwbachod* 'bugbears', *corachod* 'dwarfs' (by analogy in Late W. *mynachod* for *myneich* 'monks') ; in *-yn(n)* or *-en(n)*, as in *lliprynnod* 'weaklings', *mursennod* 'prudes', *dyhirod* 'knaves' sg. *dyhiryn* ; and to other nouns originally in a contemptuous sense, as *eurychod* 'tinkers,' *twrneiod a chlarcod* B.CW. 62, *Gwyddelod* in Late W. for *Gwyddyl* 'Irishmen', *Ffrancod* for *Ffrainc*. The substitution in Late W. of *-od* for another termination in the names of relatives etc. comes from child-language, as in *tadmaethod* Esa. xlix 23 for *tadmaethau*, Ml. W. *tatmaetheu* W.M. 37 ; *ewythrod* for *ewythredd* § 122 iii (2), *cyfnitherod* for *cyfnitheroedd* W.LL. C.LL. 132.

(3) It occurs after a few names of things : (α) geminated forms, or what appeared to be such, as *cychod* sg. *cwch* 'boat' ; *nythod* 'nests', Ml. W. *nethod* (*e* ≡ *y*) A.L. i 24 ; *bythod*, sg. *bwth* 'hut' ; (β) diminutive forms, as *tenynnod* 'halters' sg. *tennyn* ; *bythynnod* 'cottages', sg. *bwthyn* ; and by false analogy Mn. W. *tyddynnod* 'small farms', for Ml. W. *tyðynneu* A.L. i 168. 182 ; *bwlanod* sg. *bwlan* 'a vessel of straw' ; (γ) some names of coins : *dimeiod* R.B.B. 384 now *dimeiau* 'halfpennies' ; *ffyrlliŵot* ib. now *ffyrlingod* 'farthings' ; *ffloringod* D.G. 287 'florins', *hatlingod* 'half-farthings' ; (δ) personifications etc. : *angheuod* B.CW. 65 'death-sprites' ; *eilunod* 'idols', *erthylod* 'abortions'.

iii. Ml. W. **-awt** occurs in *pyscawt* R.M. 52, W.M. 73, R.B.B. 149, B.T. 8, B.B. 89 'fish' < Lat. *piscātus*, § 118 ii (2) ; and in

gorwyδawt B.T. 36 'horses', sg. *gorwyδ*; *eδystrawt* B.T. 70 'horses' sg. *eddystr* or *eddestr*. The first survives as *pysgod*, in which the ending is now indistinguishable from old *-od*.

iv. *-i̯aid*, Ml. W. *-ẏeit*, *-eit*, is the pl. formed by affection of the ending *-i̯ad*, Ml. W. *-ẏat* § 143 iv (5); thus *offeiriad* 'priest' pl. *offeiriaid*, Ml. W. *offeireit* LL.A. 117. All names of living things in *-i̯ad* (except *cariad*) form their pl. so; thus *ceinẏeid* M.A. i 285 'singers', *lleitẏeid* (*t* ≡ δ) ib. now *lleiddiaid* 'murderers', *gleissẏeid* ib., now *gleisiaid*, sg. *gleisiad* 'salmon'; but abstract nouns in *-iad* have *-iadau* § 120 i (4); *cariad* 'lover' is the same as *cariad* 'love' and has pl. *cariadau* Hos. ii 5, 7, 10.

But **-iaid** is also added to form the pl. of names of living things whose sg. does not end in *-i̯ad*:

(1) Names of classes and descriptions of persons: *personnẏeit* LL.A. 117, now *personiaid*, sg. *person* 'parson'; *conffessorieit* do. 70; *ſaclorẏeit* W.M. 456, Mn. W. *rhaglofiaid*, sg. *rhaglaw* 'deputy'; *barwnẏeit* R.M. 179, now *barwniaid*, sg. *barwn* 'baron'; *makwyveit* W.M. 15, *mackwyeit* R.M. 9, sg. *maccwy(f)* 'youth'; *lẏleẏnẏeẏt* A.L. i 24, sg. *bilaen* R.B.B. 123 'villain'; *cythreulẏeit* M.A. i 251*b* 'devils'; *ysgwierẏeit* S.G. 11 'squires'; in Mn. W. *pennaethiaid* Ps. ii 2, sg. *pennaeth*; *estroniaid* 'strangers', *meistraid* 'masters', *gefeilliaid* 'twins', *Protestaniaid*, *Methodistiaid*, etc. Also adjectives used as nouns, § 145 iii.

(2) Tribal and national names: *Albanẏeit* R.B.B. 271, also *Albanwyr* do. 270, sg. *Albanwr* 'Scotchman'; *Corannyeit* R.M. 96, no sg.; *Brytanẏeit* do. 91, no sg.; *y Groecieit a'r Lhadinieit* J.D.R. [xiv] 'the Greeks and Latins'; *Rhufeiniaid*, *Corinthiaid*, etc. Also family and personal names: *y Llwydiaid* 'the Lloyds', *y Lleisioniaid* L.G.C. 110 'the Leyshons', *Koytmoriaid* P 61/33 R.

(3) All names in *-ur* of living things: *pechadurẏeit* LL.A. 152 now *pechaduriaid*, sg. *pechadur* 'sinner'; *kreadurẏeit* do. 4, now *creaduriaid*, sg. *crëadur* 'creature'; *awdurieid* J.D.R. [xiv], *awdurẏeit* R.P. 1375, sg. *awdur* ib. 'author' (the pl. *awduron* seems to come from the gorseddic writings, the source of numerous fabrications); Mn. W. *ffoäduriaid*, *cysgaduriaid*, *henuriaid*, etc.

Other nouns in *-ur* take either *-i̯au*, as *gwniaduri̯au* 'thimbles', *pladuri̯au* 'scythes', or *-au* as *papurau* 'papers', *mesurau* 'measures', or *-on* as *murmuron*, *cysuron*.

(4) Some generic names of animals; as *anifeileit* IL.A. 165, W.M. 228, now *anifeiliaid*, sg. *anifail* 'animal'; *mileit* R.M. 129, Mn. W. *milod*, sg. *mil* 'animal'; so *bwystvileit* R.B.B. 40 now *bwystfilod*, sg. *bwystfil*; *ysgrubliaid* Gen. xlv 17 'beasts'. Also a few specific names, as *cameleit* IL.A. 165, Mn. W. *camelod*; Mn. W. *bleiddiaid* Matt. vii 15 'wolves', also *bleiddiau* T.A. G. 233, Ml. *bleÿδÿeu* M.A. ii 230; *gwenoliaid* D.G. 20, sg. *gwennol* 'swallow'.

Strictly, of course, *-i̯aid* is not a *t*-stem but a *to*-stem; thus *-i̯ad* from **-i̯atos*, pl. *-i̯aid* < **-i̯atī*.

v. **-ant** < Brit. **-antes*, m. f. pl. participial ending occurs in *carant* B.A. 14, B.B. 46, IL.A. 153, R.M. 130, sg. *cár* 'kinsman' < **karants* (Ir. *care* < **karants*) < **k̂ₑr-* : Armen. *ser* 'progeny, family', E. *her-d*, Lat. *crēsco*, √*k̂er-* 'grow'. In Early Ml. W. *carant* was already affected into *kereint* C. M.A. i 244, Mn. W. *ceraint*, later also *cerynt* M.K. [71] 'kinsmen' (not 'lovers'). On the analogy of this was formed the pl. of Ml. W. *nei* (now *nai*) 'nephew' : *neÿeÿnt* A.L. i 8, *nÿeint* W.M. 89, IL.A. 121, Mn. W. *neiaint*; and of *ceifn* '3rd cousin' : *keywneynt* (≡ *keivneint*) B. CH. 76 defined ib. as 'children of the 4th mother' (those of the 2nd being 'cousins', etc.). Ml. W. *meddweint* IL.A. 55 'drunkards' may be an old participial form. A few other nouns have **-eint**, Mn. W. **-aint** affected for an earlier **-ann*, § 121 iv.

r-*stems*.

§ **124.** i. **-er** < Brit. **-eres* occurs in *broder* W.M. 38, R.M. 26, later affected to *brodyr* R.M. 140; *broder* survived, as in T.A. G. 229, Wm.S. e.g. Act. xv 23, but was at length ousted by *brodyr*, cf. § 122 iv (3). In Ml. W. *brodorion* also is used, R.M. 203, 207. Sg. *brawd* 'brother', § 59 ii, § 63 iii.

brodorion also meant 'fellow-countrymen, clansmen' B.B. 51, 55 (cf. Gk. φρᾰ́τωρ); in Late Mn. W. it came to mean 'natives'; *brodor* 'a native' is a new sg. deduced from this pl.

-yr was added (instead of the old *-awr*) to *gwayw* 'spear' (also in Mn. W. 'pain'), giving *gwaewyr* C.M. 48, but more usually *gwewyr* R.B. 1074 (for **gweywyr*).

Ofera' gwaith fu i'r gwŷr
Eliaw ôl i **wewyr**.—D.N., P 99/598.

'It was the vainest task for men to anoint the marks of his spears.'

ii. **-awr** is common in Early Ml. W. poetry : *gwaewaur* B.B. 58, B.A. 9 (see fac.) 'spears', *ysgwydawr* B.A. 9 'shields', *cleðyvawr*, *byðinawr*, *llavnawr* ib. 'swords, armies, blades'; later (in prose) *gwaewar* W.M. 182, R.M. 85.

-awr < Brit. **-āres* < Ar. **-ōres*.

Vowel Changes.

§ 125. The vowel changes which occur when an ending is added to form the pl. are the following:

i. Mutation § 81 : *brawd* 'brother', pl. *brodyr*; *brawd* 'judgement', pl. *brodiau*; *daw* 'son-in-law', pl. *doſẏon* R.B.B. 68; *rhaw* 'spade', pl. *rhoſiau* § 110 iii (1); *cwrr* 'edge', pl. *cyrrau*; *dyn* 'man', pl. *dynion*; *sail* 'foundation', pl. *seiliau*; *ffau* 'den', pl. *ffeuau*; *gwaun* 'meadow', pl. *gweunydd*; *buwch* 'cow', pl. *buchod*, etc. etc.

ii. Penultimate Affection § 83 iii: The endings which cause affection are **-i, -ydd, -i̯aid, -i̯on**: *pár, peri*; *dár, deri*; *maer, meiri*; *cawr, cewri*; § 122 ii (2);—*caer, ceyrydd*; *maes, meysydd*; do. (3); —*cymar* 'mate', pl. *cymheiriaid*; *gefell* R.P. 1302 'twin' (< Lat. *gemellus*), pl. *gefeilliaid*; *penkeirðẏeit, anſeigẏon* § 70 ii (2); *mab* 'son', pl. *meibion*, etc.; see § 128 ii.

iii. Reversion. In some cases the vowel is affected in the sg., but reverts to (or, historically speaking, retains) its original sound in the plural:

Fem. *iē-* or *iā-*stems, with pl. ending *-edd*, § 122 iv: *adein* B.B. 82, *adain* D.G. 132, 421 'wing', pl. *adaneð* R.M. 155, R.B.B. 64, later affected to *adenydd*; *celain* 'corpse', pl. *celanedd* or *calaneð* R.B.B. 49; *edeu, edau* 'thread', pl. *edafedd* or *adaveð* R.M. 154; *elain* 'fawn', pl. *elanedd* or *alaneð* A.L. i 20; *gwraig*, Ml. W. *gwreic*, pl. *gwrageð*; *neidr* 'snake', pl. *nadredd, anadreð* § 21 iii, later *nadroedd*; *ſrein* R.P. 1239, M.A. i 329*b*, 421*b*, Mn. W. *rhiain* D.G. 39, 95, 117, 130, 308, etc. 'maiden', pl. *ſrianeð* W.M. 166, R.P. 1282, *rhianedd* D.G. 125, 234, 371. — Neut. *io*-stem : *daint*, pl. *dannedd* § 122 iii (2). — Fem. *uā*-stem, pl. ending *-au* : *cainc* 'branch', Ml. W. *ceing* W.M. 108, pl. *cağeu* B.B. 48, now *cangau*, see § 120 iii (2). — Neut. *u*-stem, pl. ending *-au* : *deigr* 'tear', pl. *dagrau*, see § 120 iii (1). — Mas. and fem. *n*-stems, pl. ending

-on (Brit. nom. sg. *-ō*, pl. *-ones*) § 121 i : *athro*, pl. *athrawon* § 76 v (5), *athraon* § 36 iii ; *keneu* W.M. 483 'whelp', pl. *kanawon* W.M. 28, *canaon* § 36 iii, *cynawon* R.M. 18, *cynavon* R.P. 1209, late *cenawon* ; *draig* 'dragon', pl. *dragon*, later *dreigeu* IL.A. 153, now *dreigiau* ; *lleidr* 'thief', pl. *lladron* ; *Sais* 'Englishman', pl. *Saeson* § 69 ii (2), Ml. W. sg. *Seis* IL.A. 120, pl. *Saeson* B.B. 60, 66, R.B.B. 41, 71, etc., *Saesson* B.B. 48, 51, B.A. 4. On *ych* (affection of **wch*), pl. *ychen*, see § 69 v.

Edn a'i draed ydwy'n y drain,
A'r glud ar gil i **adain**.—T.A., A 14866/201.

'I am a bird with his feet in the thorns, and the lime on the edge of his wing.'

Hwde un o'i **hadanedd** ;
E heda byth hyd y bedd.—I.F., M 160/456.

'Take one of its [the swallow's] wings ; it will fly always till death' [lit. 'till the grave'].

Llathen heb yr **adenydd**
Yn y saeth a dynnai sydd.—Gut.O., A 14967/50.

'There is a yard without the feathers in the arrow which he drew.'

Mal nodwydd ym mlaen **edau**
Y mae lliw hon i'm lleihau.—D.G. 296 (? T.A.).

'As a needle threaded, does her aspect make me spare.'

Aur a dyf ar **edafedd**
Ar y llwyn er mwyn a'i medd.—D.G. 87.

'Gold grows on threads on the bush [of broom] for the sake of [her] who owns it.'

Ni'm cymer i fy **rhïain** :
Ni'm gwrthyd f'anwylyd fain.—D.G. 429.

'My damsel will not have me : my slender love will not reject me.'

Er bod arian **rhïánedd**
Fwy na'i bwys ar faen y bedd.—H.D. P 99/402.

'Though there be [of] maidens' money more than his weight on the gravestone.'

Fy mrawd, mi a rois fy mryd
Ar ddau **genau** *oedd gennyd*.—G.I.H., P 77/384.

'My brother, I have set my heart on two whelps that thou hadst.'

Kedyrn ac ievainc ydynt,
Kynafon *aur Kynfyn ynt*.—Gut.O., P 100/343.

'Strong and young are they ; they are the golden scions of Cynfyn.'

Note.—Reversion has puzzled writers of the late modern period, and lexicographers. *adain* was used regularly by the Early Mn. bards; but the Bible has *aden*, deduced from the pl. *adenydd*; from *aden* a spurious pl. *edyn* was formed, which seems to occur first in E.P., ps. lvii 1, but did not make its way into the spoken language. In the 1620 Bible *ceneu* is, by a slip, correctly written in Esa. xi 6, elsewhere it is carefully misspelt *cenew*; in later editions this became *cenaw*, an impossible form, since *-aw* could not affect the original *a* to *e*; see § 76 v (5). On *athro*, misspelt *athraw*, see ibid. Pughe gives *eleinod* as the pl. of *elain*, and actually asserts that the pl. of *gwraig* is *gwreigedd*! He also invented the singulars *rhian*, *celan*. Silvan Evans s.v. *celan* notes this; but himself inserts the equally spurious *dagr* 'tear' and *deigron* 'tears'. In his Llythyraeth p. 17 he attempted to change the spelling of *Saeson* to *Seison*.

iv. Exchange of ultimate for penultimate affection: Ml. W. *bugeil*, *bugelyδ*, Mn. W. *adain*, *adenydd* § 122 iii (2); Ml. W. *gwelleu* R.M. 123, W.M. 483, 'shears', Mn. W. *gwellau*, pl. *gwelleifiau*, new lit. sg. *gwellaif* § 76 vii (1).

v. Anomalous changes: (1) *morwŷn* 'virgin', pl. *morynion* B.B. 61, *morynyon* W.M. 99, Ll.A. 109, R.B.B. 70. This was altered to *morwynion* in the Bible, but persists in the spoken language as *m'rynion*. Note the double rhymes in

Lleδyf englynyon lliw ros gwynnyon,
lloer morynyon llawr Meiryonyδ.—I.C. R.P. 1287.

'Sad verses [to her of] the colour of white roses, the moon of the maidens of the land of Merioneth.'

The same change occurs in *blwyddyn*, pl. *blynedd* § 122 iv (2).

This change seems to be due to the survival in Brit. under different accentuations of two R-grades of *ēi*, namely R_{1e} *ei*, and R_2 *i*, § 63 vii (5). Thus *morwŷn* < Brit. **moréinīō* < **marei-* < **mₑrei-*; *morynion* < Brit. **morinīónes* < **mₑri-*, √*merēi-* : Lat. *marī-tus* < **mₑrī-* with R_3 *ī*.—*blwyδyn* 'year', Ir. *blīadain* < **bleidonī*, a fem. *iā*-stem from an adj. **blei-d-ono-s* from a vb. stem **blei-d-* 'to blow', √*bhlēi-*, extension of **bhelē-*, **bhelō-* whence O.H.G. *bluo-ian* (< **bhlō-*) 'to blossom', Ml. W. *blawt* 'blossom', Lat. *flōs*, etc. § 59 v, thus *blwyδyn* '*budding season'; pl. *blyneδ* < **blidnīās*; *tair blyneδ* 'three *seasons'.

(2) *chwaer* pl. *chwïorydd* § 75 vi (2), vii (2).

(3) *achos* pl. *achosion*, Ml. W. *achaws* pl. *achwysson* Ll.A. 129, see § 75 i (3).

(4) *celfyδyd* 'art', Ml. W. pl. *kelvydodeu.*

celfyδyd < **kalmíi̯o-tūts*; *kelvydod-* < **kalmii̯o-tắt-es*, owing to the interchange of *-tūt-*, *-tāt-*; § 99 ii (2), § 143 iii (10), (24).

Plural of Nouns with Singular Endings.

§ **126.** Nouns with the singular endings **-yn** and **-en** fall into three classes for the purposes of pl. formation.

i. Class 1. The sg. ending is dropped, with or without vowel change; thus, without vowel change: *pluen* 'feather', pl. *plu*; *mochyn* 'pig', pl. *moch*; *cwningen* 'rabbit', pl. *cwning* G. 226; *blewyn* 'a hair', pl. *blew.* The vowel changes that take place when the ending is dropped are the following:

(1) Mutation: *conyn* 'stalk', pl. *cawn*; *deilen* B.T. 28, Gen. viii 11, 'leaf', pl. *dail*; *cneuen* 'nut', pl. *cnau*; *gwenynen* 'bee', pl. *gwenyn*, etc.

(2) Ultimate Affection: *collen* 'hazel', pl. *cyll*; *onnen* 'ash', pl. *ynn*; *dalen* W.M. 231, R.M. 167, Ps. i 3 'leaf', pl. *dail*; *chwannen* 'flea', pl. *chwain*; *draenen* 'hawthorn', pl. *drain*; *tywarchen* 'sod', pl. *tyweirch, tywyrch*:

> *Drylliwr cwys i droi lle'r ceirch,*
> *Daint haearn dan y* **tyweirch**.—T.A. c. i 341.

'The cutter of a furrow to turn up the bed of the corn, an iron tooth under the sods.'

(3) Reversion. As *-yn* causes penultimate affection, when it drops the vowel reverts to its original sound: *plentyn* 'child', pl. *plant*; *aderyn* 'bird', pl. *adar.*

(4) Exchange of penultimate for ultimate affection: *giewyn* 'sinew', pl. *gïau*; Ml. W. *llyssewyn* IL.A. 97, 166 'plant', pl. *llysseu* M.M. 3, Mn. *llyssau* W.IL. 99, *llysiau.*

ii. Class 2. A plural ending is substituted for the sg. ending, as *diferyn* 'drop', pl. *diferion*; *crwydryn* 'vagrant', pl. *crwydraid*; *meddwyn* 'drunkard', pl. *meddwon*; *planhigyn* 'plant', pl. *planhigion*; *cwningen* 'rabbit', pl. *cwningod.* The following vowel changes occur:

(1) Affection: *mïaren* 'bramble', pl. *mïeri* (*mwyeri* R.B.B. 48).

(2) Reversion: *gelyn* 'enemy', old pl. *galon* B.A. 26, and

some nouns with two singulars, as *deigryn* 'tear', pl. *dagrau* § 130 ii.

iii. Class 3. A pl. ending is added to the sg. ending, as *gelyn* 'enemy', pl. *gelinion* B.B. 71, *gelynyon* R.B.B. 71, Mn. W. *gelynion*; *defnyn* Gr.O. 48, *defnynnau* Luc xxii 44; *dalen* 'leaf', pl. *dalennau* Ex. xxxix 3; *mursennod*, *bythynnod* § 123 ii.

iv. In some nouns final *-yn* or *-en* is not the singular ending but part of the stem; in these the *n* of *-yn* is not necessarily double when an ending is added; and *-en* is affected to *-yn*; thus *telyn* f. 'harp', pl. *telynau*; *tyddyn* m. 'small farm', § 98 i (3), pl. *tyddynnod*, Ml. W. *tyδynneu* A.L. i 168, 180, 182; *maharen* m. C.M. 26, *myharen* D.G. 202 'ram', pl. *meheryn*; *crogen*, *cragen*, 'shell', pl. *cregin* § 117 iii (3); *elltrewyn* § 76 v (5), pl. **-yneδ* not found; *blwyδyn* § 122 iv (2).

Plural Formed from Derivatives.

§ **127.** The pl. of a few nouns is formed by adding a pl. ending to a derivative: *glaw* 'rain', pl. *glawogyδ* R.B.B. 324, G. 98; Ml. W. *cristawn* 'christian' pl. *cristonogion* B.B. 71, Mn. W. *cristion*, pl. *cristionogion*, *cristnogion*; *llif* 'flood', pl. *llifogydd*; *addurn* 'adornment', pl. *addurniadau*; *crwydr* 'wandering', pl. *crwydr(i)adau*; *serch* 'affection', pl. *serchiadau*; *dychryn* 'terror', pl. *dychryniadau*, *dychrynfeydd*; *rheg* 'curse', pl. *rhegfeydd*; *dyn* 'man', pl. *dyniadon* R.P. 1196, *dyneδon* H.A 11 beside *dynion*; *cas* Deut. vii 10 'hater, foe', pl. *caseion* W.H. 8, also pl. *cas* do. 5.

Beside *glawogydd* the dialects have *glawiau*, evidently a new formation, though Bret. has *glaoiou*. The misspelling *gwlaw* occurs first about the end of the 17th cent., and was substituted in the Bible for the correct form *glaw* by R.M., 1746. The word always appears with *gl-* in Ml. W., as *glav* B.B. 63, *glaw* H.A. 13, 42, R.M. 146, M.A. i 396, R.P. 585, 1032 (4 times), 1055; *gwlaw* S.G. 147 is of course *glaw* in the MS., see P 11/95*b*; and of course there is no trace of *gw-* in the spoken language. The word cannot be from **u̯o-lau̯-* as is usually assumed, for there is no example of the reduction of the prefix **u̯o-* before a consonant to *g-* or even to *gw-*; and that the same reduction took place also in Bret. *glao*, Corn. *glaw* is incredible. The etymology of the word is doubtful, but it probably represents Brit. **glou-* (? **glo-u̯o-* : Skr. *jala-* 'water, rain').

camrau is used in the Bible for 'steps'; but the true pl. of *cam* is *camau* H 28/96 R., Ml.W. *kammeu* R.B.B. 149, O. W. *cemmein* § 121 iv; and *camrau* is a mere misspelling of *kam-re*, see § 31 ii (2).

Double Plurals.

§ 128. Double plurals are of common occurrence, and are formed in the following ways:

i. A second pl. ending is added to the first: *celain* 'corpse', pl. *celanedd*, double pl. *celaneddau* Ps. cx 6; *deigr* 'tear', pl. *dagrau*, double pl. *dagreuoeδ* IL.A. 71, R.B.B. 146, 149; so *blodeu* 'flowers', double pl. *blodeuoeδ* R.B.B. 40, sg. *blodeuyn*; *dieu* 'days', double pl. *dieuoeδ* do. 9, 25, sg. *dyδ*; *llysseu* 'plants', double pl. *llysseuoeδ* IL.A. 70; *dynion*, double pl. *dynẏoneu* R.P. 1303; *neges* 'errand', pl. *negesau*, double pl. *negeseuau* M.L. ii 97; *peth* 'thing', pl. *pethau*, double pl. *petheuau* do. 112, 119 'various things'; *esgid* 'shoe', *esgidiau* 'shoes', *esgideuau* 'pairs of shoes'; *mach* 'surety', pl. *meichiau*, double pl. *meichiafon*.

ii. A pl. ending is added to a pl. formed by affection: thus *cloch* 'bell', pl. *clych* S.G. 380, double pl. *clychau*; *sant* 'saint', pl. *seint* B.B. 85, IL.A. 69, double pl. *seinnẏeu* H.M. ii 227, Mn. W. *seintiau*; *angel* 'angel', pl. *engyl* M.A. i 282, double pl. *engylẏon* IL.A. 155, W.M. 118, B.B. 70 etc., Mn. W. *angylion* (*e->a-* § 83 iii Note 2).

In old formations *-i̯on* affected the preceding vowel, thus the *ei* of *meibi̯on* is the affection of *a* by *i̯*, as shown by the intermediate form *mepi̯on* § 70 ii (1). But *meibion* seemed to be the pl. *meib* with *-i̯on* added; and on this analogy *-i̯on* was added to *engyl*. The *y* in *angylion* is not an old affection of the *e* by *i̯*, for that would be *ei*, cf. *anfeigiẏon*, etc., § 70 ii (2). *angelion* is a new formation probably due to Wm.S., and, though used in the Bible by Dr. M. and Dr. P., has failed to supplant *angylion* as the spoken form. Silvan Evans's statement that *angelion* very frequently occurs in Ml. MSS. is a gross error, supported only by a quotation from a 17th cent. copy, H.M. ii 337, of a tract appearing in IL.A., where the reading is *eẅylẏonn* 129.

In most cases however *-i̯on* is added to the sg., and does not affect *ae, e, o*: *kaethẏon* R.P. 1272, *ysgolion* 'schools'.

iii. The diminutive pl. endings **-ach** (**-i̯ach**) and **-os** are added to pl. nouns, as *cryddionach* Gr.O. 208, *dynionach* do. 93, J.D.R. [xx]; *dreiniach* 'thorns'; *plantos, gwragedhos, dilhados* (*dh* ≡ δ, *lh* ≡ *ll*) J.D.R. [xv] 'children, women, clothes'; *cynos* 'little dogs'; more rarely to sg. nouns: *branos* R.M. 154, L.G.C. 148, 'little crows', *caregos* 'pebbles', *dernynnach* 'bits'.

Sometimes a final media is now hardened before the ending: *pryfetach, merchetos*. This is prob. due to late diminutive doubling (*d-d* > *tt*, etc.).

iv. A noun with a pl. ending sometimes has its vowels affected as an additional sign of the pl., as *ceraint* for *carant* § 123 v, *adenyð* for *adaneð* § 125 iii, *brodyr* for *broder* § 124 i, which are therefore, in a sense, double plurals.

Plural Doublets.

§ 129. i. A noun not ending in *-yn* or *-en* may have more than one pl. form in the following ways:

(1) One pl. may be formed by affection and one by the addition of an ending: *mór* 'sea', pl. *mŷr*, *moroeð* § 122 ii (4); *arf* 'weapon', pl. *arveu* W.M. 97, 99, etc., poet. *eirf* D.G. 2; *esgob* 'bishop', pl. *esgyb*, later *esgobion* (15th cent., Gut.O. A 14967/87), *esgobiaid* (T.A. A 14975/61), the first and last now obsolete; Ml.W. *kévynderw* 'cousin', pl. *kévyndyru*, A.L. i 222, Mn. W. *cefnder*, pl. *cefndyr*, *cefnderoedd* L.G.C. 167.

In Recent Welsh new and inelegant weak forms are sometimes found, as *castelli*, *alarchod* for *cestyll*, *elyrch*. On the other hand in the late period we meet with spurious strong forms, such as *edyn* § 125 iii Note; and latterly *emrynt* for *amrannau* (*amrantau*) § 120 i (1); *brieill* for *briallu* § 134 ii; *creig* for *creigiau*.

(2) Two or more plurals may be formed by adding different endings: *tref* 'town', pl. *trefi*, *trefydd* § 122 ii (2); *kaer* 'castle', pl. *keyrydd*, *kaeroedd*, *caereu*, do. (3); *achau*, *achoedd* L.G.C. 213 'ancestry'; *dyn* § 127, etc. See § 131 i.

(3) Two plurals with the same ending may have different vowel changes; thus Ml. W. *ceing* old pl. *cangeu* § 125 iii, newer pl. *ceingheu* B.A. 144; these survive in Mn. W. as *cainc* pl. *cangau*, *ceinciau*. So *cawr* 'giant', pl. *ceuri*, *cewri* § 76 iv (3); *achaws*, *achos* 'cause' pl. *achwysson* § 125 v (3), *achuysŷon* A.L. i 30, and *achosion*.

ii. A noun ending in *-yn* or *-en* may have more than one pl. form as follows:

(1) Some nouns of class 1, § 126 i, have two plurals, one without and one with the vowel affected; as *gwïalen* 'twig', pl. *gwïal* or *gwïail*; *seren* 'star', pl. *sêr* B.T. 26, or *sŷr* B.A. 5, the latter now obsolete; *collen* 'hazel', pl. *coll* M.M. 32, generally *cyll*; *onnen* 'ash', pl. *onn*, more usually *ynn*; *mellten* 'flash of lightning', pl. *mellt* B.A. 107, rarely *myllt* R.B B. 259.

Ni thawaf, od af heb dâl,
Mwy nog eos mewn **gwïal**.—D.G. 418, cf. 151.

'I will not be silent, though I go without pay, more than a nightingale in the branches.

E gaeodd Mai â **gwïail**
Y llwybrau yn dyrrau dail.—D.G. 442, cf. 87, 162, 225.

'May has blocked up with twigs the paths into masses of leaves.'

Mawr yw seren y morwyr,
Mwy yw no swrn o'r mân **sŷr**.—L.G.C. 459.

'Great is the star of the mariners, greater than a cluster of small stars.'

Dy ryw cyn amled a'r **onn**, [a] MS. *awr*.
Derwgoed yw'r[a] *dreigiau dewrion*.—T.A. A 14975/11.

'Thy kindred are as numerous as ash-trees, but the brave dragons are oaks.'

(2) A noun may fall in more than one of the classes mentioned in § 126; thus *cwningen*, pl. 1 *cwning*, 2 *cwningod*; *gelyn*, pl. 1 *galon*, 3 *gelynion*; *dalen*, pl. 1 *dail*, 3 *dalennau*; *defnyn*, pl. 2 *dafnau*, 3 *defynnau*; *asen* 'rib', pl. 1 *ais*, 2 *asau*, 3 *asennau*.

Rhyfedd yw'r **ais**, *a'i rhifo,*
Fal cronglwyd lle tynnwyd to.—I.B.H., F. 17.

'Strange are my ribs, and to be counted, like rafters where the roof has been taken away.'

Ef a wŷs ar fy **asau**
Am gelu hyn im gulhau.—B.Br.[b] P 82/293, cf. D.G. 295.

'It is evident from my ribs that I have become lean through concealing this [secret].'

Siôn ffriw ac **asennau** *Fframc*
Sy lew brau—Salbri ieuanc.—T.A., A 14965/44.

'Siôn, of the face and frame of a Frank, is a spirited lion—young Salesbury.'

Singular Doublets.

§ **130.** i. A noun not ending in *-yn* or *-en* may have two forms of the sg. owing to various phonetic accidents: (1) *-yf* : *-eu* § 76 vii: *cleðyf* R.P. 1236 'sword', *cleðeu* do. 1369, pl. *cleðyfeu*; *neðyf* do. 1237 'adze', and *neðeu*.

(2) *dant*, *daint* 'tooth', pl. *dannedd* § 122 iii (2).

(3) *gwyry*, *gwyrf*, *gwerydd* 'virgin', pl. *gweryddon* § 110 ii (3).

[b] Wrongly attributed in the MS. to D.G.; see A 14967/no. 222, and the cover of Greal no. 6—*Mae rhyw amwynt*.

(4) *paret* W.M. 92, *parwyt* B.T. 27 (the latter obsolete), pl. *parwydydd* 'walls' (of a house).

(5) *gwarthafl* 'stirrup', Mn. W. *gwarthol* (*-afl* > *-awl* > *-ol*), pl. *gwarthafleu*, Mn. *gwarthaflau*.

(6) *dydd* 'day', *dyw* in *dyw Sul* etc., pl. *dyddiau*, *dïau*.

ii. A noun may have a sg. form with, and one without, a sg. ending; as *deigr*, *deigryn* 'tear', pl. *dagrau*; *erfyn*, *arf* 'weapon', pl. *arfau* § 129 i (1); *edau*, *edefyn* 'thread', pl. *edafedd*, § 125 iii. The diminutive form has sometimes a pl. of its own; as *dafn* 'drop', pl. *dafnau* § 122 ii (2), and *defnyn* 'drop', pl. *defnynnau* § 126 iii; *cainc* 'branch', pl. *cangau*, *ceinciau* § 129 i (3); *cangen* 'branch', pl. *canghennau* T.A. G. 251.

iii. Nouns ending in *-yn* or *-en*, Class 1 § 126 i, may have two singulars, (1) one formed with each ending; thus *adar* 'birds', sg. m. *aderyn* and f. *adaren* B.B. 107, the latter obsolete; *ysgall* 'thistles', sg. *ysgellyn* and *ysgallen*, both in use; *cawn*, sg. *conyn* 'stalk', *cawnen* 'rush'; *gwïal* or *gwïail*, sg. *gwïalen*, or *gwïelyn* C.C. 265.

(2) With different vowel changes; as *dail* 'leaves', old sg. *dalen* § 126 i (2), newer sg. *deilen*, re-formed from the pl. § 126 i (1).

Desynonymized Doublets.

§ 131. i. Many pl. doublets, especially those with different endings, § 129 i (2), have been desynonymized, some early, as *bronneu* W.M. 94, D.G. 233 'breasts', *bronnyð* M.A. i 415, D.G. 70, 'hills', sg. *bron* 'breast, hill'; *personiaid* § 123 iv (1) 'parsons', *personau* 'persons' (*personŷeu* C.M. 19), sg. *person* in both senses. The following occur in Mn. W.: *canoniaid* 'canons' (men), *canonau* 'regulations', sg. *canon*; *cynghorion* 'counsels', *cynghorau* 'councils', sg. *cyngor*; *llwythau* 'tribes', *llwythi* 'loads' (but *llwythau* 'loads' Ex. v 5, vi 6, *llwythi* 'tribes' J.D.R. 291), sg. *llwyth*; *prydiau* 'times', *prydau* 'meals', sg. *pryd*; *pwysau* 'weights', *pwysi* 'lbs.', sg. *pwys*; *ysbrydion* 'spirits' (beings), *ysbrydoedd* 'spirits' in other senses (but Ml. W. *yspryd oeð*, S.G. 308–9, *yspryd ŷeu* do. 310, both in the former sense); *anrheithiau* 'spoils', *anrheithi* 'dear ones', sg. *anrhaith* 'booty; darling', § 156 ii (1).

ii. In some cases the desynonymization is only partial: *tadau* means both 'fathers' and 'ancestors', but *teit* LL.A. 121, Mn. W. *taid* means the latter only, as

Penaethiaid yw dy **daid** *oll.*—G.I.H., LL 133/211.

'All thy ancestors are chieftains.' *teidiau* 'ancestors' is perhaps to be treated as the pl. of *taid* 'grandfather', a derivative (<*tat̥os?) of *tad*, cf. *nain* 'grandmother' (<*nan̥iā?). The pl. *ais*, while continuing to mean 'ribs', was used for 'breast' D.G. 316, and became a sg. noun, fem. (like *bron*), as

Am Robert y mae'r ebwch
Yn f' **ais** *drom anafus drwch.*—T.A., G. 230.

'For Robert is the cry in my heavy wounded broken breast.'

But *asau* and *asennau* retained their literal meaning. In the spoken language now, *ais* is 'laths' (sg. *eisen*), *asennau* 'ribs' (sg. *asen*).

iii. Partial desynonymization extends to the sg. in *deilen* 'leaf' (of a tree only), *dalen* 'leaf' (natural or artificial), *dail* 'leaves' (of trees or books), *dalennau* 'leaves' (artificial only, but Ml. W. *dalenneu* B.B. 101 'leaves' of trees). Complete desynonymization has taken place in the sg. and pl. in *cors* f. 'marsh', pl. *corsydd*, and *corsen* f. 'reed', pl. *cyrs* (in Ml. W. *cors*, *corsydd* meant 'reed, reeds' also, see Silvan Evans s. v.); *tant* 'harp-string', pl. *tannau*, and *tennyn* 'halter', pl. *tenynnod*.

iv. Desynonymization occurs in the sg. only in *conyn* 'stalk', *cawnen* 'reed'; *gwïalen* 'twig, wand', *gwïelyn* 'osier' (used in wicker-work—the original meaning, § 75 vi (2)).

In the dialects also *coeden* 'tree' "vox nuperrimè ficta" D.D. and *coedyn* 'piece of wood'. The word for 'tree' in lit. W. is *pren*; cf. *ny elwir coet o un prenn* R.P. 1044 'wood is not said of one tree.'

In some cases, of course, the diminutive was from its earliest formation distinct in meaning from its base; as *yden* f. 'a grain of corn' from *yd* 'corn' mas. sg. (*yr yd hwn* 'this corn'), pl. *ydau* 'varieties of corn'.

Anomalous Plurals.

§ 132. A few anomalous plurals remain to be noticed: (1) *ci* 'dog', pl. *cŵn*; *ci* < Kelt. **kū* < **kuū* < Ar. **k̂(u)u̯ō*: Skr. *śvá* § 89 iii; *cŵn* < Brit. **kunes* < Ar. **k̂unes*.

(2) *dydd* 'day' < **dii̯ēus* : Lat. *diēs*, and *dyw* 'day' in *dyw Gwener* 'on Friday' etc. from an oblique case (Ar. gen. **diu̯és*, **diu̯ós*), pl. *dïeu* < Brit. **di̯éues* § 100 ii (1), beside *dïeuoeð* § 128 i, and *dyðy̑eu* LL.A. 51, R.B.B. 9, re-formed from the sg., Mn. W. *dyddi̯au*, now the usual form, though *tridi̯au* is still in common use.

Bluitinet a hir dieu ($t \equiv \delta$) B.B. 56 'years and long days'; *deugein* niheu LL.A. 21 'forty days'; *seith* nieu R.B.B. 54; *deugain* nïeu D.G. 198, etc.

(3) *duw* 'god', O. W. *duiu-* § 78 iv (2) < **dei̯uos* (: Lat. *deus*) is the same word as the above with different vowel grades § 63 vii (4). The Ml. pl. *dwy̯weu* LL.A. 73 is formed from the old sg.; *geu-dwyeu* also occurs do. 44 with loss of *w̯*; the Mn. pl. *duw̯iau* is a second re-formation.

(4) *di̯awl* 'devil', pl. *dïefyl* § 100 ii (1), also a late pl. *di̯awl(i)aid* (loss of *i̯* by dissim. is usual); the pl. *dieifl* used by Gr.O. is artificial, as possibly the sg. *diafl*. Wm.S. invented a new sg. *diafol*, which was adopted in the Bible, and so is considered more respectable than the genuine form.

(5) *blwyddyn* 'year', pl. *blynedd*, *blwyðyneð*, *blynyddoedd* § 122 iv (2), § 125 v (1).

(6) *aren* pl. *eirin* § 106 ii (1), new pl. *arennau*; *eirin* 'plums', new sg. *eirinen*.

(7) *pared*, pl. *parwydydd* § 130 i (4); *ffêr* 'ankle', pl. (old dual) *uffarnau*, *ucharnau* § 96 iv (2), late pl. *fferau*, *fferi*. Other cases of anomalous vowel changes in § 125 v, § 117 iii.

(8) One or two examples generally quoted of irregular plurals are due to haplology, § 44 iv, and are irregular in the late period only. Mn. W. *cydymaith* 'companion', pl. *cymdeithion*; Ml. W. sg. *cedymdeith* W.M. 10, pl. *cydymdeithon* do. 1;—Mn. W. *credadun* 'believer', pl. *credinwyr*, a corrupt re-formation from *crediniol* for *credunio̯l*, § 77 ix, for *credaduni̯ol*; Ml. W. *credadun*, pl. *credadunion* M.A. i 566.

Nouns with no Plural.

§ 133. The following nouns are used in the sg. only:—

i. Many abstract nouns, simple, as *gwanc* 'voracity', *llwnc*

'swallowing', *llafur* 'labour', *cred* 'belief', *tywydd* 'weather'; or derivative as *syched* 'thirst', *tristwch* 'sadness', *ffyddlondeb* 'fidelity', *glendid* 'cleanliness'.

But a large number of abstract nouns have pl. forms: *chwant* 'desire', pl. *chwantau*; *coel* 'belief', pl. *coelion*, etc.; see § 120 i (4), § 121 ii (3), § 122 ii (4).

ii. Nouns denoting material or substance, as *mêl* 'honey', *glo* 'coal', *ymenyn* 'butter', *gwaed* 'blood', *baw* 'dirt', *llaeth* 'milk', etc.

There are many exceptions: *dyfroedd* 'waters', sg. *dwfr*; *cigau* 'meats', *ydau* § 131 iv, etc.

arian in the sg. means 'silver', thus *yr arian hwn* 'this silver', *arian byw* 'quicksilver'; but *arian* is also pl., and as pl. means 'money', as *yr arian hyn* 'this money', *arian gwynion* or *arian yleision* 'white' or 'grey money', i. e. silver coins. More rarely *aur* is pl. in a similar sense: *aur melynion* or *aur rhuddion* W.L. 2. Similarly *heyrn* the pl. of *haearn* means 'irons' as fire-irons, etc.

The names of woods have the same form as the pl. of the names of trees; thus *derw* 'oak' or 'oak-trees', sg. *derwen* 'oak-tree'. The same form is used (like *arian*, *aur*, *haearn*, etc.) as an adj.: *cadair dderw* 'oak chair'; *onn* 'ashen', etc. (but not *ynn* etc.):

Llithio'r wyd y llath hir onn
Ar galonnau'r gelynion.—T.A., A 14975/95.

'Thou feedest the long ashen spear on the hearts of the enemies.'

iii. Diminutive nouns in *-an*, *-ig*, *-cyn*, *-cen*; as *dynan* 'a little person', *oenig* 'a little lamb', *bryncyn* 'hillock', *llecyn* 'place', *ffolcen* 'foolish girl'.

If the word does not exist without the suff., or if without the suff. it is an adj., it has a pl. in *-od*, rarely *-au*; *mudanod* 'deaf-mutes', *llebanod*, etc. § 123 ii (2), *ewigod* do. (1); *crymanau* 'sickles'.

iv. Archaic and poetical words such as *bun* 'maid', *iôr* 'lord', *cun* 'lord', *huan* 'sun' § 113 i (5).

v. Proper names of places, months, days, feasts; as *Cymru*, *Ebrill*, *Calan*, *Nadolig*. Except *Sulian* 'Sundays', *Sadyrnau* 'Saturdays'. Other days thus: *dyddiau Llun* 'Mondays', etc.

Nouns with no Singular.

§ **134.** A few nouns are used in the pl. only:

i. *bonedd* 'gentlefolk'; *rhïeni* 'parents'; nouns in *-wys* denoting inhabitants, as *Monwys* 'men of Môn' § 38 viii.

Bonedd *Gwynedd a genais,*
Blodau'r sir heb ledryw Sais.—T.A., A 14966/277.

'I have sung the nobility of Gwynedd, flowers of the shire with no Saxon alloy.'

The sg. *rhiant* (pl. *rhïaint*) given by Pughe seems to be his own invention.

ii. *aeron* 'fruits'; *gwartheg* 'cattle'; *creifion* 'parings'; *gwreichion* 'sparks'; names of certain vegetables: *bresych* 'cabbages', *chwyn(n)* 'weeds', *brïallu* B.T. 25, H.M. ii 162 'primroses'; in Mn. W. *ymysgaroedd* 'bowels', but Ml. sg. *ymysgar* S.G. 214.

For pl. names of vegetables a sg. is sometimes formed by adding *-en*, as *hesg* 'rushes', sg. *hesgen*, or *-yn* as *blodeu-yn*, *rhos-yn*. The new and spurious sg. *briallen* is based on the assumption that *-u* is a pl. ending; so also the spurious pl. *brieill*.

iii. Adjectives used as nouns: (1) persons: *fforddolion* 'wayfarers', *tlodion* 'paupers'; (2) qualities: *prydferthion* 'beauties', § 145 iii.

¶ For the pl. of compound nouns, see § 157 iii.

Gender.

§ **135.** The gender of a noun denoting an animate object agrees in general with the sex of the object; thus the nouns *gŵr* 'man, husband', *ceffyl* 'horse', *brawd* 'brother', *gwas* 'servant, youth' are m., and *gwraig* 'woman, wife', *caseg* 'mare', *chwaer* 'sister', *morwyn* 'maid' are f.

§ **136.** i. When the same noun is used for both sexes it is generally epicene, that is, it has its own gender whichever sex it denotes.

The following are mas. epicenes: *plentyn* 'child', *baban* 'babe', *barcut* 'kite', *eryr* 'eagle'.

The following are fem. epicenes: *cennad* 'messenger', *cath* 'cat', *colomen* 'dove', *brân* 'crow', *ysgyfarnog* 'hare'. Thus we say *y gennad* (not **y cennad*) even when we mean a man.

Kymer **y gennat honn,** *a dwc ef y dy Ernallt* C.M. 33 'Take this messenger and bring him to the house of Ernault'. See also R.B.B. 68, M.A. III and 2 Sam. xi 19–25.

These nouns do not change their gender by the addition of *gwryw* 'male' or *benyw* 'female', as old-fashioned grammarians taught. In

eryr **b***enyw* 'female eagle' the non-mutation of the *b-* of *benyw* shows that *eryr* remains mas. In fact the gender of a noun must be ascertained before *gwryw* or *benyw* can be added to it.

ii. There are however several nouns of common gender in Welsh, that is, nouns whose gender varies according to the sex of the individual meant. Such are *dyn* 'man' or 'woman', *dynan* 'little person', *cyfyrder* 'second cousin', *ŵyr* 'grandchild', *tyst* 'witness' (< Lat. *testis* com.), *mudan* 'deaf-mute', *perthynas* 'relation', *gefell* 'twin', *cymar* 'mate', *llatai* 'love-messenger', etc. § 139 v, *cyw* 'pullus', *llo* 'calf'. Thus *y* **m***udan* or *y* **f***udan*; *y* **p***erthynas* or *y* **b***erthynas*; *llo* **g***wryw* or *llo* **f***enyw*.

See *cyw* f. D.G. 94, usually m.; *un* **g***ymar* f. D.G. 274; *teir wyrjon* R.M. 112, W.M. 468 'three granddaughters'.

Y **ddyn** **f***wyn oedd ddoe'n f'annerch:*
Aeth yn fud weithian y ferch.—D.E., G. 117.

'The gentle lady yesterday greeted me: now the maid has become silent.'

Ŵyr *Cadwgon yw honno:*
Ŵyr *i fab Meilir yw fo.*—L.G.C. 367.

'She is the granddaughter of Cadwgon; he is the grandson of Meilir's son.'

Danfonaf, o byddaf byw,
At feinwen **latai** **f***enyw.*—IL., M 133/102.

'I will send, if I live, to the maiden a female messenger.'

The initial consonant of *dyn* is sometimes left unmutated after the art. when f., as *pwy yw'r* **dyn** *deg*? D.G. 53 'who is the fair lady?' But usually *y ddyn* as above, cf. § 38 vi, ex. 3.

dynes is a N.Walian vulgarism which has found its way into recent literature; it does not occur in the Bible or any standard work. The examples quoted by Silvan Evans are evident misreadings (*dynes* for *y ddyn* and *dynes sad* for *dyn sad*); but it is found in the work of a poetaster in P 112/365 (early 17th cent.). No pl. has been invented for it. Other late formations are *cymhares* and *wyres*, the former used in the 17th cent.

iii. Some mas. nouns used as terms of endearment, etc. become fem. when applied to females; as *peth* 'thing', *byd* 'life', *cariad* 'love', *enaid* 'soul'; thus *y* **b***eth* **d***lawd* 'poor thing' f.

'Y **myd** *wen, mi yw dy ŵr,*
A'th was i'th burlas barlwr.—D.G. 156.

'My fair life, I am thy husband and thy servant in thy leafy parlour.'

F' **enaid** *dlos, ni ddaw nosi*
I adail haf y dêl hi.—D.G. 321.

'My beautiful soul! there comes no nightfall to the summer-house to which she comes.'

iv. Similarly a mas. abstract noun, when personified is occasionally treated as fem., as *doethineb* in Diar. i 20, ix 1–4.

§ **137.** i. Some mas. names of living objects are made fem. by the addition of *-es*, or by changing *-yn* to *-en*; thus *brenin* 'king', *brenhines* 'queen'; *bachgen* 'boy', *bachgennes* Joel iii 3 'girl'; *llew* 'lion', *llewes* 'lioness'; *asyn* 'ass', f. *asen*; *coegyn* 'fop', f. *coegen* B.CW. 14.

arglwyδ 'lord', *arglwyδes* W.M. 11 'lady'; *marchawc* W.M. 2, Mn.W. *marchog* 'horseman, rider, knight', *marchoges*, W.M. 13, B.CW. 58; *iarll*, *iarlles* W.M. 254 'earl', 'countess'; *amhérawdyr* W.M. 178 'emperor', *amherodres* do. 162; *cares* I.G. 557 'relative' f.; *tywysoges* ib. 'princess'; *santes* do. 559 'saint' f.; *arglwyddes a meistres môr* Gr.O. 15 'lady and mistress of the sea'.

In old formations the *-es* is seen added to the original stem, as in *lleidr* 'thief', f. *lladrones* B.CW. 21, see § 121 i; *Sais* 'Englishman', f. *Saesnes* < Brit. **Saxō*, **Saxonissā*, § 113 i (2). On the vowel change in *Cymro*, f. *Cymraes* see § 65 ii (1).

ii. In the following cases the distinction of gender is irregular: *nai* 'nephew', *nith* 'niece'; *cefnder(w̯)* 'cousin', f. *cyfnither(w̯)*; *chwegrwn* 'father-in-law', f. *chwegr*; *hesbwrn*, f. *hesbin* 'ewe'; *ffôl* 'fool', f. *ffolog*; *gŵr*, *gw̯raig*; *ci* § 132 (1), *gast* § 96 ii (3).

nai < Ar. **nepōts*; *nith* < Ar. **neptís* § 75 vii (2); *cefnderw̯* § 76 vii (3) (O.W. pl. *ceintiru*) and *cyfnitherw̯* are improper compounds representing *ceifn derw̯* and *cyfnith δerw̯*; for *ceifn* lit. 'co-nephew' see § 75 vii (1); *cyfnith* < **kom-neptís* 'co-niece'; *derw̯* is an obsolete adj. meaning 'true', Ir. *derb* 'sure' < **deru̯os*, Ar. base **dereu̯-*: E. *true*, and doubtless W. pl. *derw̯yδ-on*[a] 'soothsayers' < **d*$_e$*ru̯íi̯es* (: Gaul. *druides* < Brit., Caesar B.G. vi 13, Ir. *drui* < Brit.?): W. *dir* 'true, certain', Ir. *dīr* 'due' < LR **dēru-s*.—*chwegr* § 94 iv; *chwegrwn* < **su̯ek̂ru-no-*; —*hesbin* from W. *hesb* f. of *hysb* 'dry' § 96 iii (5); the formation of *hesbwrn* is not clear; perhaps for **hesbrwn* formed on the analogy of *chwegrwn*;—*gŵr* < Ar. **u̯iros*: Lat. *vir*; *gw̯raig* < **u̯rakī* prob. < **u̯(i)r-āk-ī́*, a noun in *-ī* (: *-i̯i̯ā*, cf. pl. *gw̯rageδ*) from a derivative in *-āk-* of **u̯ir-os*: cf. Lat. *virāgo*.

[a] This is more probable as a derivation of *druid* than that it comes from the word for oak. There is however a distant connexion, since *derw* 'oak', Gk. δρῦς, etc., are probably derived from the same Aryan base **dereu-* 'fast, hard'.

iii. (1) As in other languages, near relations and familiar animals have names of different origin for males and females: *tad* 'father', *mam* 'mother'; *brawd*, *chwaer*; *ewythr*, *modryb*; *ceffyl*, *caseg*; etc.

(2) Names of birds are epicenes, mostly f. as *y fwyalch* or *y fwyalchen* 'the blackbird', *y fronfraith* 'the thrush', *yr ŵydd* 'the goose', *y gog* 'the cuckoo', *y frân* 'the crow', etc.; but almost an equal number are m., as *eryr* 'eagle', *dryw* 'wren', *barcut* 'kite', *hedydd* 'lark', *alarch* 'swan'. The male bird is in some cases distinguished by using *ceiliog* followed by the specific name in the attributive genitive, as *y ceiliog bronfraith* or *y ceiliog mwyalch*; but this cannot be done generally. Note *ceiliágwydd* 'gander' § 74 i. The names of one or two male animals are formed in a similar manner; as *bwch gafr* 'he-goat'; *gwrcath* 'tom-cat'.

§ 138. The gender of nouns denoting inanimate objects or abstractions can only to a very limited extent be determined by the meaning.

i. The following nouns are mas.:

(1) *tymor* 'season', and the names of the seasons: *gwanwyn*, *haf*, *hydref*, *gaeaf*, see *hydref* dwys a'r gwanwyn § 38 viii; so *y Garawys*, *y Grawys* 'Lent' with *g-* as a new radical § 101 iii (2), cf. *yr holl Arawys* A.L. i 338 'all Lent'.

(2) *mis* 'month', and the names of the months, as *Chwefrol sydd iddo 28 o ddyddiau* 1620 Bible Almanac 'February has 28 days'.

(3) *dydd* 'day', and names of days, see *Difiau* du § 46 ii (4); so *y Pasg* 'Easter', *y Nadolig* 'Christmas', *y Sulgwyn* 'Whitsunday', *y Calan* 'New Year's Day'; but *gŵyl* 'feast' is f., so that *Gŵyl Fair* 'Lady Day', etc., are f.

(4) *gwynt* 'wind', and the names of points of the compass: *y gogledd* 'the north', *y dwyrain* 'the east', *y deheu* 'the south', *y gorllewin* 'the west'.

(5) Nouns denoting material or substance: *aur*, *arian*, *haearn*, *pres*, *pren*, *derw*, *ffawydd*, *glo*, *maen*, *pridd*, *calch*, *clai*, *tail*, *gwair*, *gwellt*, *yd*, *bwyd*, *bara*, *cig*, *gwaed*, *gwin*, *cwrw*, *dwfr*, *gwydr*, *lludr*, *lliain*, *sidan*, *glaw*, *eira*, etc.

(6) Verbal nouns; see § 205.

ii. The following nouns are fem.:

(1) *gwlad* 'country', *teyrnas* 'kingdom', *ynys* 'island', and names of countries, etc.: *Cymru* lân 'beautiful Wales', *Prydain* Fawr 'Great Britain', *y Fôn* fau Gr.O. 16 'my Mona'. But *tir* 'land' is m., hence *Tir Groeg* m. 'Greece'.

(2) *tref* 'town', *llan* 'church', and names of towns and parishes: *Bangor* Fawr *yn Arfon*; *Llanbadarn* Fawr.

(3) *afon* 'river', and names of rivers: *Dyfi wendal* D.ll. 'fair-browed Dovey'.

(4) Names of mountains and hills: *yr Wyddfa* 'Snowdon', *Carnedd*

Ddafydd, Moelyci; but *mynydd* 'mountain' and *bryn* 'hill' are m., and so therefore are names formed from them, as *Mynýddmawr*.

(5) *iaith* 'language', and names of languages: *y Gymraeg wen* E.P. 217; but when the name denotes matter written in a language it is m.: *y Gymraeg hwn* 'this (piece of) Welsh'. *llythyren* 'letter' is fem., and names of letters and sounds: **a** *fain* 'thin *a*' (i. e. '*æ*').

(6) Names of trees: *derwen* 'oak', *dâr* 'oak', *collen* 'hazel', etc.

(7) Collective nouns denoting communities, etc.: *y genedl* 'the nation', *y werin* 'the people, the crew (of a ship)', *y bobl* 'the people', *y bendefigaeth* 'the nobility', *y gymanfa* 'the assembly', *y gynulleidfa* 'the congregation', *y glêr* 'the bards' (*y fân glêr* L.G.C. 71), *y dorf, y dyrfa* 'the crowd', *y gynhadledd* 'the assembly'; with some late exceptions, as *y cyngor* 'the council', *y bwrdd* 'the board'.

§ **139.** The gender of a derivative noun is determined by its ending.

i. The following endings form m. nouns: *-ach* dim. sg., *-aint, -awd, -cyn, -dab -deb, -der, -did, -dod, -dra, -dwr, -edd, -hâd, -i -ni -ioni. -iad -ad, -iant, -inab -ineb, -rwydd. -wch* (*-wg*), *-yd, -yn.*

Examples: *bwbach, henaint, traethawd, llecyn, un-dab, -deb, blinder, gwendid, cryndod, ffieidd-dra, cryfdwr, amynedd, glanhâd, tlodi, noethni, drygioni, cariad, teimlad, mwyniant, dwethin-ab, -eb, enbydrwydd, tywyll-wch,* (*-wg*), *iechyd, offeryn.*

Exceptions: *awdurdod, trindod*; *buchedd, cynghanedd, trugaredd*, see § 143 iii (13); *cenaduri* (f. after *cennad*); *adeilad* § 205; *caniad* 'song' (f. after *cân*) but *caniad* 'singing' m.; *galwad* (f. after *galwedigaeth*); *blwyddyn, elltrewyn, odyn, telyn, twymyn.* In the last group *-yn* is not the sg. ending *-ynn*, see § 126 iv.

ii. The following endings form f. nouns: *-ach* (abstract), *-aeth -iaeth* etc., *-as, -ed, -ell, -en, -es, -fa, -ur.*

Examples: *cyfeillach, cosbedigaeth, athrawiaeth, teyrnas, colled, asgell, seren, llynges, porfa, natur, pladur.*

There are many exceptions in *-aeth* and *-iaeth*; as *claddedigaeth, darfodedigaeth, gwasanaeth, hiraeth, amrywiaeth, gwahaniaeth, llunïaeth.*—Other exceptions are *lludded, caethiwed, syched, pared*; *castell, cawell, hiriell* 'angel' D. 43; *maharen*; *hanes* m. in N. W.—*gwnïadur* 'thimble' is m. in N. W.; names of persons in *-ur* are mas. (f. *-ures*).

iii. The following endings form derivatives having the same gender as the noun to which they are affixed: *-aid* '-ful', *-an* dimin., *-awd, -od* 'stroke, blow'; as *crochanaid* m. 'potful'; *llwyaid* f. 'spoonful'; *maban* m. 'babe', *gwreigan* f. 'little woman', *dynan* com. 'little person'; *cleddyfod* m. 'stroke of sword', *ffonnod* f. 'blow of a stick', *dyrnod* m., *arfod* f. (*cleddyfawd* f. D.G. 473 is exceptional).

iv. *-og* (*-awc*) forms m. titles and designations, as *tywysog* 'prince', *marchog* 'knight', *swyddog* 'officer', *cymydog* 'neighbour', *taeog* 'villain'; and f. terms of reproach, as *ffolog* 'fool' f., *budrog* 'slattern', *slebog* id. Names of inanimate objects in *-og* are generally f., as *arffedog* 'apron', *clustog* 'cushion', *mawnog* 'bog'.

-ig forms m. titles, as *gwledig* 'prince', *pendefig* 'chief', and f. diminutives as *oenig*, etc.

-in is m. in *brenin* 'king', *dewin* 'sage', *bualin* 'drinking horn', *ewin* '(finger-)nail', *gorllewin* 'west'; otherwise f., as *byddin, cegin, cribin, gwerin, hesbin, megin, melin.*

v. *-ai*, Ml. W. *-ei* (for *-hei*) forms nouns of com. gender, as *llatai* § 136 ii; see *cicai* f. D.G. 166.

§ 140. i. No useful rule can be laid down for determining by the form the gender of nouns without derivative endings. It is true that nouns having *w* or *y* in the ultima are mostly m., and those having *o* or *e* are mostly f.; thus *asgwrn, arddwrn, dwrn, dwfr, ellyll, byd, bryn* are m.; *colofn, tonn, ffordd, ffenestr, gwên, deddf* are f. But exceptions are so numerous that the rule is of no great practical value.

The reason for the rule is that Brit. *u* and *i*, which normally give W. *w* and *y*, were affected to *o* and *e* by the lost f. ending *-ā*, § 68, thus bringing about a preponderance of f. nouns with *o* and *e*. The reasons for the numerous exceptions are the following: (1) *o* and *e* may be original Brit., and not the result of affection at all, as in *môr* m. 'sea', *penn* m. 'head'; (2) *y* is often due to affection by the lost f. ending *-ī*; as in *blwyddyn* f., *telyn* f. etc.; (3) endings other than *-ā, -ī* caused no affection; hence *ffrwd* f., *hwch* f. etc.

u seems to some extent to have followed the analogy of *w*, thus W. *cur* m. < Lat. *cūra* f.; most monosyllables with *u* are thus m.; but *clud* 'vehicle', *tud* 'people, country', *hug* 'covering', *clun* 'thigh', *hun* 'sleep', *punt* '£1', *ffust* 'flail' are f.

There is no reason why *a, i* and the diphthongs should be distinctive of gender; and rules which make them the basis of such a distinction are arbitrary, and worse than useless. Thus Mendus Jones, Gr.[2] 75, states that monosyllables having *a* are f.; Anwyl, Gr. 28, says they are m., and names 13 exceptions (omitting *gardd, sarff, barf, nant, cad, llath, barn*, etc., etc.); actually, the proportion of m. to f. (excluding Eng. words, and names of males and females, as *tad, mam*) is about 55 : 45. Similarly monos. with *i* are said to be m.; in reality the numbers of m. and f. are practically equal:—m., *llid, gwrid, pridd, llif* 'flood', *rhif, brig, cig, cil, mil* 'animal', *ffin, llin, min, gwin, glin, tir, mis, plisg, llith* 'mash';—f., *pi, crib, gwib, gwich, tid, ffridd, llif* 'saw', *gwig, pig, hil, mil* '1000', *hin, tin, trin, rhin, gwisg, cist, llith* 'lesson'.

ii. A few doublets occur with m. *-w-*, f. *-o-*; as *cwd* m. 'bag', *cod* f. 'purse'. The others are borrowed words containing *-or* + cons.; as *torf* 'crowd' < Lat. *turba* : *twrf* 'tumult';—*fforch* 'a fork' < Lat. *furca*: *ffwrch* 'the fork, haunches';—*ffordd* 'way' <

O.E. *ford* : *i ffwrdd* 'away';—*bord* 'board, table' < M.E. *bord* : *bwrdd* id. < O.E. *bord*.

Also with *-yn* : *-en*, as *ysgellyn* : *ysgallen* § 130 iii, *coegyn* : *coegen* etc., § 137 i, *ffwlcyn* : *ffolcen*, and S.W. dial. *crwtyn* 'boy' : *croten* 'girl'.

§ 141. i. The gender of a compound noun is generally that of its subordinating element; thus *eluséndy* 'almshouse' m. like *ty* 'house', this being the subordinating, and *elusen* the subordinate element. So *gwínllan* 'vineyard' f. like *llan*; *canhwyllbren* 'candlestick' m. like *pren*.

There are a few exceptions, possibly due to a change in the gender of the simple noun: *cartref* m. 'home', *pentref* m. 'village' (though *tref* is now f.) § 111 v (2); *pendro* f. 'vertigo' (*tro* m.), as *Mae'r bendro ar y llo lleiaf* R.P. 1278.

Epithetized compounds have the same gender as the sex of the person; thus *all-tud* 'exile' generally m. (*tud* f.).

ii. The above rule also holds for improper compounds, § 46, in which the subordinating element comes first; thus *tréf-tad* 'heritage' f.; *dýdd-brawd* 'day of judgement' m.; *pónt-bren* 'wooden bridge' f.; *pén-cerdd* 'chief of song' m.

§ 142. i. There are many nouns of vacillating or uncertain gender. Some of them are old neuters, like *braich* from Lat. *bracchium*. In other cases the uncertainty is due to the action of analogy.

ii. The gender sometimes varies according to meaning or use:—*golwg* 'sight' m., as in *golwg byr* 'short sight' (but f. in B.A. 107): *golwg* 'appearance' f., as in *teg yr olwg* 'fair to see';—*bath* or *math* 'kind' m., as *dau fath* 'two kinds': with the art. f., as *y fath* 'the kind', *y fath beth* 'the kind of thing';—*man* 'spot' m., as *y'r δeu van gochyon* W.M. 140 'to the two red spots', *man gwan* 'weak spot': *man* 'place' f. generally as in Matt. xxviii 6, often m. as in Jer. vii 3; note *yn y fan* 'immediately', *yn y man* 'by and by';—*to* 'roof' m. as in *aderyn y to* 'sparrow': *to* 'generation' sometimes f., as in L.G.C. 204;—*coes* 'leg' f.: *coes* 'stalk' or 'handle' of a spade, etc. (where there is only one) m., dim. *coesyn* m.—Unrelated pairs: *gwaith* 'work' m., *gwaith* 'fois' f., as in *dwy waith* 'twice'; *llif* m., *llif* f.; *mil* m., *mil* f.; *llith* m., *llith* f.; § 140 i.

iii. Some nouns have different genders in Ml. and Mn. W. This is sometimes due to a break in the tradition owing to the word becoming obsolete in the spoken language; in other cases it is due to, or has been helped by, analogy. Early Mn. W. generally agrees with Ml. W.; the break comes in the Late Mn. period.

The following are m. in Ml. W., f. in Late W.: *damwein* W.M. 29, R.M. 19 'accident'; *breint* L.L. 121, R.B.B. 71 'privilege'; *dinas* C.M. 3, 8, IL.A. 44, D.G. 325 'stronghold, city', still m. in place-names; *nef* IL.A. 4 'heaven', S.Ph. (m. W.IL.) late 16th cent. has *ne' gwyn*, but H.S. mid. 15th already has *nef* f., see § 160 iii (2) (*c*); *chwedyl* R.M. 192 'tale', *chwedl drwg* Ps. cxii 7; *gruδ* IL.A. 93 'cheek', *y grudd, deurudd* in the bards, but f. in Bible; *gweithret* A.L. i 526, B.B. 7, IL.A. 132; *ergit* R.B.B. 42; *krevyδ* IL.A. 143.

The following are f. in Ml. W., m. in late W.: *tangneveδ* W.M. 43, R.M. 30, 38 (but *y tangneveδ* W.M. 55) 'peace', m. in Bible; *gwirioneδ* W.M. 29, R.M. 19 'truth', m. in Bible and later bards, C.C. 357; *cyŷreir* C.M. 18, R.M. 160 'truce', m. in Bible, Deut. xxix 14; *ryδit* R B.B. 83 'freedom'; *person* C.M. 19, IL.A. 3 'person'; *llynn* W.M. 51, R.M. 36 'lake'; *llys* W.M. 5, R.M. 3 'court'.

In some cases the gender fluctuates in Ml. W.: *breich*, as in C.M. 18 *ar y breich* 'on the arm', and in the next line *ŷ'r vreich* 'to the arm'; it is m. in the Bible, but now f. except in place-names;—*heul* 'sun', m. IL.A. 3, f. do. 161, generally f. in the bards, m. in Bible, f. in Wms. 257, now m.; *heulwen* is an improper compound of *haul wenn* § 46 ii (1);—*clot* 'praise' m. as *clot bychan* W.M. 142, R.M. 212, generally f. in the bards G. 184, f. in the Bible, 1 Bren. x 7, now m., orig. neut. § 66 v.

iv. The difference is in some cases dialectal: *ciniaw* 'dinner' f. in W.M. 61, R.M. 43, now f. in S.W. but m. in N.W.; *troed* m. in Ml.W. e. g. *deudroet* always (not *dwy-*), m. in N.W., f. in S.W. The following are f. in S.W., m. in N.W.: *cyflog, hanes, garr, gwniadur, llyn, pwys, munud, clorian* (though *ar y funud, yn y glorian* in N. W. also); in Mn. Lit. W. these are mostly m. as in N. W.; *crib* 'comb' now m. in N.W., but *crib* 'ridge' f. On the other hand in N.W. *cusan* (m. C.M. 58, 61) and *cwpan* (m. in Bible) are sometimes treated as f., doubtless a late misuse, as also the use in some parts of *canhwyllbren* as f. But *clust* m. R.B.B. 54, m. in S.W., is f. in N.W. and in the Bible. N.W. is not uniform: *sach* m. in Gwynedd (< Lat. *saccus*) is f. in Powys.

Derivative Nouns.

§ 143. Derivative nouns are formed from simple nouns, from adjectives, and verb-stems by the addition of the following endings:

i. Diminutive endings, largely used to form singular nouns § 126: m. **-yn**, f. **-en**. The O. W. forms are *-inn, -enn*, and the *n* is doubled in Ml. and Mn. W. when a syllable is added, as *defnynn-au* Can. v 2, *canghenn-au* Luc. xiii 19. They probably represent the Ar. suffixes *-ino-, -inā-* with dimin. gemination § 93 iii (2), giving Brit. **-inno-s, *-innā*.

They may also be added to adjectives and vb.-stems, as *coeg-yn* 'fop', (*coeg* 'empty, vain'), *ysgogyn* 'swaggerer' (*ysgog-i* 'to shake').

ii. Diminutive endings added to nouns: **-ach**, as *corrach* 'dwarf' <a Brit. **-akkos*, with dimin. gemination;—**-an**, as *dynan* 'little

person', *gwreigan* 'little woman'; this appears in late Brit. as *-agn-*; in Ir. it is *-ān*; see § 104 ii (1);— **-ell**, as in *iyrchell* 'a roe', < Brit. **-ellā* or **-illā*;— **-ig**, as in *oenig* 'lamb', < Brit. **-īkā*;— **-cyn**, f. **-cen**, sometimes added to contracted personal names, as *Hwlcyn* for *Hywel*, appears to be comparatively late, and may be from E. *-kin*.

iii. Abstract and collective noun endings, etc.: (1) **-ach** as *cyfeillach* 'friendship' *cyfrinach* 'secret' (< **-aksā*, v.n. suffix § 203 i (3) (4)).

(2) **-aeth** 'act' < **-aktā*, § 203 i (1), as in *gwasanaeth* 'service' < **wo-ssān-āktā* < **upo-stā-no-aktī* § 96 ii (2); as **gwasan* does not occur, the suffix is here felt to be **-ánaeth**. It takes the form **-i̯aeth** from stems in *-i̯*, thus added to *-aid* in *dysg-êid-i̯aeth* 'learning'; hence *hynáfi̯aeth* 'antiquity', *gofáni̯aeth* 'smithing'; hence **-áni̯aeth** in *gwlybáni̯aeth* 'wet weather'. So **-i̯aeth** as *marsi̯andi̯aeth* 'commerce'; **-ni̯aeth** as *saerni̯aeth* 'workmanship', *mechni̯aeth* 'surety'. In *arglwyddi̯aeth*, *arglŵyddi̯aeth* both accentuations occur, see *Arglwyddi̯aeth* (4 syll.) D.G. 8; *Gwledd Dduw a'i arglwyddi̯aeth* Gut.O. M 146/397 R. 'The feast of God and his Lordship': *Pe talai'r ŵydd arglŵyddi̯aeth* D.G. 210 'If the goose paid tribute'. The form in Late W. is the last. The ending is also added to verbal adjectives in *-adwy*, *-edig*, as *ofnadwyaeth* 'terror', *poenedigaeth* 'torture', *erledigaeth* for *erlidedigaeth* § 44 iv. It is also seen in **-adaeth**, **-dabaeth**, **-debaeth**, **-wri̯aeth**, etc.

(3) **-aid**, Ml. W. **-eit** < **-ati̯o-s*, **-ati̯ā* : *llwyaid* § 139 iii.

(4) **-aint**, Ml. W. **-eint** : *henaint* 'old age'; *dioddefaint* 'suffering' § 203 ii (3), q.v.

(5) **-an** : *cusan* 'kiss', *chwiban* 'whistle', v.n. suff. § 203 vi (1).

(6) **-as** < **assā* : *teyrnas* f. 'kingdom'; also **-i̯as**, as *trigi̯as* 'residence' : Ir. *-as* m. < **-assu-* (: Goth. *-assu-*) : ? **-ət-tā*, **-ət-tu-*.

(7) **-awd**, **-od**, Ml. W. **-awt** < **-āt-* : *traethawd* 'treatise' < Lat. *tractātus*; *molawd* 'praise' : Ir. *molad*; used to denote the stroke of a weapon *cleðyfawt*, etc. § 139 iii < **-ātu̯ō*.

(8) **-deb**, **-dab**, **-dábaeth**, **-débaeth**, **-íneb**, **-ínab** all contain **ap-* < **əqᵘ-*, *√ōqᵘ-* like Lat. *antīquus*, Skr. *prátīka-m* 'face' and W. *wyneb* § 100 v. In *-deb* **ap-* is added to a *-ti-* stem, in *-ineb* to Brit. *-īni-* (as in *brenin* iv (10)); *'-i̯a-* > *i̯e* > *e* § 65 vi; in *-dab* *-inab* to allied adj. stems in *-to-*, *-īno-* (cf. Brugmann² II i 285); *'-oa-* > *'-ā-* > *a*. Silvan Evans states s.v. *duwdab* that *-dab* etc. are "local forms", meaning that the *-a-* is Gwyn. *a* for *e*, § 6 iii, which is absurd, for dial. *a* does not extend to the penult as in *-dabaeth* (dial. *atab*, *atebodd*, not **atabodd*). The forms with *a* occur before any trace of dial. *a*, and are used by writers of all parts : *diweirdap* P 14/2 R. (circa 1250), *dewindabaeth* R.B.B. 16, 38, 41, 42, C.M. 93; *doethinab* M 117 R. (c. 1285), R.B.B. fac. opp. p. 1 (c. 1310–1330); *cowreindab* S.T., H 169/39 R.; *hydab* L.G.C. 195; *geudab* Ps. lxii 9.

Y Drindod a ro[a] **undab** [a] Printed *dro*.
Er deigr Mair deg ar i Mab.—T.A. c. ii 78.

'The Trinity bring about union for the sake of fair Mary's tear for her Son.'

(9) **-der, -ter** < **-tero-* cpv. suff. : *dyfn-der* 'depth'.

(10) **-did, -tid,** Ml. W. **-dit, -tit** < Ar. **-tūt-* : *gwen-did* 'weakness'; **-dod, -tod,** Ml. W. **-dawt, -tawt** < Ar. **-tāt-* : *cryn-dod* 'trembling'; — : Lat. *vir-tūt-* (< **uiro-tūt-*); *cīvi-tāt-*.

-dra, -tra, see (22) below.

(11) **-dwr** < **-turo-*, prob. *-ro-* added to *-tu-* stem., cf. Gk. *μάρ-τυρος*: *cryfdwr* 'strength'.

(12) **-ed,** Ml. W. **-et,** partly < *-ītās*, as in *ciwed* < Lat. *cīvitās*; partly < **-e-to*, Ml. W. *dyly-et* < **dligeto-n* : Ir. *dliget*.—*syched* 'thirst'; *nodd-ed* 'protection', *colled* 'loss', etc.

(13) **-edd** < **-i̯ā* : *trugaredd* 'mercy' < **trougākarii̯ā* : Ir. *trōcaire*; — : Gk. *-ία, ἀναρχία*, etc. Most nouns with this ending have become mas. in W.; but many retain the orig. gender § 139 i.

(14) **-eg** < *-ikā*; as *gramadeg* < *grammatica*; so *hanereg* 'half-measure' < Brit. **san-ter-ikā*. It forms the names of languages as *Saesneg, Gwyddeleg, Ffrangeg, Gwyndodeg* 'the dialect of Gwynedd', *Gro-eg, Cymrā-ëg*. In the last two contraction took place. Wm.S. took *-aeg* for the ending in *Cymráeg*, and so, beside the correct *Saesneg*, wrote *Saesnaeg* and *Saesonaeg*, see the headings in his Dic. *Gwyddelaeg, Ffrancaeg* etc. were also formed, either by him or by his imitators. D.D. s.v. *aeg* vehemently protests against these solecisms, and against the use of *aeg* as a word meaning 'language'.[a]—*Kanys* **Yspaenec** *a ẽywedei y kawr* C.M. 19 'For it was Spanish that the giant spoke'. **Kymraëc** *chwec* R.P. 1189. **Ffrangec** *ẽa lóeu̯dec ẽiletu̯eith* do. 1225 'Good clear pure French'.

Dysgais yr eang **Ffrangeg;**
Doeth yw i dysg, da iaith deg.—I.R., P 82/309 R.

'I have learnt the rich French language; wise is its learning, fair good tongue.'

(15) **-es** < **issā* : *buches* 'herd of cows, place for milking'; *llynges* 'fleet', *lloches* 'hiding-place'; cf. iv (4).

(16) **-fa:** 1. < **-mag-* 'place' : *por-fa* 'pasture'; *cam-fa* 'stile'; *trig-fa* 'dwelling place'; *cyrch-fa* 'resort'.—2. Abstr. for *-fan(n)* v.n. ending § 203 ii (4), by loss of *-nn* § 110 v (2) < Ar. **-mẹn-* § 62 i (2): *llosg-fa* 'a burning'; *lladd-fa* 'slaughter'; *cryn-fa* 'tremor'; *bodd-fa* 'deluge'. The two are confused, and the second class have plurals like the first, as *llosgfeydd*.

(17) **-i** is the same as the v.n. ending *-i*, see § 202 ii; thus *tlodi* 'poverty' (also as v.n. 'to impoverish'), *noethi* 'nakedness' (v.n. 'to denude'), *diogi* 'idleness' (v.n. 'to idle'), *caledi* 'hardship', *gwegi* 'vanity', *ymddifedi* 'destitution'.

(18) **-i̯ad, -ad** added to verb-stems is properly *-ad*, as shown by

[a] *Yr aeg* is of course parallel to *the 'ologies'* in Eng., except that in Eng. no one imagines *ology* to be a real word. It is strange that the false division was not extended to *-es*; though a Welshwoman is *Cymraes*, no one has written *Gwyddelaes* for *Gwyddeles*, or called his wife *yr aes*.

such forms as *carad*, e.g. *llu du di-garad* B.B. 86, and especially the form **-hâd** (for *-ha-ad*), which would be **-haead* if the ending were *-iad*; but with stems in *-i̯-* we have e.g. *rhodi̯-ad* (: *rhodi̯af*); from these *-i̯ad* was generalized, but too late to cause penultimate affection; hence *cari̯ad* 'love' (*-iad* agent affects, see iv (5)). **-ad,** pl. *-adau* is from **-ə-tu-* (Ar. **-tu-* verbal-abstr. suffix) : Lat. supine *genitum* < **ĝenə-tu-m*; **-ad** f. < **-ə-tā* § 203 iii (8).

(19) **-i̯ant** is similarly **-ant** < **-n̥t-*, participial suffix, as in Ml. W. *derewant* II.A. 152 'stink', Mn. W. *dreui̯ant*; it generally appears as **-i̯ant** in Ml. and Mn. W. : *meδÿant* W.M. 8, Mn. W. *meddiant* 'possession'.

(20) **-id** in *addewid* f. 'promise', perhaps < **-ī-tā* (: Lat. *fīnītus*); in *cadernid* m. 'might' < **-ī-tu-* (: Lat. sup. *vestītum*);—*rhyddid* is a late re-formation of *rhy*(δ)*-did.*

(21) **-ni** < Brit. **gnīnu-*, O. W. *gnim* 'work' § 203 vii (4) : *mech-ni* 'bail' (*mach* 'a surety'), *noeth-ni* 'nakedness'; **-i̯oni** < *-i̯ono-gnīm-* § 155 ii (1): *haeli̯oni* 'liberality'; also **-oni** in *barddoni* (*bardhony* A.L. i 78) 'bardism'. As *-ni* is for **-ɣni*, and *nɣn* > *n* § 110 ii (1), the ending cannot be distinguished from *-i* after *n*; thus *trueni* 'wretchedness', *gwrthuni* 'unseemliness' may have *-i* or **-ɣni*.

(22) **-red,** lit. 'course', < **-reto-*, √*ret-* § 63 ii : *gweithred* 'action', Ml. W. *brithred* 'confusion' (=Ir. *brechtrad* 'commingling'); in a more literal sense, *hydred* 'length', *lledred* 'breadth'.

-rwydd, lit. 'course', < **-reido-* : Gaul. *rēda* 'waggon' < **reidā*, W. *rhwydd* 'easy, without let, perfunctory', lit. '* running'; a fertile abstr. suff. in W. : *enbyd-rwydd* 'peril', *gwallgof-rwydd* 'insanity'.

-dra, -tra, lit. 'course' < **/-trog-*, √*tregh-* § 65 ii (1) : *e-ofn-dra* 'fearlessness'.

(23) **-wch** < **-is-qo-*, v.n. ending; see § 201 iii (2) : *tywyllwch* 'darkness', *heddwch* 'peace'. The **-wg** in the by-form *tywy̯llwg* is prob. due to dissim. of continuants; see § 201 iii (3).

(24) **-yd** < **-o-tūts*, nom. sg. of **-o-tūt-* (10): *bywyd* 'life', Ir. *bethu* < Kelt. **biu̯otūts*; *mebyd* 'youth'; partly perhaps < **-itī* (: Lat. *-itia*, and substituted for it, as *tristyd* < **trīstitī* < *trīstitia*).

(25) **-ynt** in *helynt* 'course'; *tremynt* (*dremynt*) 'sight'; prob. **-en-* + *-tī.*

iv. Endings denoting agent or person: (1) **-adur** < Lat. *-ātōrem*, as in *pechadur* < *peccātōrem*, extended to new formations : *henadur* 'elder', *penadur* 'chieftain'; in *creadur* 'creature' it comes of course from *-ātūra.*

(2) **-ai,** Ml. W. **-ei,** properly **-hei** for it hardens the preceding consonant, < **-saɣi̯ō* 'seeker' § 104 ii (2), as *blotai* 'beggar of meal' (*blawd* 'meal'), *cynutai* 'gatherer of firewood' (*cynnud* 'firewood') etc. The late artificial formation *mynegai* 'index' is wrong in form (it should be **mynacai*) and in meaning (it should denote a 'seeker').

(3) **-awdr** < Lat. *-ātor*, as in *ymhérawdr* < *imperātor*, *créawdr* < *creātor*, extended in W., as in *dysgawdr* 'teacher', *llywi̯awdr* 'ruler'.

For W. *awdr* 'author' < Lat. *au(c)tor* (beside *awdur* < acc. *au(c)tōrem*) the dial. form *awdwr* (with parasitic *w* § 16 v (3)) came to be used in Late W. The above words were then mistaken for compounds of this, and wrongly spelt and accented *ymheráwdwr, creáwdwr*. Lastly the *-wr* was mistaken for *-wr* 'man', (8) below, and a new pl. *ymherawdwyr* formed instead of the true pl. *ym(h)erodron*; but *ym(h)erodraeth* remains.

(4) **-es** < Brit. **-issā* : Lat. *-issa* : *brenhines* etc. § 137 i.

(5) **-i̯ad** : *hebryngi̯at* W.M. 4 'guide'; it affects *a* to *ei* : *lleiddi̯ad* 'killer' (*lladd* 'kill'), *datgeini̯ad* 'singer'; after *w̯* the *i̯* is lost § 36 v, as *geilwad* 'caller' (*galw* 'call'), *ceidwad* 'keeper, saviour' (*cadw* 'keep'). It implies Brit. *-i̯atis* (or *i̯atā*) : Gaul. Ναμανσατις, Γαλάται : Ir. *-ith, i*-stem; the suffix is *-ti-* (or *-tā*) : Gk. *μάντις, κρι-τή-ς*; *-i̯a-* or *-a-* < *-i̯ə-* or *-ə-*; the affection of the vowel shows that the *-i̯a-* form was already generalized in Brit.

(6) **-og,** Ml. W. **-awc** < Brit. *-ākos* adj. suffix § 153 (5) forms m. nouns as *tywysog* 'prince', *marchog* 'knight', *swyddog* 'officer', and f. nouns as *ffolog*, see § 139 iv; the former have feminines in **-oges** : *tywysoges* 'princess', *cymydoges* 'neighbour'.

(7) **-or,** Ml. W. **-awr** < Lat. *-ārius* as *kaŋ̃hellaur* A.L. i 62, Mn. W. *canghellor* < *cancellārius*, extended in W. : *telynor* 'harpist', *cantor* 'singer'; f. **-ores** : *cantores*.

(8) **-wr** 'man' : *pregethwr* 'preacher', *gweithi̯wr* 'worker' etc.; **-wraig** 'woman' : *gólchwraig* 'washerwoman'.

(9) **-ydd** < Brit. *-i̯ō* : *crydd* 'shoemaker' § 86 i (5), *melinydd* 'miller', *prydydd* 'poet'; **-edydd** < *-atī̯ō* : *dringhedydd* 'climber', *nofiedydd* D.G. 502 'swimmer'; **-idyð** : *llemidit* W.M. 466 *llemhidyð* R.M. 110 'leaper'; f. **-yddes** : *prydyddes* 'poetess', **-adyddes** : *gwnïadyddes* 'sempstress'.

(10) Endings of more restricted use: **-ig** in *pendefig* 'chieftain', *gwledig* 'prince', < **-ī-ko-*, § 153 (9).

-in in *brenin* < **-īni-*; cf. pl. *brenhinoedd*; **-in** from Lat. *-īno-* in *dewin* for **diwin* < *dīvīnus, per(i̯)erin* 'pilgrim' < **pergerīnos* < *peregrīnus*.

v. Endings denoting instrument or thing: (1) **-adur,** iv (1): Ml. W. *paladur*, Mn. W. *pladur* 'scythe', *gwnïadur* 'thimble' etc.

(2) **-in** < *-īna* : *melin* 'mill' < Lat. *molīna*; *cegin* § 89 iii; so *cribin, megin*, etc. 139 iv. The m. *buelin* may have *-in* < **-ikno-*, cf. Gaul. *celicnon* 'tower', √*qel-* 'high' : Lat. *celsus, columen*.

(3) **-ell** < *-ella* or *-illa* : *padell* 'pan' < Lat. *patella*; *pibell* 'pipe', *ffynhonnell* 'fountain, source'.

(4) **-og** iv (6), besides names of persons, forms f. names of things, as *arffedog* 'apron', *clustog* 'cushion', of plants, as *tewbanog* 'mullein', of places, as *mawnog* 'peat-bog', *brwynog* 'marsh', etc., and m. names of birds as *cyffylog* 'woodcock', and animals, as *draenog* 'hedgehog', *llwynog* 'fox'.

(5) **-wr** iv (8) : *crafwr* 'scraper'.

ADJECTIVES

Number.

§ 144. The pl. of adjectives is formed from the sg. as follows:

i. By change of vowel. The change is the ultimate *i*-affection § 83 ii; cf. § 117 i. Examples: *bychan* 'little', pl. *bychein* IL.A. 2, Mn. W. *bychain*, so *llydan* 'broad', *truan* 'wretched', *buan* 'quick'; *cadarn* 'strong', pl. *kedeirn* W.M. 40, *kedyrn* do. 51, Mn. W. *cedyrn*; *ieuanc* 'young', pl. *ieueinc* W.M. 181, Mn. W. *ieuainc*; *harð* 'handsome', pl. *heirð*; *lyðar* 'deaf' pl. *lyðeir* R.P. 1196, Mn. W. *byddair*.

ii. By adding the ending -i̯on. Examples: *mud* 'mute', pl. *mudi̯on* R.P. 1196, Mn. W. *mudi̯on*; *coch* 'red', pl. *cochi̯on* R.P. 1236, Mn. W. *cochi̯on*; *glew* 'bold', pl. *glewi̯on*; *cul* 'narrow', pl. *culi̯on*.

iii. The addition of -i̯on causes the following vowel changes:

(1) Mutation § 81: *tlawd* 'poor', pl. *tlodi̯on* R.P. 1196, Mn. W. *tlodi̯on*; *trwm* 'heavy', pl. *trymi̯on* R.M. 14, Mn. W. *trymi̯on*; *llwm* 'bare', pl. *llymi̯on*; *llym* 'keen', pl. *llymi̯on*; *melyn* 'yellow', pl. *melyni̯on*; Mn. W. *main* 'slender', pl. *meinion*, etc.

The comparatively late pl. *mawrion* is an exception; an older form is perhaps *mori̯on* B.T. 45; but the original form *mawr* < **mārī* (like the sg. *mawr* < **māros*) generally remained: *lloppaueu mawr* W.M. 23, R.M. 14 'big boots'. A similar exception is *trawsion* M.A. i 544.

(2) Penultimate affection § 83 iii: *glas* 'blue', pl. *gleissi̯on* R.P. 1196, now written *gleision*; *dall* 'blind', pl. *deilli̯on* ib., Mn. W. *deilli̯on*; *claf* 'sick', pl. *cleiri̯on* ib., Mn. W. *cleifi̯on*; *gwag*, pl. *gweigion*; *cadr*, pl. *ceidri̯on* R.P. 1169 (*ceidron* iv).

e is not affected: *uchel* 'high' pl. *uchelion* M.A. i 565*a*; see *gwelwon* etc. iv. *a* is unaffected in the late pl. *meddalion*; the old pl. is *meddal* like the sg.: *petheu clayr meðal* IL.A. 70 "blanda et mollia". *ae* remains unaffected, and the ending in some old forms is written -on, as *haelon* B.B. 3, R.P. 1169, M.A. i 283*a*, later *haelion*.

iv. After the groups mentioned in § 36 v–vii, the *i̯* drops, so that the ending appears as -on: *gwelw̯* 'pale', pl. *gwelw̯on* R.P. 1196, *gweddw̯* 'widowed', pl. *gweðw̯on* do. 1236; *chwerw̯* 'bitter', pl. *chwerw̯on*; *hoyw̯* 'sprightly', pl. *hoyw̯on*; *du* 'black', pl. *duon*; *teneu* 'thin', pl. *teneuon*; *budr* 'dirty', pl. *budron*; *garw̯* 'rough', pl. *geirw̯on*; *marw̯* 'dead', pl. *meirw̯on*; *llathr* 'bright',

pl. *lleithron* (*lleithyrŷon* in w. 7*b*). The affection of the vowel in *geirw̨on* etc. bears witness to the lost *i̯*.

In most Ml. W. mss. the *i̯*, following *ei*, is lost after all consonants, as in S.W. dialects, § 35 ii, as *deillon* R.P. 1236 (beside *deillyon* 1196).

v. Some adjectives have two plurals, one formed by affection, and one by adding -i̯on : *hardd* 'handsome', pl. *heirdd*, *heirddion*; *garw̨* 'rough', pl *geirw̨*, *geirw̨on*; *marw̨* 'dead', pl. *meirw̨*, *meirw̨on*.

caled usually remains unchanged: *rhai caled* T.A. c. ii 79, *pethau caled* Ex. xviii 26, cf. 1 Bren. x 1, xiv 6; but *caledion* Judas 15 (though *calet* here also in Wm.S.), *cledion* C.C. 334. The spoken forms are *caled* and *cledion*. The form *celyd* R.G.D. 96 seems to be a recent invention; Wms. 372 has *Yr hoelion geirwon* **caled,** changed in recent hymnbooks to *celyd*. Similarly *Cymraeg* is sg. and pl.: *henwau Kymraec* S.G. 172 'Welsh names'.

§ **145.** i. The only pl. forms which are originally adjectival are those produced by vowel affection; where these exist they generally accompany pl. nouns, thus *gwŷr cedyrn*, not *gwŷr cadarn*. But we have seen that from the Ar. period *-i̯ō, pl. *-i̯ones formed nouns corresponding to adjectives in *-i̯os § 121 i; and there can be no doubt that W. forms in -i̯on (from *-i̯ones) were originally nouns, as they may still be, e.g. *y tlodion* 'the poor'. The distinction between these nouns and adjectives proper was obscured by the fact that adjectives might be used as nouns, e.g. *y kedyrn* W.M. 51 'the mighty'; then, in imitation of *gwŷr cedyrn* 'mighty men', expressions like *plant tlodion* 'poor children' were formed for the sake of formal agreement, as the agreement was not apparent in an adj. like *tlawd* which had the same form for sg. and pl. But the old tradition persisted, and the use of forms in -i̯on was, and is, optional: *eiron du, . . . coch, erirŷon gwinn, . . . glas, . . . lluid* B.B. 72–3 'black . . . , red . . . , white . . . , blue . . . , grey eagles'; *dynyon mwyn* R.M. 21 'gentle folk', *meirch dof* do. 31 'tame horses'; and is more frequent in later than in earlier periods, thus *bratteu trwm* of W.M. 23 appears as *bratteu trymi̯on* in the later R.M. 14. Hence we find (1) as forms in -i̯on were not really needed, many adjectives remained without them, and have no distinctive pl. forms; (2) in many cases plurals in -i̯on remain substantival.

ii. The following adjectives have no distinctive plural forms in use :

(1) The simple adjectives (or old derivatives no longer recognized as such): *bach*, *ban*, *call*, *cas*, *certh*, *craff*, *cu*, *cun*, *chweg*, *da*, *dig*, *drwg*, *ffiwch*, *gau*, *gwâr*, *gwir*, *gwymp*, *hafal*, *hagr*, *hawdd*, *hên*, *hoff*, *llawen*, *llesg*, *llon*, *llwyr*, *mad*, *mân*, *pur*, *rhad*, *serfyll*, *serth*, *sobr*, *swrth*, *teg*.

bychain is pl. of *bychan*, not of *bach*, which is sg. and pl. like the others in the above list; thus *plentyn bach* 'little child', pl. *plant bach*.

Yr **adar bach** *a rwydud*
A'th iaith dwyllodrus a'th hud.—D.G. 313.

'Thou wouldst snare the little birds with thy deceiving words and thy wile.'

drwg is also an abstract noun, pl. *drygau* 'evils'. *hagr* is included in D.'s list; Rowland's *hagron* is obviously spurious—it would be **heigron* if genuine. *hên* is included because *henjon* IL.A. 95 is only known to occur once, and that in verse. D. y C. has *hyff* as pl. of *hoff*, as well as *aghlyff*, *pryff* and *cryff* as pl. of *anghloff*, *praff*, *craff* apparently extemporized R P. 1361 (*praff* has pl. *preiffion*). *mân* is usually pl. as in *cerrig mân* 'small stones', often sg. as in *gro mân* 'fine gravel'.

glân 'clean' has pl. *gleinjon* IL.A. 102, R.P. 1236, which is comparatively rare, and became extinct. D. 56 includes *tywyll*, but quotes an example of *tywyllion*; this and one or two others like *melysion* (for *melys* pl., Diar. xxiii 8) are not uncommon in Late Mn. W.

(2) Adjectives of the equative or comparative degree. But superlative adjectives have substantival plurals.

(3) Derivative adjectives in *-adwy*, *-aid*, *-aidd*, *-ar*, *-gar*, *-in*, *-lyd*, § 153. But adjectives in *-ig*, *-og*, *-ol*, *-us* have plurals in **-i̯on**, which commonly precede their nouns, but may follow them, as *gwyr bonheðigi̯on* S.G. 62 'gentlemen'.

nefolỳon *wybodeu ac* **ysprydolỳon** *gelvydodeu* IL.A. 103 'heavenly sciences and spiritual arts', cf. 102. **Deddfolion** *ddynion a ddyfalant* M.A. i 26 'law-abiding men they deride'. *o'r* **nefolion** *a'r* **daearolion** *a* **thanddaearolion** *bethau* Phil. ii 10.—*Nerthoeδ* **nefolỳon** ... *neu wrthỳeu* **ŕyveδolỳon** IL.A. 102 'heavenly powers or wonderful miracles'.

Y mae'r sir wedi marw Siôn
Yn wag o wŷr **enwogion**.—Gut.O., G. 219.

'The county, after the death of Siôn, is void of famous men.'

Rhoed yn un bedd mawredd Môn—
Eu deugorff **urddedigion**.—H.K.

'In one grave has been laid the greatness of Môn, their two noble bodies.'

(4) Most compound adjectives, as *hy-glyw*, *hy-glod*, *e-ang*, *ffrwyth-lon*, *melys-lais*, etc. But when the second element is an adj. which may take -i̯on, the ending is sometimes affixed to the compound; thus *claer-wynni̯on* IL.A. 92 'bright', *gloyw-δuon* do. 93 'glossy-back'; *glas-feinion* D.G. 87 'green and slender', *tal-gryfi̯on* Ezek. iii 7 "of an hard forehead".

D. 56 quotes *cyn-dynion*, *erchyllion* (*erch-hyllion*) as exceptional forms in

Dynion **cyndynion** *dinerth*
Hyllion **erchyllion** *a cherth.*—Anon.

'Stubborn (but) weak men, ugly, hideous and strange.'

iii. Many adjectives have substantival plurals used partly as abstract nouns as *uchelion* Gr.O. 120 'heights', but chiefly to denote classes of persons; the sg. is also in some cases substantival. The pl. is formed either by affection or by adding -i̯on or -i̯aid, Ml. W. -ẏon, -ẏeit; the latter is used for persons only, and causes the same penult. affection as -i̯on, except in late formations. Thus *caeth* 'slave' pl. *keith*, Mn. W. *caith* L.G.C. 63, or Ml. W. *keithẏeit* or Mn. W. *caethion*; *byddar* 'deaf' pl. *hyddair*, later formation *byddariaid*; *balch* 'proud' pl. *beilch* R.P. 1334 l. 46, *beilchion*, *beilchiaid*; *truan* 'wretch' pl. *truain*, *trueinion*, *trueiniaid*; *gwan* 'weak', pl. *gweinẏon* M.A. i 220*b*, *gweinẏeit* R.P. 1196, Mn. W. *gweiniaid*; *dall* 'blind' pl. *deillion*, *deilliaid*.

Ar ol y ferch ar ŵyl Fair
O glyi'r bedd e glyw'r **byddair.**—T.A., C. ii 83.

'The deaf hear [the lamentations] for the maid on Lady Day at the closing of the grave.'

A'i lun gwrol yn gorwedd
Ef a wna i'r **beilch** *ofni'r bedd.*—T.A., A 14975/107.

'Since his manly form lies [in it], he makes the proud fear the grave.'

Be chwilid pob ach aliwn,
Bylchau'n ach **beilchion** *a wn.*—T.A., A 14966/277.

'If every alien pedigree were examined I know gaps in the pedigree of proud ones.'

A phlaid o **feilchiaid** *a fydd.*—D.E., P 100/249.

'And there will be a company of the proud.'

NOTE. *gweiniaid* is often used adjectivally in Mn. W., as *rhai gweiniaid* 1 Cor. ix 22; on the other hand *gweinion* is often a noun

even as late as C.C. 338 (dated 1588). *blwyddiaid* is the only form of the pl. of the adj. *blwydd* 'year old', and is used adjectively, as *saith oen blwyddiaid* Lev. xxiii 18; see § 122 iv (2), p. 206.

iv. Many superlatives have pl. forms which are substantival only; one, *hynaif* 'elders', is formed by affection; the others take **-i̯on** or **-i̯aid**, as *goreuon*, *hynafi̯aid* (the *a* of *-af* is not affected); *eithafoeð* R.M. 186, L.G.C. 140, 152 (beside *eithafion*) and *pellafoedd* are peculiar in having **-oedd**.

Hopcyn ar lasfryn a'i laif.
Hwnnw oedd fal yr **hynaif**.—L.G.C. 167, cf. 10.

'Hopkin on a green hill with his sword,—he was as the men of old.'

Llan Nefydd, lle i **hynafiaid**.—T.A., A 31102/158.

'Llan Nefydd, the place of his ancestors.'

I wyth ynys y'th aned,
O'th ofn crynn **eithafion** *Cred.*—T.A., A 14971/390.

'For eight islands hast thou been born, the uttermost parts of Christendom tremble for fear of thee.'

v. Derivatives in *-ig*, *-og*, *-ol*, *-us* have substantival plurals in **-i̯on** only; as *y dysgedigion* 'the learned', *y cyfoethogion* 'the wealthy', *meidrolion* 'finite beings', *rheidusion* M.A. i 315*a* 'needy ones'.

Ac yr wyf inneu yn mynet yn erbyn **bonheðigy̯on** *y wlat hon* S.G. 293 'and I am going against the gentlemen of this country'. *Efe a dywallt ddirmyg ar* **foneddigion** Ps. cvii 40.

vi. Many compounds have plurals used as nouns only: *kyvoedy̯on* C. M.A. i 233*b* 'contemporaries', *anvariaid* 'savages', *y ffyddloniaid* 'the faithful'; *pengryniaid* and *pengrynion* 'roundheads'; *prydferthion* 'beauties', abstract.

Gender.

§ 146. i. Many adjectives containing **w** or **y** have f. forms in which these vowels are affected to **o** or **e** respectively, §§ 68, 83. The change takes place chiefly in monosyllables.

ii. Monosyllables containing **w** or **y** may be classified thus:—

(1) In the following the affection takes place in the f., in the literary language:— **w**: *blwng* I.G. 198 'angry', f. *blong* see ex.; *brwnt* 'dirty'; *bwlch* (*kic bwlch* A.L. i 524 'meat in cut'), f. *bolch*

R.P. 1327; *crwm* 'bent'; *crwn* 'round'; *dwfn* 'deep'; *llwfr* 'cowardly'; *llwm* 'bare'; *mwll* 'sultry'; *mws* R.P. 1348 'stale', f. *mos* I.G. 406; *pôl* 'blunt', f. *pôl* LL. LL 133/211*a*; *tlws* 'beautiful'; *trwch* I.G. 491 'maimed', f. *troch* do. 285; *trwm* 'heavy'; *trwsgl* 'clumsy'; *twll* W.M. 133, G.Gr. D.G. 247 'perforated', f. *toll* R.P. 1045; *twnn* I.G. 497 'battered', f. *tonn*, see ex.—**y**: *brych* 'spotted'; *byrr* 'short'; *cryf* 'strong'; *cryg* 'hoarse' f. *grec* R.P. 1274, I.G. 628, D.G. 223; *ffyrf* 'thick'; *gwlyb* 'wet'; *gwyn(n)* 'white'; *gwyrdd* 'green' (but see § 68); *hysb* 'dry'; *llyfn* 'smooth'; *llym* 'keen'; *sych* 'dry'; *syth* 'upright'; *tyn(n)* 'tight'. All the f. forms of the *y*-group are in colloquial use, except *creg*.

Rhoes hwrdd i'm llong, rhoes **flong** *floedd.*—G.Gr. P 51/49.

'[The billow] gave my ship a push, and gave an angry shout.'

Oer yw rhew ar warr heol;
Oerach yw 'mronn **donn** *yn d'ôl.*—W.LL., G 300.

'Cold is the frost on the ridge of the roadway; colder is my stricken breast after thee.'

(2) In the following both the unaffected and the affected form are used for the f.; in some cases perhaps the affected is a conscious formation, more or less artificial:—**w**: *ffwch*, f. in D.G. 80, but *-ffloch* in comp. I.G. 226 'flush'; *pwdr* 'rotten', f. Num. v 21, but *podr* I.G. 399; *rhuth* 'distended', *geg-rwth* f. D.G. 344, but *roth* I.G. 406; *swrth*, f. *sorth* 'prostrate' Gr.O. 59.—**y**: *clyd* 'sheltered', *clid* f. B.B. 62, but *cled* D.G. 221 and later poetry, see ex., now *clyd* f.; *cryc'h* 'curly', f. D.G. 75, *-grech* in comp. see iv (1): *chwyrn* 'whirling', f. D.G. 418, late *chwern* D.P.O. 344; *gwydn* 'tough', *gwedn* D.G. 50; *gwymp* 'fine', I.R. has *gwemp* says D. 54; *hyll*, f. D.G. 71, *nos hyll* 'horrid night' do. 500, later f. *hell*, but generally *hyll*, and so in spoken W. (the compound *diell* is not necessarily f. as D. assumed, but is for *di-hyll* by dissim. § 16 iv (2), and may be mas. as *diell dëyrn* M.A. i 493*b*).

Od aeth Rhys o'i glaerllys **gled,**
Yr wyf finnau ar fyned.—D.N., M 136/109.

'If Rhys has gone [to the grave] from his warm bright home, I too am about to go.'

(3) In the following the vowel is never affected, but the unaffected form is m. and f.:—**w**: *brwd* 'warm', *drwg* 'bad', *glwth* 'gluttonous', *gwrdd* 'strong', *gwrm* 'brown', *llwgr* 'corrupt'.—**y**: *dygn* 'grievous'; *grym* 'strong'; *gwych*, f. D.G. 89, 143, 156, 315, 359 'fine' (*gwech* is a late fabrication); *gwychr* 'victorious'; *gwyllt* see ex.; *hy* 'bold'; *hydr* 'valiant'; *myg* 'admirable'; *rhydd* 'free'; *rhyn(n)* f. D.G. 267 'shivering, cold'; *syn(n)* 'astonishing'.

Hed drosof hyd[a] *dir Esyllt* [a] Misprinted *i*.
O berfedd gwlad Wynedd **wyllt**.—D.G. 523.

'Fly for my sake as far as the land of Essyllt from the heart of the wild region of Gwynedd.'

iii. The change takes place rarely in uncompounded polysyllables:

(1) *Melyn* 'yellow' has f. *melen* always.

(2) D.D. gives "*manwl* et *manol*" s.v. but cites (from L.G.C. 318) *manwl* f.; the form *manol* seems a variant (? late) of *manwl* rather than a f. For the f. of *tywyll* L.G.C. and D.E. wrote *tywell*, which is quite certainly a spurious form, for *tywyll* originally had in its ult. not *y* but *ŵy* § 38 x, § 111 i (2), and could no more take a. f. form than *llŵyd* 'grey'. The true f. is *tywyll*: *Stavell Gynδylan ys* **tywyll** R.P. 1045 'The hall of C. is dark'; **Tywyll** *yw'r nos*, ... **tywyll** *yw'r fro* D.G. 267 'dark is the night, dark is the land'; *rhan* **dywyll** Luc xi 36. D. 54 states correctly that *tywyll* is com., quoting as violating usage ("sed dixit poeta") the well-known couplet—

Nos da i'r Ynys **Dywell**;
Ni wn oes un ynys well. –L.G.C., M 146/140.

'Good night to the dark island; I know not if a better island be.' The name, which denotes Anglesey, is properly *yr Ynys Dywyll* (*Ynis Dowyll* Camden[4] 681, *Ynys Dowyll* Mona Ant.[1] 24). Rowland 41 gives *tywell* as regular, and cites the couplet as an example, borrowing it from D. or his translator, but lacking D.'s scholarship. Some recent writers have used the form, having learnt it from these sources; and naturally Wms's *tywyll nos* is everywhere "corrected" to *tywell nos* in the new C.-M. hymnbook. The spoken language of course preserves the traditional form *nos dywyll*.

In Ml. and Early Mn. W. derivatives in *-lyd* had f. forms in *-led*: *croc creuled* B.B. 41 'bloody cross'; *y δreic danllet* S.G. 294, 329 'the fiery dragon'; *arf wyarlled* G.Gl. D. 59 'gory weapon';

Ac wybren **drymled**[b] *ledoer* [b] Printed *dremled*.
A'i lluwch yn gorchuddio'r lloer.—D.G. 229.

'And a gloomy chilly sky, and its drift hiding the moon.'

(3) But the bulk of polysyllabic adjectives with **w** or **ų** in the ult., which are not conscious compounds, have no distinctive f. form: **w**: *agwrdd* 'strong' *amlwg* 'evident', *chwimwth* 'quick', *teilwng* 'worthy', etc.;—**y**: *melys* 'sweet', *dyrys* 'intricate', *hysbys* 'known', *echrys* 'terrible', *newydd* 'new', *celfydd* 'skilful', *pybyr* f. I.G. 111 'keen', *ufyll* 'humble', *serfyll* 'prostrate', etc. etc.

iv. The affection often takes place in compounds:

(1) In the second element when it is an adj. as *pen-grych* R.M. 163 'curly-haired', f. *benn-grech* do. 232 (but *ben-grych* in the earlier

W.M. 165); *claerwyn* M.A. i 92 'bright', f. *claerwen* D.G. 48; *mynýgl-wen* do. 137 'white-throated', *drwyn-llem* do. 395 'sharp-nosed'; *gwallt-felyn* G. 157 'yellow-haired', f. *gwallt-felen* D.G. 107; *di-syml* 'artless', f. *di-seml* D.G. 53.

Dywed, donn **lẃys-gron, lás-greg,**
Chwedl da am ferch wiwdal deg.—G.Gr. P 77/194.

'Tell me, finely-curved blue hoarse wave, good news of the fair sweet-faced maiden.'

Sometimes the first element is affected in co-ordinate compounds, as *tlos-deg* D.G. 518 'beautiful and fair', *sech-goeg* I.G. 406 'dry and void'; and in rare cases both elements, as *cron-fferf* D.G. 38 'round and firm'.

(2) But old compounds, consisting of prefix + adj. and others which are not consciously felt to be compounds, retain their vowel unaffected : *hy-dyn* 'tractable', *an-hydyn* 'intractable', *cyn-dyn* 'stubborn', *ed-lym* 'keen', *cymysg* 'mixed', *hy-fryd* 'pleasant', *dy-bryd* 'ugly', *cyffelyb* 'like', *amlwg, agwrdd,* etc. iii (3).

v. The following are irregular :

(1) *brith* 'speckled' has f. *braith,* Ml. W. *breith,* a special case of *a*-affection, not originally irregular, see § 68.

(2) The change takes place in the penult in *bychan* 'little', f. *bechan,* see § 101 ii (2), and *cwta* 'short', f. sometimes *cota*; and sometimes in comparatives and superlatives; see § 147 iii.

vi. There is no distinctive form for the f. pl.

Comparison.

§ **147.** i. The adjective in W. has four degrees of comparison, the positive, the equative, the comparative, and the superlative.

As the cpv. is followed by *no,* later *na* 'than', the equative is preceded by *cyn* and followed by *â* (unacc., *a*) : *cyn wynned â'r eira* 'as white as snow'; 'of' after the spv. is expressed by *o* : *y byrraf o'r ddau* lit. 'the shortest of the two'.

ii. (1) The derived degrees are formed from the positive by the addition of *-(h)ed, -ach, -(h)af* respectively. The *-h-* of the equative and spv. disappeared after the accent § 48 ii, but hardened final *-b, -d,* or *-g* to tenues, even when these were followed by a sonant; in Late Mn. W. the hardening is extended to the cpv. Of course all mutable vowels are mutated, § 81. Thus the present-day comparison is as follows :—

Positive	Eqtv.	Cpv.	Spv.
glȧn 'clean'	*glaned*	*glanach*	*glanaf*
teg 'fair'	*teced*	*tecach*	*tecaf*
gwlyb 'wet'	*gwlyped*	*gwlypach*	*gwlypaf*
tlawd 'poor'	*tloted*	*tlotach*	*tlotaf*
budr 'dirty'	*butred*	*butrach*	*butraf*
gwydn 'tough'	*gwytned*	*gwytnach*	*gwytnaf*

(2) But in Ml. W. the final consonant of the positive was not hardened in the comparative; thus we have *tebygach* W.M. 44, R.M. 30 'more likely', *tegach* 'fairer' beside *teckaf* 'fairest' W.M. 226, R.M. 164, *hyfrydach* R.B.B. 50 'more pleasant', *ẏeidẏach* R.P. 1249 'more necessary'. The tenuis is rare: *kaletach* B.T. 64, 69 'harder'. The media remained in Early Mn. W., e.g. *rywiogach* L.G.C. see § 115 ii; *caledach* G.Gl. c. i 195; *tegach* T.A. A 14967/89; *tlodach* see ex.

Aeth cerdd dafod yn dlodach;
Aed ef i wlad nef yn iach.—H.D., P 99/416.

'Poetry became poorer [by his loss]; may he go safe to heaven.'

The equative and superlative, however, always have the tenuis: *kyn-debycket* W.M. 34, R.M. 22, *teccet* W.M. 181, R.M. 84, *teccaf a gwastataf* W.M. 179, R.M. 83, etc. The *-h-* which caused this hardening is sometimes preserved in Ml. W.: *dahet* R.M. 50 'as good'; *mwyhaf* W.M. 179, R.M. 83; *ky vawhet*, *gurhaw* § 149 i (2); *pennhaw* (*-w* ≡ *-f*) B.B. 102; see § 48 iv.

¶ On *i̯* before the ending, see § 35 ii (2).

iii. In Ml. W. f. forms of the derived degrees arose, the endings being added to the f. positive; these are new formations, and are less frequent in earlier than in later texts; thus *dissymlaf* of W.M. 6 becomes *disemmlaf* in R.M. 4. Other examples are *tromhaf* W.M. 82, R.M. 60; *gwen(n)ach* R.B.B. 60; *gwennet* R.P. 1239; *dofnet* do. 1276. A few survive in the Mn. period, *eos dlosaf* D.G. 402 'most beautiful nightingale'; *berraf* F. 17; *Wennaf Wen*.

iv. (1) The comparison of adjectives in the Ar. languages is largely formed by means of the Ar. suffix **-i̯es-*. The L°-grade **-i̯ōs* gives Lat. *-ior* nom. sg. m. f. of the cpv.; the F°-grade *-i̯os* gives Lat. *-ius* the corresponding neuter; the R-grade *-is* is seen in the Lat. cpv. adverb *mag-is*. The R-grade *-is-* with other suffixes gave many forms of the cpv. and spv.

(2) The W. spv. *-haf* (=Ir. *-em, -am*) is from Kelt. **-isamos, *-isamā* < Italo-Kelt. **-is̯m-os, -ā,* cf. Lat. *plūrimus* < **plōis̯mos.* This is formed by adding the ordinal ending **-s̯mos* (: Lat. *sept-imus*) to the suffix of comparison *-is-*, just as the other ordinal ending *-tos* (: Lat. *sex-tus*) added to *-is-* forms the other spv. ending *-istos* familiar in Gk. and Germanic. [The *-ss-* of Lat. *-issimus* is due to some reformation, probably *-is-* + *-simus* newly compounded, the latter element containing *-(i)s-* already.]

(3) The W. cpv. *-ach* (Bret. *-oc'h*) seems to come from Brit. **-aks-* for unaccented **-āks-* § 74; probably in full **-āk'son* < **-āk-isōn* (final **-on* for **-ōn* § 59 v) the cpv. in **-is-ōn* (: Gk. *-ιων*, Goth. *-iza*) of a derivative in **-āk-os* of the adj. § 153 (5). The general substitution of the cpv. of a derivative for the ordinary cpv. in **-i̯ōs* is doubtless due to the fact that, after the loss of endings, the cpv. in *-i̯ōs* did not differ from the pos. pl. (**katarn-i̯ōs* would give **cedeirn*),[a] or in some cases from the pos. sg. (**meliss-i̯ōs* would give **melys*). The suffix *-āk-* itself prob. had a heightening force, as it has in Lith. when added to an adj.; in Lettish *-āks* is the ordinary cpv. ending. The suffix **-isōn* is formed by adding **-ōn* to the suffix of comparison **-is-*. It occurs with loss of *-i-* in W. *nes, haws,* etc. § 148 i, q.v.; the final **-ōn* is the L°-grade of a suffix *-en-*, which is perhaps to be seen in *amgen* § 148 ii and *haeachen* G. 234, apparently an obl. case of *haeach* § 220 iii (6). The final *-n* of the nom. sg. *-son* is prob. the initial of *no* 'than' § 113 i (1).

(4) The W. eqtv. *-het* (=Bret. exclamative *-het*) seems to be from Brit. **-is-eto-s,* formed by adding the Kelt. ordinal suffix **-eto-s* § 154 ii (2) to the suffix of comparison **-is-*. It contains the same elements as the spv. suffix **-istos,* but is a new and independent formation, in which each element preserves some measure of its significance: *-is-* 'superior', *-eto-* 'in order'. It is equative in meaning only when *cyn* is prefixed; thus *cyn deced â* 'as beautiful as', lit. 'equally excelling-in-beauty with'. Without *cyn* it is an exclamative, as *uchet y kwynaf* R.P. 1417 'how loudly I lament!'; so Ml. Bret. *kuzret den* 'what a fine man!' (in the dial. of Leon the spv. is substituted for it, as *brasa den* 'what a big man!'). In W. it is largely used substantivally as the obj. of a vb. or prep., meaning not the quality denoted by the adj. but the degree of it: *er i theced* 'in spite of her superior beauty'.

Zimmer, KZ. xxxiv 161–223, held that the eqtv. was a noun like *colled,* etc., which became an adj. by being compounded with *cyn,* which he regarded as **kom-*; cf. *lliw* 'colour', *cyfliw* 'of a like colour'. His explanation did not account for the *-h-* in the suffix; hence Stern, ZfCP. iii 164, suggests that the eqtv. is a compound, the second element being allied to Ir. *sāith,* Lat. *satis,* but this the vowel does not admit of.—The fact that *teced* is a noun in *er i theced* no more proves it to be a noun originally than the use of *gwaethaf*

[a] Both survived for *hēn* 'old', but the pl. only as a noun; thus *hŷn* 'older' < **seni̯ōs, hŷn* 'ancestors' < **senī.*

as a noun in *er dy waethaf* 'in spite of thy worst' proves the spv. to be a primitive noun; the ordinal itself is so used, as *ar vyn deuδecvet* W.M. 83 'on my twelfth', meaning '[I] with eleven others'. Zimmer ignores the difference of meaning between the eqtv. and an abstract noun; *er fy nhlodi* is 'in spite of my poverty', but *er fy nhloted* is 'in spite of the degree of my poverty'; the former means 'though I am poor', the latter 'however poor I may be'; the idea of 'degree' is common to the W. eqtv. and Bret. exclamative, and it is absurd to assert, as Zimmer does, that it is a meaning read into the form by us moderns.

Some of the irregular equatives given in the next section begin with *cym-*, *cyn-*, *cyf-*, *cy-*, which are the regular forms of Kelt. **kom-* in composition. These do not require *cyn* before them; hence Zimmer believed that *cyn* before an equative in *-(h)ed* was identical with the above prefixes, and came from **kom-*. But *cyn* is followed by a soft initial, and its *-n* (Ml. *-nn*) is never assimilated to the following consonant; Strachan, who accepts Zimmer's view, explains this briefly as follows: "the form *cyn-* with analogical lenation became the general form before all sounds," Intr. 29. Analogy usually causes the one to conform to the many; but the above explanation involves the assumption of the many conforming to the one in the generalization of the pre-dental form *cyn-* (which did not take place in any other compounds of **kom-*); it involves the same assumption in the generalization of the apparent lenition in *cy-w-* (as in *cy-wir*); as the two things (*-n* and lenition) could not co-exist in any formation from **kom-*, the two generalizations would have to be independent, so that the improbability is raised to the second degree. Further, the *-n-* of *cyn* is not only old enough to provect *l-* and *r-* (§ 111 i), as in *cyn llonned*, *cyn rhated* (as opposed to *cyf-lawn*, *cyf-ran* from **kom-*), but is actually older than the separation of W. and Bret., for in Ml. Bret. it is *quen*. Some other explanation of *cyn* must therefore be sought.

cyn (≡ *cŏn*, in the dialects mostly *kĭn*) is now a proclitic, though it may be accented for emphasis; it was also a proclitic in Ml. W. for it was generally joined to the eqtv. in writing, though often separated, see below. But its *-y-* shows that originally it was a separate word separately accented, and distinguishes it from all the forms of **kom-*, which have *y*. In *cýn-ddrwg*, *cyn* forms an improper compound with the adj., and its *y* becomes *y* § 46 i; this is the only case of *y* in *cyn* with lenition.—While *cyf-* < **kom-* can be prefixed to a noun or adj. as *cyf-liw*, *cyf-uwch*, the form *cyn* cannot be put before a noun; we cannot say **cyn harddwch*, **cyn dlodi*, **cyn rhaid*, **cyn gymdeithas*, but must say *cyn hardded*, *cyn dloted*, *cyn rheitied*, *cynn gytymdeithaset* H.M. ii 419. Zimmer notes this, loc. cit. 197, but does not draw the obvious conclusion. The only word in W. not ending in *-(h)ed* used after *cyn* with lenition is *drwg*, and that is an adj. In Bret. *quen*, *ken* (*ker*, *kel*) comes before positive adjectives: *quen dr' uc*, *quen bras*. The inference is that forms in *-(h)ed* are

adjectives. Bret. preserves traces of a wider use of *ken* which shows that it is an adverb or conjunction: *ken ar re binvidik, ken ar re baour* 'les riches aussi bien que les pauvres' Troude, Dic. Fr.-Bret. s.v. *aussi* 3. The W. lenition is probably more original than the Bret. non-mutation, as *-n* tends to cause provection. The base of *cynn* is very probably **kom-* as has been supposed, but it contains an additional element, doubtless an adverbial suffix, probably the loc. suffix **-dhi* or **-dhe* § 162 vi (2), thus *cynn* < **kon-dhi*; cf. Umbr. *ponne* 'cum' < **q*om-de*, O.Lat. *quamde* 'quam'.

In Ml. W. beside *kyn-* as *kyndebycket* W.M. 34, and *kynn* written separately as *kynn decket* RL.A. 19, 67, *kynn gadarnnet* do. 67, etc. we sometimes find *ky-* as *kyyyfyȳhet* R.M. 150, *ky ðruttet* ib. This is due to the loss of final unaccented *-nn*, see § 110 v (2).

The misspelling *can* for *cyn* arose in the 18th cent., and was adopted by Pughe; but there is absolutely no justification for it either in the earlier written language or in the spoken dialects.

The Ir. eqtv. in *-ithir, -idir* is not phonetically related to the W. eqtv.

§ **148.** i. The following adjectives are compared irregularly :—

(1) **agos** 'near' § 222 i (3); eqtv. *mor agos* S.G. 34, Job xli 16, *kynnesset* C.M. 58; cpv. *nes*; spv. Ml. *nessaf*, now spelt *nesaf*.

W. *nessaf*, Ir. *nessam* < **ned-s̥mo-s* : Osc. *nessimas* 'proximae', Umb. *nesimei* 'proxime' : Skr. *náhyati* 'binds' (*h* < **dh*), √*nedh-* 'bind'. The cpv. *nes* (≡ *nēs*) < **ned-'son* < **ned-'sōn*; as final *-ōn* became *-on* § 59 v, it would not affect the vowel; see § 147 iv (3).

In the dialects *agos* is often compared regularly (*a*)*gosach*, (*a*)*gosa'*, thus *ffor' gosa'* 'nearest way' for lit. *fort* (≡ *fforð*) *nessaf* M.A. i 367*b*. These forms sometimes crept into the written language in the late period; see Silvan Evans s.v. *agos*.

(2) **bychan** 'small, little'; eqtv. *bychaned, lleied*; cpv. Ml. *llei*, Mn. *llai*; spv. *lleiaf*.

bychan § 101 ii (2); *vychanet, yr bychanet* W.M. 44; *am beth kynvychanet a hynny* S.G. 107 'for so small a thing as that'. For *llai* see § 104 ii (2). Rhys Brydydd used a spv. *bychanaf*, see Pughe s.v. *mymryn*.

(3) **cynnar** 'early', **buan** 'quick'; eqtv. *cynted*; cpv. *cynt*; spv. *cyntaf*.—**buan** is also compared regularly: *buaned* D.G. 132, *buanach* do. 225, Galarnad iv 19; so **cynnar**, spv. *cynharaf* 'earliest' etc.

Ni wyðun i varch **gynt** ... *no hunn* R.M. 9 'I knew of no fleeter steed than this'.

buan § 63 vii (3);—*cynt* (: Ir. *cēt*, Gaul. *Cintu-*) is perhaps cpv. in meaning only; it is believed to be cognate with Goth. *hindumists*;

Eng. *hind-er*, *be-hind*, perhaps from √ *kent-* 'point'; cf. *blaenaf* 'foremost, first': *blaen* 'point';—*cyntaf* § 106 iii (3); *cynnar* § 153 (4); *cynffon* 'tail' < **cynh-ffonn* shows *cynt* meaning 'hind'.

(4) **da** 'good'; eqtv. Ml. *kynna* B.T. 10, R.P. 1403; Ml. *kystadyl* M.A. i 290, *kystal* B.T. 10, W.M. 4, 7, etc., Mn. *cystadl*, usually *cystal*; as a noun Ml. *dahet* W.M. 70, *daet* R.M. 207, Mn. *daëd*, *daed*; cpv. *gwell*; spv. Ml. *goreuhaf* B.T. 65, B.B. 42, *goreuaf* IL.A. 49, but usually *goreu*, Mn. W. *goreu*, *gorau*.

da § 65 ii (1); *kynna* < **kom-dag-*; *daëd* and *daed*, disyll. and monosyll., see exx.;—*cystadl* § 96 ii (3), cf. *distadl* ibid.; the frequent use of the word caused the reduction *-adl* > *-al*; J.D.R.'s *cystadled*, and later *cystled* seem to be wrongly standardized forms of Gwyn. dial. *cystlad*, which may well be for *cystadl* by metathesis;—*gwell* orig. 'choice' § 100 iii (2) prob. not cpv. in form;—*goreu* appears to be formed from *gor-* 'super' § 156 i (17) and some form of the base **ɐ̯eseɐ̯-* 'good' § 75 vii (3); it is not likely that *goreu* is shortened from *goreuhaf*, for the dropping of the ending would be against all analogy; rather *goreuhaf* is a rhetorical form made from *goreu*, and apparently not largely used at any time; the Mn. form is *goreu*, *gorau*, § 81 iii (1); in the Early Mn. bards it rhymes with *-au*, see ex.—Pughe's *goraf* is a fiction.

Er **dá-ëd** *fo'r gair dí-werth,*
Ni bydd gwir heb addaw gwerth.—I.F., M 148/59.

'However good a word without a bribe may be, it will not be [accepted as] true without the promise of a bribe.'

Gwae ni dy **ddaed** *gan dy ddwyn.*—T.A., G. 230 (7 syll.).

'Woe to us that thou wert so good since thou art taken away.' Cf. L.G.C. 190.

O gwŷl gûr gael y **gorau,**
Oed i'r gûr hwn drugarhau.—T.A., A 24980/85.

'If a man sees that he has the best [of it], it is time for that man to relent.' So *iau/orau* H.C.IL., IL 133/212*b*; H.D. P 99/498.

(5) **drwg** 'bad'; eqtv. *kynðrwc* R.P. 1357, S.G. 11, 34, 37, etc., *cynddrwg* Gen. xli 19; as a noun *drycket* W.M. 227, Mn. *dryced* D.G. 40; cpv. *gwaeth*; spv. *gwaethaf*.

drwg, Bret. *drouk*, *droug*, Ir. *droch-*, *drog-* < Kelt. **druko-* √ *dhreugh/q-* : Skr. *drúh-*, *dhruk* 'injuring, betraying', *drúhyati* 'hurts', Germ. *Trug* : Lat. *fraus*;—*cynddrwg* § 147 iii (4);—*gwaeth*, *gwaethaf*, Bret. *gwaz*, *gwasa*, Vann. *gwac'h*, Corn. *gwêth*, *gwetha*; the Bret. forms show that W. *wae* is for *woe*, so that Stokes's **ɐ̯akto-s* Fick⁴ ii 260 is inadmissible; hence probably *gwaethaf* < **gwoeð-haf* < **upo-ped-is̥mos* § 75 ii (1) : Lat. *pessimus* < **ped-s̥mos*; in that

case *gwaeth* is formed from the superlative; see *llydan* (11) below. These are, then, the compared forms of *gwael* 'base, vile', the positive often having a suffix lost in comparison, cf. *mawr, hir, uchel*; and *gwael* represents **upo-ped-lo-s*; its derivative *gwaelawt* 'bottom', O. W. *guoilaut*, preserves the literal meaning ('under foot'). Of course in Ml. and Mn. W. *gwael* is compared regularly, its relation to *gwaethaf* having been forgotten.

(6) **hawdd** 'easy'; eqtv. *hawsset* IL.A. 81, Mn. *hawsed*; cpv. *haws*; spv. *hawssaf* IL.A. 81, S.G. 13, Mn. *hawsaf*.

hawdd, originally 'pleasant', as in *hawddfyd* 'pleasure', *hawdit* (≡ *hawδ-δyδ*) B.B. 90 'fine day', *hawdd-gar* 'handsome' § 153 (8) for **hwawdd* § 94 iv < Ar. **su̯ādú-s* : Gk. ἡδύς, Skr. *svādú-ḥ*, O. E. *swēte*, Lat. *suāvis* (<**su̯ādu̯i-s*), etc.;—cpv. *haws* < **su̯ād'son* < **su̯ādisōn* = Gk. ἡδίων < **su̯ādisōn*;—spv. *hawsaf* < **su̯ād'sᵉmos*; the *-aw-* instead of *-o-* in the penult is due to the lost *u̯* before it; cf. *gwawd* 'song' < **u̯āt-*, Ml. pl. *gwawdeu* R.P. 1216. In Gaul. we find *Suadu-rix, -genus* (prob. *-ā-*). For the development of the meaning cf. E. *ease* 'comfort; facility'.

In Recent W. we sometimes see *hawddach* and *hawddaf* which come from the most debased dialect; good speakers still use the standard forms *haws, hawsaf*.

Similarly **an-hawdd, ánawδ** R.P. 1227, etc. § 48 iv, Mn. **ánodd** 'difficult', O.W. *hanaud* CP.; eqtv. *anhawsed*; cpv. *ánaws, ános*; spv. *anhawsaf*.

Owing to its obvious formation the word is generally written *anhawdd* in the late period; but the regular Mn. form is *ánodd*, because *h* is lost after the accent § 48 iv, and unaccented *aw* > *o* § 71 ii (1). The spoken form is *ánoδ*, in some parts *hánoδ* by early metathesis of *h*, as perhaps in the O.W. form above.

Maddau ún ym oedd **ánodd**
Na bai yn fyw neb un fodd.—I.D., G. 135; cf. C.C. 193.

'It was difficult for me to part with one whose like did not live.'

Eithr **ános** *yw d'aros di.*—T.A., C. i 340.

'But it is more difficult to confront thee.'

But the prefix may be separately accented § 45 iv (2), in which case the word is necessarily *án-hawdd*; this form is attested in—

O deuaf ûyl i'w dai fo,
An-hawdd *fydd fy nyhúddo.*—Gut.O., A 14967/60.

'If I come on a holiday to his houses, it will be difficult to comfort me.'

(7) **hên** 'old'; eqtv. *hyned*; cpv. *hyn* B.T. 26 ≡ Mn. *hŷn*; *hynach* C.C. 342; spv. *hynaf*, O.W. *hinham*.

hên, Ir. *sen* < Ar. **seno-s*=Gk. *ἕνος*, Skr. *sánaḥ*, Lith. *sẽnas* 'old', Lat. *sen-*;—cpv. *hŷn*, Ir. *siniu* < **seniōs*=Lat. *senior*;—spv. *hyn(h)af* < **sen-is̯mos*, see *llydan* below.—The cpv. *hŷn* is still in colloquial use, though the later and weaker *hynach* is more common; in S.W. also a still later *henach*, *henaf*, re-formed from the pos.

(8) **hir** 'long'; eqtv. *kyhyt* W.M. 43, *cyhyd* § 41 v, contr. to *cŷd*; as a noun *hŷd*, e.g. in *er hyd* 'however long'; cpv. *hwy*; spv. *hwyaf*.

hir § 72; the root is **sīi̯-*; *cyhyd* 'as long' < **ko-sit-*; *hyd* 'length', Ir. *sith* < **si-t-*, R_2 **sī-* § 63 vii (5);—cpv. *hwy*, Ir. *sīa* < **seison* for **sei-isōn* ib.;—so spv. *hwyaf*, Ir. *sīam* < **seis̯mos*.

The contracted form *cŷd* is common in Mn.W.: *cyd a rhaff* D.G. 48 'as long as a rope', *cyd a gwŷdd* D.E. G. 124 'as long as trees', *cyd* E.P. PS. xliv 23 'so long'; *cyd a phregeth* 'as long as a sermon'.—*cŷd* < *cŷhyd* (which gives Card. dial. *cichyd*).

(9) **ieuanc, iefanc, ifanc** § 76 iii (3) 'young'; eqtv. *ieuanghet* R.M. 160, *ivanghet* C.M. 84; cpv. Ml. *ieu* B.T. 26, 28, Mn. *iau*; also *ieuanghach* S.G. 66; *ieuangach* Job XXX 1; spv. *ieuhaf* A.L. i 542, *ieuaf*, *ifaf*, *ieuangaf*.

ieuanc, Bret. *iaouank*, Ir. *ōac*, contr. *ōc* (whence W. *hog-lanc* 'lad'); —cpv. *ieu* < **i̯uui̯ōs* (Ir. *ōa* with *-a* from the spv., see 11 below): Skr. *yávīyas-*;—spv. *i̯euaf*, Ir. *ōam* < **i̯uui̯s̯mos*.

(10) **issel**, now written **isel** 'low'; eqtv. *isset* R.M. 94, Mn. *ised*; cpv. *is* (≡ *īs*); spv. *issaf*, *isaf*.

W. *issel* = Ir. *is(s)el*. The origin of the word is not certain, but it is most probably cognate with Lat. *īmus*. Brugmann IF. xxix 210ff. derives *īmus*, Osc. *imad-en* 'ab imo' from **ī* or **id* an adv. from the pron. stem **i-*, as Lat. *dēmus*, *dēmum* is formed from *dē*; and quotes other examples of 'here' becoming 'here below'. The Kelt. adj. is obviously formed after **upselo-s* (> W. *uchel* 'high' § 86 iv); if the orig. adv. was **īd*, the adj. would be **īd-selo-s* > **īsselo-s*, which gives W. *issel*, Ir. *issel* regularly. Pedersen suggests **pēd-selo-*, √*ped-* 'foot'; but the connexion with Ital. spv. *īmo-* is more probable.

(11) **llydan** 'wide'; eqtv. *cyfled*, as a noun *lled*; cpv. *lled*, late *lletach*; spv. *lletaf*.

W. *llydan*, Ir. *lethan* § 63 viii (1); W. *lled* noun, see ibid.; spv. *lletaf* < **plet-is̯mo-s*.—The cpv. *lled*, Ir. *letha* (*-a* added in Ir.) is irregular; Osthoff derived W. *lled* from **plet-is* (Thurneysen Gr. 227), but it is not clear why the adverbial form *-is* should be generalized (the regular **pleti̯ōs* would give W. **llyd*, Ir. **lithiu*). As many comparatives were the same as the superlative without its ending, e.g. *hwy*, *hwyaf*, Ir. *sīa*, *sīam*, the probability is that some,

which differed, were assimilated, so that *lled* is a re-formation of **llyd* on the analogy of *lletaf*. This seems also the simplest explanation of Ir. *letha* and similar forms. In the same way W. *hynaf* seems to owe its *y* to the comparative *hŷn*, § 65 iv (1).

The cpv. *lled* in Job xi 9 is changed in late editions to *llettach*; the literary form is *lled*: thus *Eidion* **lled** *no'r dunnell win* IL. A 14967/20 'an ox broader than a tun of wine'; cf. L.G.C. 429.

O druyaredd pen Calfaria, sydd yn llawer **lled** *na'r byd.*—Wms. 490. 'Oh the mercy of mount Calvary, which is much wider than the world.'

(12) **mawr** 'large, great'; eqtv. Ml. *kymeint*, Mn. *cymaint*, and Ml. *kymein*, Mn. *cymain* § 106 iii (2); as a noun *meint*, Mn. *maint*; cpv. Ml. *moe* § 75 i (3), Ml. and Mn. *mwy*, as an adv. *mwyach* also; spv. *mwyhaf* § 147 ii (2), *mwyaf*.

W. *mawr*, Ir. *mār*, *mōr*, Gaul. Σεγο-μαρος < Kelt. **mā-ro-s*;—cpv. *mwy*, Ir. *māa*, *māo*, *mōu* < **mā-i̯ōs* § 75 i (3); spv. *mwyhaf* < **māis̥mos* < **mā-is̥mos*; — the eqtv. noun *maint* < **ma-ntí-s* < **mā-ntí-s* § 74 iv, with the suffix of numeral substantives such as **dekantí-s* < **dek̂n̥-tí-s* : Skr. *daśatíḥ* 'a decade'; cf. the formation of eqtv. adjectives with ordinal suffixes; cf. also *pa veint* C.M. 78 'how many', *y meint gwyr a oeð iðaw* R.B.B. 46 'the number of men that he had'='as many as he had', etc.—The dialectal form *cymin(t)* of the eqtv. is met with, though rarely, in the bards:

Nid **cymin** *ar y min mau*
Blys gwin a blas i genau.—D.G. 317.

'Not so much on my mouth is the desire of wine as of the taste of her lips.'

(13) **tren(n)** 'strong'; cpv. *trech* (≡ *trēch*); spv. *trechaf*.

Trechaf *treisied, gwannaf gwaedded* PIOV. 'let the strongest oppress, the weakest cry'. S.T. has a new cpv. *trechach* F. 6.

W. *trenn*, Ir. *trēn* < **trek-sno-s*, √*stereg-*: Germ. *stark, streng*, Eng. *strong*;—cpv. *trech*, Ir. *tressa* (with added *-a*) < **trek-'son* < **treg-isōn*;—spv. *trechaf*, Ir. *tressam* < **trek-'s̥mo-s*.

chweg 'sweet' has Ml. cpv. *chwechach* W.M. 481, R.M. 121, formed like *trechach* from an old cpv. **chwech* < **s̥uek-'son*.

(14) **uchel** 'high'; eqtv. Ml. *kyvuch*, Mn. *cyfuwch*, contr. *cuwch*; exclam. *uchet* R.P. 1417; as a noun *uchet* W.M. 189; cpv. Ml. *uch*, Mn. *uwch*; spv. *uchaf*.

uchel § 86 iv, § 96 iv (3); *uch, uwch* < **up-'son*; *uchaf* < **up-'s̥mos*: Lat. *s-ummus* < **s-up-mo-s*, Gr. ὕπατος < **up-m̥-to-s*. On the mutation *uch-* : *uwch* see § 77 x. The form *uwchaf* sometimes met with in Late W. ignores the mutation; it is a re-formation from *uwch*, as children say *buwchod* for *buchod* 'cows', sg. *buwch*.

ii. The following have defective comparison:—

(1) Spv. **eithaf** 'uttermost' < **ekt$_e$mos* : Lat. *extimus*, § 109 iv (1) (to cpv. *eithr* 'except, but', Ir. *echtar* < **ektro-s* : Lat. *extrā* § 99 v (4); to positive *eh- ech-* < **eks-* : Lat. *ex*).

(2) Cpv. **amgen** 'other; better'; also a later *amgenach* S.G. 200, D.N. F.N. 91.

Ac **amgen** *ledyr no hwnnw ny phrynei ef* W.M. 67 'And other leather than that he did not buy'.

amgen is a cpv. of similar form to *hagen* § 222 iii (4), and may be neg. in *a(n)-* of the cpv. corresponding to the spv. *megys* § 215 iv (3) 'like'; thus **n̥-sm-āk-is-en-* > **amg̊ien* > *amgen* § 100 vi. (As the 2nd syll. drops *-is-* remained and gave *g̊* not *h*.)

(3) **prif** 'chief' < Lat. *prīmus* is not felt as a spv. in W.; it always forms the first element of a compound: § 155 iii (1).

iii. Equatives with the prefix *cy-* may have before this the prefix *go-*, as *gogymaint*, *gogyfuwch* etc. Thus—

A'r llall a oeð yn kynðuet ac yn **ogymeint** *a bran* S.G. 99 'and the other was as black and as large as a crow'. *yn* **ogyfuwch** *â Duw*, Phil. ii 6.—This form is sometimes predicated of both the things compared: *Nid* **gogyhyd** *esgeiriau y cloff* Diar. xxvi 7.

§ **149.** i. Many nouns take the endings of comparison, and thereby become adjectives of the respective degrees.

(1) The following are in common use in Mn. W.:

rhaid 'need'; eqtv. *cyn rheitied* D.G. 299 'as necessary, as fitting'; cpv. Ml. *ŕeidỳach* R.P. 1249, Mn. *rheitiach* 'more necessary, more fitting'; spv. Ml. *ŕeittaf* R.P. 1148, Mn. *rheitiaf*.

rhaid < Kelt. **(p)rat-i̯o-* 'due, due share' < **prət-*, √*perō-* 'dispose': W. *rhad* see below, *rhann* 'share', Lat. *part-* § 63 vii (2), W. *barn* § 101 iii (2).

elw 'profit'; cpv. *elwach* 'profiting more, better off', as (*pa*) *faint elwach fyddi di?* 'how much better off wilt thou be?'

elw is properly *helw*, still so pronounced in Gwynedd in phrases like *ar dy helw* 'in thy possession'; *helw* = Ir. *selb* 'possession' both < **sel-u̯o-*, √*sel-* 'take': Ir. *selaim* 'I take', Gk. ἑλεῖν, Goth. *saljan*, O.E. *sellan*, E. *sell*.

blaen 'point, front'; also adj. as *troed blaen* 'fore-foot'; spv. *blaenaf*, 'foremost, first'; § 215 iii (10).

ôl 'rear, track', as *yn ôl* 'after, according to' § 215 iii (6), *ôl troed* 'foot-print'; also adj. as *troed ôl* 'hind foot'; spv. *olaf* 'last' < **ol-is$_e$mos* : Lat. *ultimus* < **ol-t$_e$mos*.

pen(n) 'head'; spv. *pennaf* 'chief'; also in Ml. and Early Mn. W. cpv. *pennach* LL.A. 89, G.Gl. P 83/58 'higher, superior'; § 89 iii.

rhad 'gift, grace', having become an adj. 'cheap' from the phrase *yn rhad* 'gratis', is compared regularly.

rhad < **prət-* : *rhann*, Skr. *pūrtám* 'reward'; see *rhaid* above.

diwedd 'end'; spv. *diwaethaf* 'last' LL.A. 7, R.P. 1195, 1249, 1298, P 16/19 R., I Petr i 5 by R.D. (in Wm.S.); *diwethaf* LL.A. 43, 59, P 14/11 R., A.L. i 4, 48, 50, Matt. xx 8 Wm.S.; so in Es. ii 2, xlviii 12, Jer. xxiii 20 in 1620; but generally in 1620, and everywhere in late bibles, *diweddaf*.

A.L. i 48 *dỷuedaf* does not imply δ, as we have *pemdec* for *pymtheg* on the same page. The form *diweddaf* seems to come from Wm.S.'s *dyweddaf* Matt. xxvii 64; and as it seemed to be "regular" it ousted the traditional forms in the written lang. of the 19th cent.; but the spoken forms are *dwaetha'* (Powys), *dŵytha'* (Gwyn.), and *dwetha'* (S.W.).

Caned dy feirdd—cyntaf fûm,
A **diwaethaf** *y deuthum.*—T.A., A 14901/26.

'Let thy bards sing—I was the first [of them], and I have come last'.

The O.W. *diued* B.S.CH. 2 and Bret. *divez*, Corn. *dewedh*, Ir. *diad*, *dead* show that the noun *diwedd* cannot be for **diwaedd*; on the other hand *diwaethaf* cannot well be for *diwethaf*. The explanation of the former seems to be that it comes from an intensified form with **-u̯o-*, which survived only in the spv.; thus *diwaethaf* < **diu̯oeδ-haf* < **dī-u̯o-(u̯)ed-isamo-s*, cf. *gwaethaf* (5) above.

diwedd is 'end' in the sense of 'close, conclusion', not a geometrical term; hence from **dī-* 'out' + *u̯ed-*, √*u̯edh-* 'conduct, lead': Lith. *vedù* 'I conduct, lead', E. *wed*, etc., cf. W. *gor-δiu̯eδaf* 'I overtake'.

(2) Many other cases occur in Ml. W.: *gurhaw* (≡*gwrhaf*) B.B. 41 'most manly'; *amserach* W.M. 9, R.M. 6 'more timely'; *llessach* W.M. 17, R.M. 11 'more beneficial' (*lles* 'benefit'); *dewissach* C.M. 11 'preferable' (*dewis* 'choice' noun); *pennaduryaf* do. 8 'most princely'; *ky vawhet* R.M. 149 'as cowardly', *bawaf* R.P. 1278 'most vile' (*baw* 'dirt').

ii (1) Equative adjectives are formed from many nouns by prefixing *cyf-*, *cym-*, (as *cyfled*, *cymaint*); thus *kyfliw* R.B.B. 179 'of the same colour'; *kyvurδ* W.M. 75 'of the same rank';

kymoneð ib. 'as noble' (*boneð* 'nobility'); *kyvoet* do. 27 'of the same age'; *cyfryw* 'of the same kind, such'.

(2) In one or two cases the second element no longer exists in its simple form either as a noun or adj.: *cyfred* 'as swift' (*rhedeg* 'to run'); *cyfref* 'as thick' (*rhefedd* 'thickness').

(3) Compounds of *un-* 'one' also form the equivalents of equative adjectives: *unlliw a* D.G. 17 'of the same colour as'; *neb* **un fodd** § 148 i (6), 'any one like' (*modd* 'manner'), *unwedd a* 'like', etc.

§ **150.** Most adjectives may be compared regularly, including—

i. Many derivatives in *-aidd*, *-ig*, *-in* (not denoting substance), *-og*, *-us*; as *peraidd* 'sweet', eqtv. *cyn bereiddied*, cpv. *pereiddiach*, spv. *pereiddiaf*; so *pwysicaf* 'most important', *gerwinaf* 'roughest', *cyfoethocaf* 'richest', *grymusaf* 'mightiest'. But those containing more than two syllables are mostly compared periphrastically.

Verbal adjectives in *-adwy*, *-edig* are not compared (except periphrastically), though *caredig* 'kind', no longer felt as a verbal adj., is, e.g. *caredicaf* 'kindest'. Adjectives in *-ol* are rarely compared; those in *-aid*, *-in* denoting material, and in *-lyd* are not compared.

ii. Compounds in which the second element is an adjective; as *gloyw-ðúaf* IL.A. 93 'of a most glossy black', *llathyr-wýnnaf* ib. 'most lustrously white', *klaer-wýnnaf* ib. 'most brilliantly white', *cyn vlaen-llýmet* . . . *llaen-llýmaf* W.M. 176 'as sharply pointed . . . most sharply pointed'.

Dwy fron mor wynion a'r ōd,
Gloyw-wynnach *na gwylanod.*—D.G. 148.

'Two breasts as white as snow, more luminously white than seagulls.'

But when the second element is an adj. compared irregularly, the compound cannot be compared, as *maléis-ddrwg*, *troed-lýdan*, *pen-úchel*, etc. A few of these may, however, be compared by adding the endings to derived forms, as *gwérth-fawr* 'valuable', spv. *gwerthvawrussaf* IL.A. 80, or *gwerthfawrocaf*; *clód-fawr* 'celebrated', spv. *clodforusaf*. (G.M.D. has *gwerthvoraf* R.P. 1195, an unusual form.)

Adj. compounds with noun final as *ysgafn-droed* 'light-footed' can only be compared periphrastically.

§ **151.** i. Adjectives which cannot take the endings of comparison as above may be compared periphrastically, by placing before the positive *mor*, *mwy*, *mwyaf*, to form the eqtv., cpv., spv.

respectively. *mor* softens the initial of the adj. except when it is *ll* or *rh*; but *mwy* and *mwyaf* take the radical; thus *mwy dymunol* Ps. xix 10, Diar. xvi 16 'more desirable'.

mwy and *mwyaf* are of course the cpv. and spv. of *mawr*. As they do not cause lenition, they represent Brit. forms ending in consonants. *mwy* may come directly from the neut. nom-acc. form **māis* < **mā- + -is* as in Lat. *mag-is*; the corresponding form of the spv. would be **māisamon* (cf. Lat. *plūrimum*, Gk. πλεῖστον), which would give *mwyaf* with the rad., since the nasal mutation of mediae survived only after *fy*, *yn* and numerals § 107 i.

mor is probably the pos. *mawr* unaccented, forming a loose compound with the adj., thus representing Brit. **māro-*; and so causing lenition. For *o* instead of *aw* see § 71 i (2). It is now generally accented, and pronounced *mŏ́r*; D.D. gives it as *mốr* (≡ *mŏ́r*), but *mŏ́r* (cf. *pōb* § 168 i (3)) may sometimes be heard, when it is emphatic. It was first used as an exclamative, thus OW. *mortru* ox. gl. eheu, *morliaus* do. gl. quam multos. The transition from the literal meaning '*greatly sad' of the compound *mor-dru*, through '*very sad!' to 'how sad!' is easy; and as the last meaning is equivalent to that of the exclamative eqtv., the form *mor dru* naturally came to be regarded as a periphrastic eqtv., and was used later with *a* 'as' and the compared noun. See examples below.

ii. (1) *mwy* and *mwyaf* are only used to compare compounds and derivatives where inflexional comparison is not feasible.

mwy da, *mwy drwg*, etc., are not used by adult speakers; Wms.'s *enw mwyaf mawr* 750 is a childish expression called forth by the exigencies of rhyme.

(2) On the other hand forms with *mor* are, as shown above, different in origin from the equative, and have had a separate existence from the outset. Hence *mor* is used freely before all adjectives at all periods. Thus:

Exclamative: **mortru** gl. eheu!—**Mor truan** *genhyf* **mor truan** *a δeryv* B.B. 1 'How sad to me, how sad [is] what has happened.'—*Poet emendigeit y gof ay diyones* . . . **mor dost** *yw* W.M. 477 'Accursed be the smith that made it, so painful is it.'—**mor δyrys** *yw* R.M. 120 'so tangled is it.'—**mor hagyr** *y gwelei y δelw ry oed arnaw* W.M. 251 'so ugly did he perceive the appearance that he bore.'—*mor δiryeit* . . . *mor dec* R.P. 1385 'how bad . . . how fair.'

Wylo'r wyf lawer afon
Drosti hi, **mor drist** *yw hon*.—Gut.O., A 14967/119.

'I weep many a river for her, so sad is she.'

Truan, **mor wann** *yw'r einioes*,
Trymed yw tor amod oes!—T.A., J 17/201.

'Alas, how weak is life, how sad is the breaking of life's promise.'

Equative: *am gyflavan* **mor anweδus ac** *a rywnaethoeδ* W.M. 30 'for so horrible a murder as [that] which she had committed.'—*pryf* **mor δielw a** *hwnnw* do. 78 'so vile a reptile as that.'—*peth* **mor aghywir a** *hynny* R.M. 177 'so wrong a thing as that'.

Ni bu fyd i neb o Fôn
Mor oer ag *y mae'r awron.*—H.K.

'There has not been to any man of Môn so cold a world as it is now.'

(3) *mor* with a noun forms the equivalent of an eqtv. adj., as O.W. *morliaus* gl. quam multos; Ml.W. *mor eisseu* R.P. 1428 'how necessary'. The construction is not common, and is now obsolete, but several examples occur in the Early Mn. bards.

The construction arises naturally from the original meaning of *mor* as explained above, for *mor-liaws* '*great host' could as easily as *mor-luosog* '*greatly numerous' come to mean as an exclamative 'how numerous!'

Nid **mor ddihareb** *nebun*
I'n gwlad ni **a** *hi i hun.*—D.G. 440.

'No one is so proverbial in our land as she herself.'

I dad, **mor wrda** *ydoedd!*—L.G.C. 93.

'His father, how noble he was!'

Nid marw ef, nid **mor ofud.**—T.A., A 14879/20.

'He is not dead, it is not so sad [as that].'

Curiais yr ais **mor resyn.**—S.T., LL 133/170*a*.

'I suffered [in] my heart so sorely.'

(4) *mor* with the cpv. occurs in *O mor well* Diar. xvi 16 'Oh how much better!' The usual construction is *cymaint gwell!* but the above may be a stray example of an idiom once in use. It is quite consistent with the explanation of *mor* adopted above.

(5) In S.W. dialects *mor* is sometimes used instead of *cyn* before the eqtv., as *mor laned* for *cyn laned* or *mor lân*.

(6) The *m-* of *mor* is never mutated, but remains in all positions; thus after f. sg. nouns: *gyflavan mor anweδus* (2) above; *arch mor drahaus* R.M. 227 'so insolent a request'. This may be due to its exclamative origin.

§ 152. i. A positive adjective is sometimes repeated to enhance its meaning. As a rule the iteration forms a loose compound, the second element having its initial softened, as *A* **da dda** *hyd i ddiwedd* W.LL. 62 'and very good till his death'. Very rarely it forms a strict compound, as

Péll-bell, *ar draws pob hýll-berth,*
Po bellaf, gwaethaf yw'r gwerth.—G.Gl. M 146/154.

'Very far, across every horrid bush [I have driven my flock]; the further, the less is their worth.'

In some cases the initial of the second adj. is not softened, so that the two do not constitute a formal compound; as **Da da** *fu o grud hyd fedd* W.IL. 40 'very good was she from the cradle to the grave'; **Drwg drwg** Diar xx 14. Where the adj. begins with a vowel or an immutable consonant, there is, of course, no indication of the construction; e.g. *isel isel* Deut. xxviii 43.

ii. A cpv. is compounded with itself to express progressive increase in the quality denoted by the adj. When the cpv. is a monosyllable the compound is generally strict, as *gwáeth-waeth* 'worse and worse', *llái-lai* 'less and less', *lléd-led* 'wider and wider', *nés-nes* 'nearer and nearer', *mwy-fwy* Phil. i 9 'more and more'. In present-day speech the compound is oftener loose, as *llái lái*. When the cpv. is a polysyllable, the compound is necessarily loose; see the ex. below.

Ef â afon yn **fwyfwy**
Hyd y môr, ac nid â mwy.—L.G.C. 357.

'A river goes increasing to the sea, and goes no more.'

Gŵr a wella'r gwŷr **wéllwell**,
A gwŷr a wna'r gŵr yn well.—D.N., F. 4, G. 161.

'A master who betters the men more and more, and men who make the master better.'

A Dafydd oedd yn myned **gryfach gryfach**, *ond tŷ Saul oedd yn myned* **wannach wannach**.—2 Sam. iii 1.

The combination always forms a compound, for the second cpv. has always its soft initial.

mwy na mwy 'excessive', understood as 'more than more', is doubtless originally 'more and more', the *n-* of *na* being the final *-n* of the cpv. § 147 iv (3).

Derivative Adjectives.

§ 153. Derivative adjectives are formed from the stems of nouns, adjectives and verbs by the addition of the following suffixes:

(1) **-adwy, -ediw, -edig, -awd** verbal adjective suffixes, see § 206.

Ml.W. **-awdyr** seems to be *-awd* with excrescent *-r* § 113 i (1):

annŷoδeivŷawdyr LL.A. 53 'intolerable', *teimlŷawdyr* do. 42 'sensitive', *rêolawdyr* C.M. 14 'regular.'

(2) **-aid**, Ml.W. **-eit** : Ir. *-the* participial; as in *cannaid* D.G. 64, Marc ix 3 'bright'; *llathraid* D.G. 386 'shining'; *euraid* do. 13, 64, 88, 220, 372–3, Ml.W. *eureit* W.M. 180 'golden'; *ariannaid*, Ml.W. *arŷanneit* R.M. 83 'silvern'; it may represent Brit. **-at-i̯o-s*, a *-i̯o-* derivative of the participial *-ət-*. It is distinct from *-aidd*; *euraidd* is a late bungle (not in D.D.).

(3) **-aidd**, Ml.W. **-eiδ** : Ir. *-de*; added to nouns, as *teyrneiδ* W.M. 20 'kingly', Mn.W. *gwladaidd* 'rustic', *gwasaidd* 'servile'; to the v.n. *caru* in *karueiδ* W.M. 145, Mn.W. *carûaidd* 'lovable, loving'; to adjectives as *peraidd* 'sweet', *puraidd* 'pure', often modifying the sense, *oeraidd* 'coldish', *tlodaidd* 'poorish'; it represents Kelt. **-adi̯os*, a *-i̯o-* derivative of the adj. suffix **-ado-s* : cf. Lat. *-idius* in proper names beside adj. *-idus* which may be from **-ado-s*, and cf. Gk. *-aδ-* in *μιγάς* 'mixed', etc.

Also *-íaidd* in *arglwyddíaidd* D.G. 450 'lordly', *-oníaidd* in *barddoníaidd* do. 449 'poetic'.

(4) **-ar** < Kelt. **-aro-* < **-e̯ro-* in *byddar* 'deaf', Ir. *bodar* : Skr. *badhirá-ḥ*; *cynnar* 'early', *diweddar* 'late'; cf. *-ro-* in *mawr* < **mā-ro-s*, etc.

(5) Ml.W. **-awc**, Mn.W. **-awg**, **-og** : Ir. *-ach* < Kelt. **-āko-s* : Lat. *-ācus*, Gk. *-ηκος*, *-ᾱκος*, Skr. *-āka-ḥ*, Lith. *-ókas*; added to nouns, as *arvawc* R.M. 270, Mn.W. *arfog* 'armed', *llidŷawc* W.M. 51, Mn.W. *llidiog* 'angry', *gŵlanog* 'woolly', *gwresog* 'hot', *pwyllog* 'deliberate', etc.; many of these adjectives have become nouns : *marchog*, *swyddog*, etc. § 143 iv (6), v (4).

The suffix is sometimes added to adjectives, as *trugarog* : *trugar* 'merciful'; *duog*, Ml.W. *duawc* R.M. 172 : *du* 'black'; *geuawc* : *gau* 'false'. The cpv. of the derivatives ended in **-āk'son* > *-ach*, which was taken for the cpv. of the simple adj., and spread to all adjs., § 147 iv (3); hence added to *-og* itself, Mn.W. *gwerthfawrocach*.

(6) Ml.W. **-awl**, Mn.W. **-awl**, **-ol** < Kelt. **-ālos* : Lat. *-ālis* in *līberālis*, etc.; an exceedingly common suffix; added to nouns, as *nefol* 'heavenly'; to adjectives, as *estronol* 'foreign'; and to verb stems, as *symudol* 'movable, moving', *dymunol* 'desirable'.

(7) **-δe**; occurring in Ml. W. verse : *tanδe*, *eurδe* P.M. M.A. i 292*b* 'fiery', 'golden'. It seems to be the Ir. *-de* (≡ *-δe* : W. *-aiδ*, see (3) above) borrowed during the 12th cent. bardic revival which drew its inspiration from Ireland. It does not seem to occur in prose.

(8) **-gar** < **-āk-aro-s* < **-āq-e̯ro-s*; thus *hawδ-gar* 'comely' < Brit. **su̯ádakaros* < Kelt. **su̯ád(u̯)-āk-aro-s* § 148 i (6); a combination of (5) and (4) above : added to nouns, as *epilgar* 'prolific' (*epil* 'offspring'), *dialgar* 'revengeful', *enillgar* 'gainful, lucrative' (*ennill* 'gain'); added to adjectives, as *meistrolgar* 'masterful', *trugar* 'merciful' (*tru* 'miserable', for meaning cf. Lat. *misericordia*); added to verb stems, as *den-gar* 'alluring' (*denu* 'to allure'), *beiddgar* 'daring'.

The idea that *-gar* means 'loving' (*caru* 'to love'), which clearly cannot be the case in *epilgar, enillgar, dengar*, etc., has resulted in the formation in the late period of new adjectives in which it bears that meaning; as *gwladgar* 'patriotic', *ariangar* 'money-loving'. But many new formations in the dialects preserve the original force of the suffix, as *sgilgar* 'skilful' from E. *skill*. It need hardly be added that Stokes's implied explanation of *trugar* as 'loving the wretched' Fick⁴ ii 138 is fanciful, as also the popular explanation of *hawddgar* as 'easy to love'.

(9) **-ig**, Ml.W. **-ic** < Kelt. **-īkos*: Skr. *-īka-ḥ*, Lat. *-īc-*, Gk. *-ικ-*; as *unig* 'only, lonely', *deheuig* 'dexterous', *lloerig* 'lunatic', *bonheddig* 'gentle-', etc.; O.W. *cisemic* JUV. gl. primus.

(10) **-in** < Kelt. **-īnos*: Skr. *-ína-ḥ*, Gk. *-ινος*, Lat. *-īnus*, Lith. *-ynas* (*y* ≡ *ī*); it is added to names of materials, as in *derwin* M.A. i 191 'oaken', *lletrin* B.T. 9 'leathern', *meinin* E.P. PS. xviii 29 'of stone', *daearin, heyernin* § 75 vi (3); and to adjectives as *gerwin* 'rough' (*garw* 'rough'), *gwerthefin* 'highest', *cysefin* 'primitive' § 95 iii (3), cf. O.W. *cisemic* above.

(11) **-lawn**, Mn.W. **-lawn**, **-lon** '-ful'=*llawn* 'full', § 63 vii (2); as *ffrwythlon* 'fruitful', *prydlon* 'punctual', *heddychlon* 'peaceful', *bodlon* § 111 vii (1), etc.

(12) **-lyd**, after *n* or *r* **-llyd**, Ml.W. **-lyt**, **-llyt** 'covered with' <**(p)lt-*, *√plethē-* § 63 viii (1); as *llychlyt* R.M. 145 'dusty', *dysdlyt chweinllyt* do. 146 'dusty flea-infested', *seimlyd* 'greasy', *rhydlyd* 'rusty', *creulyd, gwaedlyd* 'bloody', *tomlyd* 'dungy', *tanllyd* 'fiery'. When added to adjectives it is the equivalent of *lled-* 'rather': Ir. *leth* 'half', which is ultimately from the same root ('*stretch out > *surface > *side > half'); as *gwanllyd* 'rather weak', *oerllyd* 'coldish'.

(13) **-us** < Lat. *-ōsus*; originally in Lat. derivatives as *dolurus* 'sore' < Lat. *dolōrōsus, llafurus*, Ml.W. *llafuryus* < Lat. *labōriōsus*; as the nouns *dolur, llafur* had also been borrowed the adjectives seemed to be formed from these by the addition of an adj. suff. *-us*, which was subsequently added to W. forms, *gweddus* 'seemly' (*gwedd* § 63 iv), *clodus, clodforus* 'renowned', *grymus* 'strong', etc.

NOTE.—*melus* is a late misspelling; *melys* 'sweet' has *y*, as *melis* (*i* ≡ *y* § 16 ii (2)) B.B. 83, 101, *melys* B.A. 3, LL.A. 42, 70, R.B.B. 208, *melyster* LL.A. 129, 149, R.B.B. 44. The error is due to the late levelling of *u* and *y*, § 15 i, and the false notion that the word is formed from *mêl* 'honey' by the addition of *-us*. In derived forms the sound is *y* as *melysach*, as opposed to *grymusach*, and the v.n. is *melysu* D.W. 112, as opposed to *grymuso*, see § 202 iii, iv (Pughe's *meluso* is a fiction). *melys* is cognate with Ir. *milis*, and is clearly a direct derivative of Ar. base **meleit-* § 87 ii, and so is many centuries older than any form in *-us*, a suffix borrowed from Lat.

NUMERALS

§ **154.** i. (1) The cardinal numbers are as follows: 1, *un.*—2, m. *dau*, Ml. *deu*, O. *dou*; f. *dwy.*—3, m. *tri*; f. *tair*, Ml. *teir.*—4, m. *pedwar*; f. *pedair*, Ml. *pedeir.*—5, *pump*, *pum*, Ml. *pump*, *pymp*, O. *pimp.*—6, *chwech*, *chwe.*—7, *saith*, Ml. *seith.*—8, *wyth.*—9, *naw.*—10, *deg*, *dêng*, Ml. *dec*, *deng.*—11, *un ar ddeg.*—12, *deuddeg*, *deuddeng*, Ml. *deudec*, O. *doudec.*—13, *tri* (f. *tair*) *ar ddeg.*—14, *pedwar* (f. *pedair*) *ar ddeg.*—15, *pymtheg*, Ml. *pymthec.*—16, *un ar bymtheg.*—17, *dau* (f. *dwy*) *ar bymtheg.*—18, *deunaw* or *tri* (f. *tair*) *ar bymtheg.*—19, *pedwar* (f. *pedair*) *ar bymtheg.*—20, *ugain*, Ml. *ugeyn*, *ugeint.*—21, *un ar hugain.*—30, *deg ar hugain.*—31, *un ar ddeg ar hugain.*—40, *deugain.*—41, *un a deugain* or *deugain ac un.*—50, *deg a deugain*, Early Ml. W. *pym(h)wnt.*—60, *trigain*, Ml. *trugein(t).*—80, *pedwar ugain.*—100, *cant*, *cann.*—101, *cant ac un.*—120, *chwech ugain*, *chweugain.*—140, *saith ugain*, etc.—200, *deucant* or *dau cant.*—300, *trychant*, Late W. *trichant.*—1000, *mil.*—2000, *dwyfil.*—3000, *teirmil* or *tair mil.*—10,000, *dêng mil*, *myrdd.*—1,000,000, *myrddiwn*, *miliwn.*

tri (or *tair*) *ar bymtheg* is used in counting (i. e. repeating the numerals in order); otherwise rarely, R.B.B. 404. The usual form is *deunaw* C.M. 59, M.A. iii 45, Gen. xiv 14, 2 Cron. xi 21, Ezra viii 9, etc. So in all combinations: *deunaw ar hugain* '38'.—*pymwnt* B.A. 2, 9 from something like **pempontes* for Kelt. **qᵘeŋqᵘ-onta* (: Ir. *cōica*) for Ar. **penqᵘĕ̄komtə* : Gk. πεντήκοντα. For the history of the other forms consult the Index.

Forms like *deuddeg*, *pymtheg*, *deunaw*, *deugain* may be called "compound numbers", forms like *un ar ddeg*, *un ar hugain*, "composite numbers".

(2) Some of the cardinal numbers have pl. forms: *deuoedd*, *deuwedd*, *dwyoedd* 'twos', *trioedd* 'threes', *chwechau* 'sixes', *degau* 'tens', *ugeiniau* 'scores', *cannoedd* 'hundreds', *miloedd* 'thousands', *myrddiynau* 'myriads'.

In the spoken lang. *un-ar-ddegau*, *un-ar-bymthegau*, etc., are in use for '£11 each', '£16 each', etc.

ii. (1) The ordinal numbers are as follows: 1, *cyntaf.*—2, *ail*, Ml. *eil.*—3, *trydydd*, f. *trydedd.*—4, *pedwerydd*, Ml. *pedwerydδ*, *pedwyryδ*; f. *pedwaredd*, Ml. *pedwareδ*, *pedwyreδ*, O. *petguared.*—5, *pumed*, Ml. *pymhet*, O. *pimphet.*—6, *chweched*, Ml. *chwechet*,

huechet.—7, *seithfed*, Ml. *seithvet.*—8, *wythfed.*—9, *nawfed.*—10, *degfed*, Ml. *decvet.*—11, *unfed ar ddeg*, Ml. *unvet arδec.*—12, *deuddegfed*, Ml. *deuδecvet.*—13, *trydydd* (f. *trydedd*) *ar ddeg.*—15, *pymthegfed.*—16, *unfed ar bymtheg.*—17, *ail* (or *eilfed*) *ar bymtheg.* —18, *deunawfed.*—20, *ugeinfed.*—30, *degfed ar hugain.*—40, *deugeinfed.*—41, *unfed a deugain.*—100, *canfed.*—1000, *milfed.*

(2) *cyntaf* § 148 i (3);—*ail* § 100 iii (3);—*trydydd, trydedd* § 75 iv (1);—*pedweryδ* < **qᵘetuₑrįios*; *pedwyryδ* (later *pedwrydd* H.G. 54, § 66 ii (2)) has *-wy-* < **-uu-* re-formed for *u* < *uₑ* § 63 viii (1).

W. *pymhet*, Ir. *cōiced* come from a Kelt. **qᵘenqᵘetos*, which, like Skr. *pañcatha-ḥ*, implies the addition of the ordinal suffix *-t(h)o-s* to the full form **penqᵘe*, thus **penqᵘe-to-s*, as opposed to Lat. *quīntus*, Gk. πέμπτος, O.H.G. *finfto*, which imply Ar. **penqᵘ-to-s*. In Pr. Kelt. by the side of **qᵘenqᵘeto-s* there arose **sueksetos* which gave Ir. *sessed*, W. *chweched*; and thus *-eto-s* came to be regarded as the ordinal suffix. Added to **sektam* (< **septm̥*) it gave **sektam-eto-s*, which gave Ir. *sechtmad*, W. *seithfed*; added to **dekam* it gave **dekameto-s*, which is seen in Gaul.-Lat. *petru-decameto* (ablative) 'fourteenth', and gave Ir. *dechmad*, W. *degfed*; similarly **kn̥tom-eto-s* > Ir. *cēt-mad*, W. *canfed*. Then *-ameto-s* or *-meto-s* was used to form ordinals for 8, 9, and 20, though the cardinals did not end in *-m*; thus W. *nawfed*, Ir. *nōmad*, may come directly from **nouameto-s*; but **oktameto-s* would give W. **oeth-fed*, so that *wyth-fed* was again re-formed from *wyth*; so *ugein-fed*.

iii. (1) Multiplicatives are formed by means of *gwaith*, Ml. *gweith* f. 'fois', preceded by cardinal numbers, the two generally compounded, but sometimes accented separately; as *unwaith* or *un waith* 'once', Ir. *ōenfecht*; *dwywaith* 'twice', *teirgwaith* 'thrice', *pedair gwaith* 'four times', *pum waith* 'five times', *chwe gwaith*, *seithwaith* Lev. iv 6, 17, *saith waith* do. viii 11, *wythwaith*, *nawwaith* C.C. 227, *dengwaith*, *ugeinwaith*, *canwaith*, *milwaith*.

(2) But before a comparative the m. cardinal only is generally used, the two sometimes compounded; *pum mwy* D.W. 146 'five [times] more' i.e. five times as many, *saith mwy* Lev. xxvi 18, 21 'seven times more'; *déuwell* R.P. 1271, D.G. 157 'twice as good', *dau lanach* C.C. 60 'twice as fair'; *yn gant eglurach* S.G. 10 'a hundred times as bright'.

> *Moes ugeinmil, moes* **gánmwy**,
> *A moes, O moes im un mwy.*—Anon., M.E. i 140.

'Give me twenty thousand [kisses], give a hundred times as many, and give, Oh give me one more.'

Tristach weithian bob cantref;
Bellach **naw nigrifach** *nef.*—G.Gr. (m. D.G.), F.N. 4.
'Sadder now is every cantred; henceforth nine times happier is heaven.'

(3) A m. cardinal is also used before another cardinal, as *tri t(h)rychant* B.B. 18 '3 × 300', *tri phumcant* GRE. 166 '3 × 500', *dau wythgant* ib. '2 × 800', *naw deg a saith* ib. '9 × 10 + 7'.

This method is now commonly used to read out numbers in the arabic notation; thus 376, *tri chant, saith deg a chwech.*

iv. Distributives are formed by putting *bob* before a cardinal, the initial of which is softened; thus *bob un, bob ðeu* R.M. 132 'one by one, two by two', Ir. *cach ōin, cach dā*; *bob ddau* I.G. 180, L.G.C. 381, 436; *bob dri* L.G.C. 148 'three by three'; also *bop un ac un* C.M. 49 'one by one', *bob un a dau* F. 26; and *bob gannwr* L.G.C. 383 'in hundreds', lit. 'every hundred-man', cf. Ir. *cach cōic-er* 'every five-man'. Similarly *bob ail* 'every other', *pob eilwers* W.M. 181 'alternately'.

In Late Mn. W. *yn* is inserted after *bob*; as *bob yn ddau . . . bob yn dri* 1 Cor. xiv 27; *bob yn un ac un* Es. xxvii 12, Marc xiv 19; *bob yn ddau a dau* Marc vi 7; *bob yn ail* 'every other'. As *pob* in other constructions is followed by the radical, the *yn* may have been introduced because it was felt that something was required to explain the lenition. But the reason for the lenition is that the original form of *bob* here was an oblique case ending in a vowel.

v. Fractions: $\frac{1}{2}$, *hanner*; $\frac{1}{3}$, *traean*; $\frac{1}{4}$, *pedwaran, chwarter*; $\frac{1}{8}$, *wythfed*; $\frac{1}{100}$, *canfed*; $\frac{2}{3}$, *deuparth*; $\frac{3}{4}$, Mn. *tri chwarter*; $\frac{3}{8}$, *tri wythfed.*

Rann truan: **traean** R.B. 973 'the share of the weakling: one-third', *deuparth . . . trayan* W.M. 130.

COMPOUND NOUNS AND ADJECTIVES

§ **155.** i. Either of the elements of a compound may be a noun (n) or an adjective (a); thus we have four possible types: 1. n-n; 2. a-n; 3. a-a; 4. n-a. The formation of compounds of these types is an ordinary grammatical construction, and any elements may be combined if they make sense, whether the combination is in general use or not. The relation to one another of the elements

and the meaning of the resulting compound must be left to be dealt with in the Syntax; here, only the forms of compounds can be considered.

ii. (1) The second element of a compound has its initial softened; thus: n-n *háf-ddydd* 'summer's day'; a-n *háwdd-fyd* 'pleasure'; a-a *gw̯ýrdd-las* 'greenish blue'; n-a *pén-gam* 'wry-headed'.

The reason is that the first element in Brit. ended in a vowel, as in Brit. *Maglo-cunos* > W. *Mael-gwn*; so **samo-díi̯ē(u)s* > W. *haf-ddydd*; **katu-markos* > W. *cad-farch*, etc. In these, as generally in the Ar. languages, the first element is the stem. In Kelt. when the stem ended in a consonant an *-o-* was added to it; thus the stem **kun-* 'dog' is in compounds **kuno-*, as Brit. *Cuno-belinos* > W. *Cyn-felyn*; W. *cyn-ddaredd* 'rabies' < **kuno-daŋgʷríi̯ā* < **-dhn̥gʷhri-* : Lat. *febris* < **dhegʷhri-s*, √*dhegʷh-* § 92 iii, cf. *aren* § 106 ii (1). This explains the suffix *-ioni* § 143 iii (21); it is a compound of a derivative in *-i̯on-* with **gnīmu-*; now **druki̯on-gnīmu-* should give **drygni* by the usual loss of stem endings; but **druki̯ono-gnīmu-* > **drygion-ʒnif* > *drygioni* (since *nʒn* > *n* § 110 ii (1)). When the second element began with a vowel, contraction took place; thus **altro + au̯ō* > **altrāuō* § 76 v (5), cf. Gk. Dor. στρατᾱγός 'leader of an army' < **str̥to + aĝ-*, Brugmann² II i 79.

(2) When the first element ends in *n* or *r*, and the second begins radically with *ll* or *rh*, the latter is not softened: *gwin-llan*, *per-llan*, *pen-rhyn* see § 111 i (1); so *gwen-llys* L.G.C. 8, *eurllin* D.G. 13, etc.; similarly, though less regularly, in loose compounds: *hên llew*, *hên llys*, *pur llawn* § 111 i (1).

When a compound is consciously formed both *ll* and *l* are found thus *ysgafn-llef* D.G. 37 'light-voiced', but *eur-len* D.G. 109 'cloth of gold', *geir-lon* do. 110 'of merry word'; *ir-lwyn* do. 504, *per-lwyn* do. 518.

iii. The following adjectives generally precede their nouns, and so form compounds, mostly loose, with them:

(1) **prif** 'chief', as *prif lys* W.M. 1, *prif-lys* R.M. 1 'chief court', *prif δinas* W.M. 179 'chief city', *prif gaer* ib. 'chief castle'; *y prif ddyn* 'the chief man'. It cannot be used as an ordinary adj.; such a phrase as **dyn prif* does not exist.

(2) **hên**, as *hên ŵr* or *hén-wr* 'old man'; *hên ddyn* id., also *hén-ddyn* whence E. *quoth Hending*; *Hén-llan* IL.A. 105, *Hén-llys* etc., *hên ŷd* Jos. v 11, *yr hên ffordd* Job xxii 15, *yr hên derfyn* Diar.

xxii 28, *yr hên bobl* Es. xliv 7, etc. In the comparatively rare cases where *hên* follows its noun, some antithetic emphasis is generally implied, as *Ieuan Tew Hên* 'Ieuan Tew the Elder'.

Er daëd draw, rai llawen,
Mae gwae rhai am y **gŵr hên**.—W.LL.

'However good [they may be] yonder, genial [young] people, the lament of some is for the old master.'

(3) **gwir** 'true, genuine', as *gwir grefydd* 'true religion'. As an ordinary adjective it means 'true to fact', as *hanes gwir* 'a true story'; so as the second element of a compound: *géir-wir* 'truthful'. *gwir* is also a noun 'truth'; compounded, *cás-wir* 'unpalatable truth'.

(4) **gau** 'false', the antithesis of *gwir*, as *geu ðwyeu* LL.A. 43 'false gods', *gau broffwyd* 'false prophet'. As an ordinary adjective 'lying'; as a noun 'falsehood' W.M. 29.

(5) **cam** 'wrong, unjust'; as *cam farn* 'false judgement', *cam ran* 'wrongful portion', i.e. injustice. As an adj. 'crooked', as *ffon gam* 'a crooked stick'; as a noun 'injustice'.

Tasgu bu twysog y byd
Gam ran *i Gymru ennyd*.—S.T., c. ii 209.

'The prince of this world has inflicted wrong on Wales awhile.'

(6) **unig** 'only'; *yr unig beth* 'the only thing'. As an ordinary adj. it means 'lonely', as *dyn unig* 'a lonely man'. Cf. Fr. *seul*.

(7) *y naill, rhyw, y rhyw, amryw, cyfryw, unrhyw, holl, cwbl, y sawl, ychydig, ambell, aml, lliaws*, etc., §§ 165, 168, 169.

iv. The following words precede adjectives, and are compounded with them:

(1) **lled** 'half' § 153 (12), as *lléd-wac* B.B. 49 'half-empty', *lled-ffer* M.A. ii 586 'half-wild', *lléd-ffol* 'half-silly', *lled-ffrom* 'half-frowning'.

Nid mawr well nad meirw i wŷr,
Lléd féirw *pan golled f'éryr;*
Nid byw am enaid y byd,
Lléd-fyw *yngweddill ádfyd*.—T.A., A 14874/127.

'It is not much better that his men are not dead, [they were] half-dead when my eagle was lost; they were not alive for [want of him who was] the soul of the world, [but] half-alive in the dregs of adversity.'

In the example *lléd féirw* is a loose, *lléd-fyw* a strict, compound. In Late Mn. W., *lled* usually forms loose compounds and means 'rather'.

lled is also compounded with nouns, as *lléd-ran* 'half-share', *lléd-wyl* 'half-holiday', *lléd-fryd* 'listlessness', *lléd-iaith* 'brogue, foreign accent', *lled ymyl* 'border near edge'.

(2) **pur** 'very', as *pur-ðu*, *pur-wynn* R.M. 151, *pur-goch* 154; *pur-iawn* 'very well', now *púrion*. It now forms loose compounds mostly, as *pur dda* 'very good'. Used after its noun as an ordinary adj. it means 'pure'.

§ **156.** i. The first element of a compound may be a prefix, which was originally an adverb or preposition. Some other vocables of adj. or noun origin have become mere prefixes; for convenience of reference these are included in the following list. Where the mutation of the initial after the prefix is fairly regular, it is noted in square brackets. Most of the prefixes form verb-compounds also, and some are oftener so used; hence it is convenient to include verbal nouns and verbs in the examples.

(1) **ad-** [soft] < Brit. *ate-* : Gaul. *ate-* < Kelt. **ati-* : Skr. *ati* 'over, beyond'; *ati-* 'very'; § 222 i (3). Three distinct meanings occur in W.: (a) 'very', *át-gas* § 111 v (1) 'hateful'; (b) 'second', *át-gno* 'chewing the cud', *ád-ladd* 'aftermath', hence 'bad' as *ád-flas* 'after-taste, ill taste'; (c) 'over again, re-', *ád-lam* 'a leap back', *áteb* (< **ad-heb*) 'reply', *ád-lais* 'echo'.

(2) **aδ-** before a vowel or *f* (from *m*) < Brit. **ad-* : Lat. *ad*; intensive; *ádd-oer* 'very cold', *ádd-fwyn*, *ádd-fain* § 93 ii (3). Before a tenuis it is **a-** followed by the spirant mutation, as *áchas* § 93 ii (2), *áthrist* 'very sad': *trist* 'sad'. Before a media it is **a-** followed by the radical, *ágarw* 'very rough': *garw* § 93 ii (3); but before *d-* it is **a-** followed by δ, as *a-δef* § 93 iii (1), *a-δail*, etc. With initial *s-* it gives **as-**, as in *as-gloff* 'lame' < **ad-skloppos* < vulg. Lat. *cloppus* **sclōpus* : W. *cloff* 'lame'. Before *l-* or *r-* followed by *ĭ* it gives **ei-** as in *eirif* § 104 iv (3); *eiðil* 'feeble', met. for **eilið* § 102 iv (2) < **ed-līd-* < **ad-lēd-*, √*lēd-* : Lat. *lassus*, Gk. ληδεῖν 'to be fatigued' Hes., § 204 i. In *aberth*, *aber* § 93 ii (3) it means 'to' (or is *aber* < **n-bher-*?; cf. Gael. *Inver-*).

(3) **all-** < Brit. **allo-* : Gaul. *allo-* 'other' § 100 iii (2); *áll-fro* 'foreigner'; *áll-tud* 'exile'.

(4) **am-**, **ym-** [soft] < Brit. *ámbe-*, *ambí-* : Gaul. 'Αμβί- : Gk. ἀμφί, Lat. *amb-*, *ambi-* § 63 v (2);—(a) 'around' : *ám-gorn* 'ferrule', *ám-gylch* 'circuit', *ám-do* 'shroud', *am-ddiffyn* 'defence'; hence (b) 'on each side, mutual', *ým-ladd* 'battle', *ým-drech* 'struggle', *ym-gýnnull* 'a gathering together'; hence (c) reflexive, as *ym-olchi*

'to wash oneself'; (d) 'round' > 'different, changeable' as *ám-ryw* 'of various kinds', *ám-yd* 'corn of different kinds mixed', *am-liwiog* 'parti-coloured', *amheu* W.M. 186 'to doubt', Mn. *ámeu*, vb. *amhéu-af* < **m̥bi-sāg-*, √*sāg-* : Gk. ἡγέομαι, Dor. ἀγ- 'I think, believe', Lat. *sagax*.—*am-c-* < **am-χ-* by dissim. of continuants, as *ám-can* 'design, purpose, guess' < **am-χan* < **ambi-skə-n-*, √*skhē(i̯)-* : Lat. *scio*, Skr. *chyáti* 'cuts off'; and *amkawδ* W.M. 453 'replied, said' < **am-χ-awδ* § 96 iii (4).

(5) **an-, en-,** etc., neg. prefix < Ar. **n̥-* (R-grade of neg. **ne*); *àmhárod* 'unprepared' : *parod* 'ready'; *ámraint* 'breach of privilege' : *braint*; *athrúgar, ànhrugárog* § 99 vi (1); *àn-nédwyδ* 'unhappy' : *dedwyδ* 'happy'; *àngharédig* 'unkind' : *caredig* 'kind'; *én-wir* 'untrue, evil' < **an-u̯īro-s*, re-formed *án-wir* in Mn. W.; *án-fwyn* 'unkind' : *mwyn*; *án-fad* : *mad* § 99 iv (1); *áf-les* § 86 i (4) : *lles* 'benefit'; *áf-raid* 'needless' < **am-(p)rat-i̯o-* < **n̥-pratio-* : *rhaid* 'need' § 149 ii; so *áfrad, áfryw*;—before orig. *l-, àn-llygrédig*;—*an* + *glân* should give **alan* § 106 ii (1); this is re-formed in two ways, *án-lan, áf-lan* 'unclean';—*b* often follows the analogy of *m*, as *àn-fonhéddig* : *bonhéddig* 'gentlemanly'. The prefix when not bearing the principal accent has often a strong secondary accent; this might become a separate accent, as in *an allu* (≡ *án állu*) LL.A. 33 'want of power'; hence *án háwdd* § 148 i (6), *án áml* § 164 i (2).

(6) **ar-, er-** [soft] 'fore-' < Brit. **are-* (< **ari-*) : Gaul. *are-* (in 'Αρη- the *η* marks the quality rather than the quantity of the *e*) < **p̥ri-* : Lat. *prae*, Gk. πρεί; *ar-for* (in *arfôr-dir* 'maritime land') < **are-mor-* : Gaul. *Are-morica*; *ár-gae* 'dam' : *cae* (: E. *hedge*); *ár-dreth* 'chief rent', etc.—Exceptional mutation : *ér-myg* 'admired' < **are-smi-ko-*, like *éd-myg* 'admired' < **ate-smi-ko-*, √*smei-* 'smile' : Lat. *admīro, mī-ru-s* (*-ro-* suffix), Skr. *smáyati* 'smiles', Gk. μειδάω, E. *smile*, O. Bulg. *směchŭ* 'smile'; cf. *dirmyg* (12) below; *ar-merth*, see *dar-merth* (13) below.—Possibly Brit. **ar-* : Lat. *per*, in *ártaith* 'pang', by dissim. for **ar-thaith* < **ar-stik-tā-*, √*steig-* : Lat. *instīgo*, Gk. στίγμα, Skr. *tiktá-ḥ* 'sharp, bitter'; and *ár-choll* 'wound' < **ar-qol'd-*, √*qolād-* 'strike' : Lat. *clādēs*, W. *cleddyf* 'sword', *coll* 'destruction, loss'.

(7) **can(nh)-** [soft] 'with, after' < Brit. **kanta-* < **k̥nta* : Gk. κατά; *cán-lyn* v.n. 'following'; *canh-órthwy* § 103 ii (1) now spelt *cynhorthwy*; *can-hêbrwng* 'funeral'; *hebrwng* § 99 vi (1); *cán-llaw* 'balustrade; assistant in law-court'.

(8) **cyd-** [soft] 'together, common', is not, as is often assumed, identical with *cyf-*, but is the noun *cyd* as in *i gyd* 'to-gether', also used as an adj. in *tir cyd* 'common land'. A few of the compounds which it forms are strict, as *cytûn* < **cyd-δúun* 'united', *cýd-fod* 'concord', *cyd-wybod* 'conscience'; but the bulk of those in use are loose compounds in which the form of the prefix is *cŷd* § 45 ii (2); in this form it is still fertile; *cyd ddinesydd* 'fellow-citizen', *cyd genedl* 'kindred', etc. The word seems to be a verbal noun **ki-tu-* from √*kei̯-* 'lie', cf. Ml. W. *kyt gwr* LL.A. 136, C.M. 21 'cohabitation

with a man': Gk. κεῖται 'lies', O. E. *hǣman* 'lie with, espouse', O.H.G. *hīwo* 'husband', E. *home*, W. *cu*, Lat. *cīvis* § 110 iii (1).

(9) **cyf-** before vowels and *i̯*, *l*, *r*, *n*; **cy-** before *w̯-*, *chw-*, *h-*; with following *s-*, **cys-**; elsewhere **cy(m)-**, **cyn-**, **cy(ng)-** [nasal] ; < Kelt. **kom-* : Lat. *com-*; (a) 'com-', often followed by *â* 'with', *cyf-ar* 'co-tillage'; *cyf-liw*, *cyf-urð*, etc. § 149 ii; *cyf-ran* 'share' : *rhan* 'part'; *cymod* 'concord' : *bod* 'be'; *cyn-n(h)wrf* 'commotion' : *twrf*; *cyngháneð* 'harmony' : *cân* 'song'; *cystal* § 148 i (4).—(b) Intensive ('together' > 'fully'); *cyflawn* 'complete' : *llawn* 'full'; *cyf-lym* 'fleet' : *llym* 'keen'.—A few irregular forms are found, which are due to false analogy, as *cyf-ðyð* 'dawn', formed after *cyf-nos* 'evening'.

The form **ko-* (beside **kom-*) goes back to Italo-Kelt. It occurs before *u̯-* as W. *cywir*, Ir. *coïr* < **ko-u̯īros*; before *m-*, as W. *cof* 'memory', Ir. *cuman* < **ko-men-*, √*men-* 'mind' (but later **kom-* as in W. *cymysg* (*m* ≡ *mm*)); sometimes before *sq-*, *sqʷ-*, *s-*, as W. *cy-húddo* 'to accuse' : Icel. *skúta*, *skúti* 'a taunt', O.Bulg. *kuditi* 'to revile', Gk. κυδάζειν 'to reproach', √(*s*)*qeud-*; see § 96 iii; *cy-hafal* 'co-equal' : *hafal* § 94 i.

cyfr- [soft] < **kom-*(*p*)*ro-* § 113 i (2); intensive, as *cyfr-goll* 'utter loss, perdition'; *cyfr-wys* (generally mis-pronounced *cyfr-wŷs*) 'trained, cunning' : *gwŷs* 'known'; *cyfr-gain* (*kywrgein* B.B. 10) 'very fine'.—*cyfr-r-* > *cyfrh-* > *cyffr* as in *cyffrédin* 'common' < **cyfr-red-in*; *amgyffred* 'comprehend' < **am-gyfr-red* : *rhedeg* 'run'; the O.W. *amcibret* may represent the stage *amgyfred*.

(10) **cyn(nh)-** [soft] 'former, preceding' < Brit. **kintu-* § 148 i (3); *cynh-áeaf* 'autumn' : *gaeaf* 'winter'; *cyn-ddail* 'first leaves', *cyn-ddelw* 'prototype'; the *t* is kept before *h* § 106 iii (3), as *cyntaid* for **cynt-haid* 'first swarm' (of bees); in the form *cyn* it is used to construct new loose compounds as *cyn fáer* 'ex-mayor', etc.

(11) **di-** [soft] < Kelt. **dī-* < **dē-* : Lat. *dē*. Two meanings : (a) 'outer, extreme, off', as *dí-ben* 'end, aim' : *pen* 'head, end'; *dí-dol*, Ml. *dí-dawl* 'cut off, separated', see below; *di-nóethi* v.n. 'de-nude'; (b) 'without', as *dí-boen* or *dí bóen* 'painless', *dí-dduw* or *dí ddúw* 'godless', etc. In this sense it is freely used to form new compounds, mostly loose, by being put before any noun or v.n., or even a v.n. phrase, as *di alw am dano* 'un-called-for'; but, though loose, the expression is still a compound, thus *di gefn wyf* C.C. 184 'helpless am I', exactly like *gwan wyf* 'weak am I', as opposed to *heb gefn yr wyf* 'without help am I', the un-compounded phrase *heb gefn* requiring *yr* after it. The compound is an adj. made from a phrase in which the prep. *dī* governs the noun; the formation is old, and gave rise at an early period to the idea that *dī* was a negative prefix, which therefore might be compounded with adjectives; thus *dí-og* 'lazy', O.W. *di-auc* : **auc* 'quick, active' : Gk. ὠκύς, Lat. *ōcior*; so *dí-brin* 'not scarce', *dí-drist* 'not sad', *dí-wael* 'not mean', etc.—Lat. *dē-* seems to have been identified in Brit. with the

native prefix, and gives W. *di-*, as *diffyg* 'defect' < *dē-fic-*.—Exceptional mutation: *dí-chell* 'wile' < **dē-sqel(p)tā*, √*sqelep-*: W. *cel-fyddyd* 'craft' etc. § 99 ii (2); *dí-chlyn* 'exact, cautious, circumspect', as v.n. 'to choose, discriminate' < **dē-sqḷ-n-*, √*sqel-* 'split, separate'; *dí-chlais* 'break (of day)' < **dē-s-qlәd-ti-* or **dē-kkl-* for **dē-kl-* § 99 v (4), √*qolād-* 'strike, break': W. *clais* 'bruise', *archoll* (6) above; *díchon*, *dígon* § 196 ii (2); W. *dídawl*, *dídol* for **dí-δawl* (δ . . . *l* > *d* . . . *l* § 102 iii (2)): *gwá-δawl* 'endowment', Ir. *fo-dāli* 'deals out' < **dōl-*: W. *ethol* < **dol-*, see § 97 ii.

dis- before *t-* < *dē-s-*, where *s* is the initial of the second element, often lost in the simple form: *dí-stadl* § 96 ii (3); *dístrych* 'foam' < **dē-strk-*, √*stereq-*: W. *trwyth* 'wash, lye' § 99 v (3); *dí-staw* 'silent': *taw* 'be silent' < **stuu-* < **stup-*, √*steup/bh-*: Ger. *stumm* 'dumb', Lat. *stupeo*: E. *dumb*, √*dheubh-* (*dh/st-* alternation). Before other consonants < **dē-eks-*, as in *dísglair* § 201 iii (6). Also from Lat. *dē-s-* as in *disgyn(n)* < *dē-scend-*.

(12) **dir-** [soft] 'vehemently' Richards, 'truly' < **dēru-*: *dīr* 'true', Ar. base **dereu-* 'hard' § 137 ii; *dír-boen* or *dír bóen* 'great pain', *dír-fawr* 'very great', *dír-gel* 'secret'.—Exceptional mutation: *dír-myg* 'contempt' < **dēru-smi-k-*, √*smei-* 'smile'; here *dir-* is not necessarily neg. for beside 'admiration' as in *ermyg*, *edmyg* (6) above, we have 'mockery' from the same root, as in W. *tre-myg* 'insult', O.H.G. *bi-smer* 'mockery'; nor in *dir-west* 'abstinence', which is literally 'hard diet', cf. E. *fast*.

(13) **dy-** [soft] 'to, together', often merely intensive < Brit. **do-*; *dý-fyn* 'summons': *mynnu* 'to will'; *dy-gýnnull* v.n. 'gather together', *dy-gyfor* W.M. 1 'muster'; *dy-wéddi* 'fiancée'. In a few cases it interchanges with **ty-**, as Ml. W. *dy-wallaw* v.n. 'to pour (into)': Mn. W. *týwallt* 'pour'; *dý-ret* 'come!': *tý-red* 'come!'; very rarely **ty-** alone is found, as *ty-wysog* 'prince'. Except. mut.: **dy-ch-** < **do-sk-* or **do-kk-* before *r*, *l*; as *dý-chryn* 'fright': *crynu* 'tremble', *yscrid* B.B. 31 'trembles', Bret. *skrija* 'to tremble from fear'; *dý-chlud*: *cludo* 'to carry'. Hence **dych-** in *dych-lámu* 'to leap up'.—In old compounds the *o* of *do-* was retained when the vowel of the root was lost § 65 iv (2), and might in that case be affected to *e*, as *dē-dw-yδ* § 100 ii (1).

dad- [soft] < **d(o)-áte-* see (1) above: (a) intensive; *dát-gan* v.n. 'proclaim': *canu* 'sing'; (b) 'un-' (as in 'un-do'); *dàd-lwytho* v.n. 'to unload', etc. The unacc. *o* of **do-* was elided before a vowel.

dam- [soft] < **d(o)-ambe-*, see (4); *dám-sang* 'to trample': *sengi* 'to tread'; *dám-wain* 'accident': *ar-wain* 'to lead': √*ueĝh-*. Also **dym-**; Ml. *damunet*, Mn. *dymúniad* 'desire' for **dym-fun-*: *ar-o-fun* 'intend' § 100 v. The *m* usually remains unchanged, but seems to have become *n* by dissimil. in *dan-waret* § 63 vii (5), unless the prefix here is *dan-* below.

dan- [soft] < **d(o)-ando-*; *dán-fon*, see ii (1) below.

dar- [soft] < **d(o)-are-* < **do-p̥ri-*; *dár-fod* 'to have happened' § 190 i; *dar-óstwng* 'to subdue': *go-stwng* 'to suppress' < **uo(s)-*

'under' + **stong-* : Goth. *stiuqan* 'to thrust'. The irregular mutation in *dármerth* 'provision' (of food, etc.) is due to *-sm-* > *-mm-*; **do-are-smer-t-*, √*smer-* : Lat. *mereo*, Gk. μέρος, μερίς. In *dárbod*, *dárpar*, the prefix had the form **d(o)-aros-*, see § 196 i (3). This form may also account for the preservation of *-st-* in *dár-stain* 'to resound', thus **d(o)-aros-stani-* : W. *sain* 'sound', √*sten-*.

dos- < **d(o)-u̯o(s)-* + initial *s-*; *dósbarth* 'division, arrangement, system' : *gosparth* B.B. 11 'rule, government', √*sper-* § 101 iv (2).

dyr- (also written *dry-*) in *dyrcháfel* 'to raise' < **do-(p)ro-*, see § 188 iv; cf. *cyfr-* (9).

It is now generally held that the original form of the prep. is **to*, and that **do-* is a pretonic or proclitic form, like W. *ti* 'thou', proclitic *dy* 'thy'. But pretonic softening, though it occurs in W. and Ir. cannot be proved to be primitive, and is obviously in most cases comparatively late. The facts in this case are as follows: (α) In Ir. the prep. is *do, du*, always with *d-* (as opposed to *tar*, mostly with *t-*); the pref. is *to-, tu-*, at first both accented and pretonic, later pretonic *do-, du-*. (β) In W. pretonic *d-* for *t-* as in *dy* 'thy' is not mutated further (i.e. does not become **δ-*); but the prep. was **δy* (written *di* in O.W.) giving Ml. W. *ŷ*, Mn. W. *i*; it starts therefore from Brit. **do*, and agrees in form with the Ir.; the pref. is *dy-*, rarely *ty-*.—There is no trace of *t-* in the prep. proper in W. or Ir.; and the supposed original **to* equates with no prep. in the Ar. languages. But in Pr. Kelt. the possibility of *t-* for *d-* is proved by W. *tafod*, Ir. *tenge*, so that **to-*, which occurs only in composition, may be for **do-*. Pr. Kelt. **do* : E. *to*, Ger. *zu*, Lat. *en-do-, in-du-*, O. Bulg. *do*, Av. *-da* 'to'. Cf. W. *ann-* ii (1) from **n̥-do-*, which places **do* beyond doubt.

(14) **dy-** 'bad' < **dus-* : Gk. δυσ-; *dýchan* 'lampoon' < **dus-kan-* : *cán* 'song'; reduced to **du-* on the analogy of **su-*, (19) below, in *dý-bryd* 'shapeless, ugly', Ir. *do-chruth* < **du-qᵘr̥-tu-* : W. *pryd*, Ir. *cruth* 'form'.

(15) **eb-** < **ek-u̯o-*; in *épil* for **eb-hil* § 89 iii, *ébrwydd* 'quick' : *rhwydd* 'easy' § 143 iii (22).

e-, eh-, ech- < **eks-* § 96 iii (6); *é-ofn*, Ml. W. *eh-ofyn* 'fearless' : Ir. *esomun*, Gaul. *Exobnus*; *é-ang* 'wide, extensive' : **ang* 'narrow'. *ech-* developed before vowels, but spread by analogy : *éch-nos* 'night before last', *éch-doe* 'day before yesterday'. But the regular form before an explosive is *es-* (*ys-*) as in *és-tron* 'stranger' < Lat. *extrāneus*; *éstyn* 'extend' < *ex-tend-*, etc.; *és-gor* 'to be delivered' (of young), √(*s*)*qer-* 'separate, cut'.

(16) **go-, gwo-, gwa-** [soft] 'sub-' < Kelt. **u̯o-* < **upo-* : Skr. *úpa*, Gk. ὑπό, Lat. *s-ub*, § 65 v (1); *gwo-br* 'prize' < **u̯o-pr-* : *prynu* 'to buy' § 201 i (4); *gwá-stad* 'level' § 63 vi (1); *go-fúned*, 'desire', *ar-ô-fun* (13) above. In Mn. W. *go-* freely forms loose compounds with adjectives § 220 viii (1).

gos- < **u̯o-s-* + initial *s-*; *gósgorδ* 'retinue', Ml. W. *gwoscorδ* B.B. 10 < **u̯o-skor-d-*, √*sqer-* : *dósbarth* (13) above.

(17) **gor-, gwor-, gwar-** 'super-' < **u̯or-* for **u̯er* < **uper* : Skr.

upári, Gk. *ὑπέρ*, Lat. *s-uper* § 65 v (3); *gór-ffen(n)* 'finish' : *penn* 'end'; *gór-fod* 'conquer' : *bod* 'be'; *gwár-chadw* 'guard' : *cadw* 'keep', etc. etc.

(18) **gwrth-** [soft] 'contra-' § 66 iii (1); *gwrthun*, Ml. W. *gwrthvun* 'hateful' : *dymuniad* (13) above; *gwrth-glawd* 'rampart' : *clawd* 'dyke', etc.

(19) **hy-** [soft] 'well, -able' < **su-* : Gaul. *su-*, Ir. *su-*, *so-* : Gk. *ὑ-* (in *ὑ-γιής*), Skr. *su-* (? from the base **eu̯eseu̯-* 'good' with V-grade of the first two syllables); *hý-gar* 'well-beloved, lovable' : *caraf* 'I love'; *hý-dyn* 'tractable' : *tynnaf* 'I draw'; *Hý-wel* '*conspicuous' : *gwelaf* 'I see'; *hý-fryd* 'pleasant' : *bryd* 'mind', etc.

(20) **rhag-** [soft] 'fore-' < **prako-*, by § 65 ii (1) < **pro-qo-* (i.e. **pro-* with suffix *-qo-*): Lat. *reci-procu-s* < **reco-proco-s*; *rhág-farn* 'prejudice' : *barn* 'judgement'; *rhág-fur* 'contramure' : *mur* 'wall'; *rhág-ddor* 'outer door'; *rhag-lúniaeth* 'providence', etc.

(21) **rhy-** [soft] 'very, too' : Ir. *ro-* : Lat. *pro-*, Gk. *πρό*, Skr. *prá*, Goth. *fra-*; *rhý-wyr* 'very late' : *hûyr* 'late', cf. Gk. *πρό-κακος* 'very bad'; *rhý-gyng*, Ml. W. *rygiĝ* 'ambling pace' < **(p)ro-ĝengh-* § 101 iii (2). In Mn. W. it forms loose compounds with adjectives § 65 iv (2), § 220 viii (1).

(22) **tra-** [spirant] 'over, very, excessive' < **tar-* < **t̥rós-*, § 214 iii : Ir. *tar-*, Skr. *tirás-*; *trá-chwant* 'lust'; *trá-chas* 'very hateful'; *trá-serch* 'great love, adoration'; *trá-chul* 'very lean'; *trǎmor* 'oversea' i.e. *trammor* for **tarmmor* < **t̥rós mari.*; *trachŵres* B.T. 30 : *gŵres* § 92 iii. It forms loose compounds by being placed before any adj., § 220 viii (1). The metathesis could have taken place when the accent was on the ult.; cf. § 214 iii.

traf-, as in *traf-lýncu* 'to gulp' (: *llyncu* 'to swallow') < **tram-* : Ir. *trem-*, *tairm-*, an *m*-formation from the same base : cf. Lat. *tarmes*, *trāmes*; see § 220 ii (10). There seems to have been some confusion of the two prefixes : *tramor* above and *trǎmwy* 'to wander' < *-*mou̯i-* (: Lat. *moveo*) may have either. This would help to spread *tra-* for **tar-*. *trannoeth* 'over night' cannot be from **tram-* which would become *traf-* before *n*; *trénnyd* 'over the day' i.e. 'next day but one' is probably re-formed after *trannoeth*.

traws-, tros- § 210 x (6); Ml. W. *traws-cwyd* W.M. 83, 85, 'transaction'; in Mn. W. leniting, *traws-feddiant* 'usurpation', prob. owing to *sc* > *sg* etc. § 111 vi (2), as in *traws-gwyd* R.M. 60, 61.

(23) **try-** [soft] 'through, thorough'; *tŕy-dwll* 'perforated'; *tŕy-loyw* 'pellucid'; *tŕy-fer* 'javelin' : *bêr* 'spear'. It seems to imply Brit. **tri-*, weak form of **trei* > *trwy* 'through' § 210 x (5).

ii. Some prefixes occur only in rare or isolated forms, and are not recognized as such in the historical periods. The following may be mentioned:

(1) **a(n)-** < **n̥-* 'in'; *áchles* § 99 vi (1), *anmyned* § 95 ii (3); *ánglad* 'funeral' < **n̥-qlad-* (*claddu* 'to bury') √*qolād-* § 101 ii (3).

ann- [soft] < **ando-* < **n̥-do-* : Lat. *en-do-*, *in-du-*, E. *in-to*; *ánnedd* § 63 ii; *ánnerch* 'greeting' < **n̥d(o)-erk-*, √*ereq-* 'speak' § 63 iii; *én-byd* 'dangerous' (*enbyd!* 'beware!' in Festiniog quarries) < **n̥do-pit-* : *pyd* 'danger' < **qui-t-*, √*qoueiə-* 'be ware' : Lat. *caveo*, Gk. κοέω : W. *rhý-buð* 'warning' < **pro-quei-d-*; *án-rheg* 'gift': *rheg* 'gift' < **prek-*, *án-rhaith* 'prize, booty; *bride, dear one' < **n̥do-prek-t-*, √*pereq-* 'acquire, buy' : Lith. *perkù* 'I buy', Gk. πιπράσκω (**-pr̥q-sqō*), extension of √*per-* in Gk. πέρνημι; *án-fon* < **n̥do-mon-* § 100 iv; *anian* 'nature' < **n̥do-ĝ$_e$n-* : Lat. *in-genium*.

dann- [soft] < **d(o)-ando-*; *dánfon* : *anfon* above; *dán-gos* 'to show' (S. W. *dán-gos*; in N. W. with late assim. of *-g-*, *dánnos*) < **d(o)-ando-kons-*, √*kens-* : Lat. *censeo*, Skr. *śaṣati* 'recites, praises, reports, shows'.

y-, e- [nasal] < ** en-* 'in'; *emhennyð* M.M. 23 (from R.B.) 'brain', cf. M.A. ii 107, 337, *emennyð* R.B.B. 54, S.G. 270 < **en-quennīio-*: Bret. *em-penn*, Corn. *empinion*, *ympynnyon*; *-mh-* persisted in Mn. W., see M.M. 140, *o'mhoen* (read *o'm hun*)/*ymhennydd* D.G. 501; the usual form *yménnydd* with abnormal loss of *-h-* before the accent may be due to early contamination with a form containing **eni-*; the form in Ir. is *in-chinn* < **eni-quenn-*.

(2) **he-** < **sem-*; *hebrwng* § 99 vi.

(3) **han-** < **sani-* : Ir. *sain* 'separate', W. *gwa-han-u*, Lat. *sine*, E. *sun-der*, Skr. *sanitúr* 'besides, without'; in *hán-fod* 'being from, coming from, origin, essence'.

§ **157.** i. No compound has more than two elements; but any element may itself be a compound. Thus *anhyfryd* 'unpleasant' is compounded not of *an* + *hy* + *bryd* but of *an* + *hyfryd*, though *hyfryd* itself is a compound of *hy* + *bryd*; similarly *hardd-deg ymdrech* 1 Tim. vi 12 is a loose compound, each of whose elements *hardd-deg* and *ym-drech* is itself a compound. All compounds must be so analysed by successive bisections.

Deurúddloyw fis *dewisaf,*
Dyred a'r haul daradr haf.—G.Gr., P 51/49.

'Most exquisite bright-cheeked month, bring the sun of summer ray.' *Deurúðloyw fis* is a loose compound; its first element is a compound of *deuruð* and *gloyw*, *deuruð* itself being compounded of *dau* 'two' and *gruð* 'cheek'.

ii. (1) In compounds of three syllables in which the first element is a compound, as *pengrých-lon* D.G. 74 'curly-headed [and] merry', a strong secondary accent on the first syllable often becomes a separate accent, and the syllable breaks loose, resulting in an illogical division; thus *hír féin-wyn* D.G. 16, for *hirféin-wyn*, a compound of *hír-fain* 'long slender' and *gwyn* 'white'; *téw góed-allt* do. 328 for *tewgóed-allt* < *téw-goed* (do. 157) 'thick trees' and *(g)allt* 'copse'; *gárw flóedd-*

ĝast do. 82 < *gárw-floeδ* 'rough-voiced' + *gast* 'bitch' § 103 ii (1); *mýdr ddóeth-lef* do. 293 < *mýdr-δoeth* + *llef* 'of rhythmical voice'; *mán sérliw* G. 129 < *mán-ser* + *lliw* 'of the colour of small stars'; *pén sáer-wawd* do. 297 < *pén-saer* 'architect' + *gwawd* 'song' meaning 'of masterly song'.

Y **wawr dlós-ferch** *ry dlýsfain*
Wrm ael a wisg aur a main.—D.G. 110.

'Dawn-bright maid, too beautifully slender, of the dark brow, that wearest gold and [precious] stones'; *gwawr dlosferch* < *gwáwr-dlos* 'dawn-beautiful' + *merch* 'maid';—*ry dlysfain* is a loose compound of *rhy* and *tlýs-fain*, so that its accentuation is normal;—*gŵrm áel* is a loose bahuvrīhi (or possessive) compound 'possessing a dark brow'.

(2) The same accentuation occurs when a compound number is compounded with a noun, as *dáu cánn-oen* G.Gl. M 146/313 '200 lambs'; *sáith ugéin-waith* L.G.C. 421 'seven score times'. The separated syllable has the un-mutated (un-combined) form of its diphthong *dau, saith* (not *deu, seith*) § 45 ii (2).

iii. Strict compounds are inflected by inflecting the second element, as *gwindy* pl. *gwindei* § 117 iii, *hwyl-brenni*, *canhwyll-brenni* § 122 ii (2), *claer-wynnyon* etc. § 145 ii (4), *an-wariaid* etc. § 145 vi, *an-hawsaf* § 148 i (6), *gloyw-δuaf* etc. § 150 ii.

But in loose a-n compounds the adj. is often made pl., as *nefolyon wybodeu* etc. § 145 ii (3). Indeed these formations are so loose that the second element may be suspended, as in *nefolion- a'r daearolion- a thanddaearolion- bethau* ibid.

An eqtv. or cpv. adj. before a noun is not compounded with it, but the noun has always its rad. initial. A spv. adj. may or may not be compounded; see Syntax.

PRONOUNS

Personal Pronouns.

§ **158.** The Welsh personal pronouns are either **independent** or **dependent**.

Of these main classes there are several sub-divisions, containing a form for each person sg. and pl., including two, m. and f., for the 3rd sg.

The use of the 2nd pl. for the 2nd sg., so common in modern European languages, appears in W. in the 15th cent. There are numerous examples in T.A. (e.g. § 38 vi), who mixes up sg. and pl. in addressing the same individual:

Meined **dy** *wasg mewn y tant,*
Chwi *a 'mdroech i'm dau rychwant.*—T.A. A 14866/105.

'So slender is thy waist in the girdle, you would turn round in my two spans.'

§ **159**. The independent personal pronouns are the forms used when the pronoun is not immediately dependent on a noun, a verb or an inflected preposition. They occur (*a*) at the beginning of a sentence, see § 162 vii (2);—(*b*) after a conjunction or uninflected preposition, including *fel, megis*;—(*c*) after *ys* 'it is', *mae* (*mai*) 'that it is', *panyw* id., *pei* 'if it were', etc., and after the uninflected *heb y* 'said' (*heb y mi* § 198 i). Independent personal pronouns are either simple, reduplicated or conjunctive; thus:

i. Simple: sg. 1. *mi*, 2. *ti*, 3. m. *ef*, f. *hi*; pl. 1. *ni*, 2. *chwi*, 3. Ml. *wy, wynt*, Mn. *hŵy, hŵynt* (also occasionally in Late Ml. W.).

The *h*- of the Mn. 3rd pl. forms comes from the affixed forms; thus *gwelant wy* ≡ *gwelant-h wy* mutated to *gwelann-h wy*, see § 106 iv; the *-h* was transferred to the pronoun, cf. § 106 iii (2); and the independent forms borrowed the *h*- from the affixed.

ii. Reduplicated: (1) Ml. W., sg. 1. *mivi, myvi, myvy*, 2. *tidi, tydi*, 3. [m. *efo*], f. *hihi*; pl. 1. *nini*, 2. *chwichwi, chwchwi*, 3. *wyntwy, hwyntwy*. — Mn. W. sg. 1 *myfi*, 2. *tydi*, 3. [m. *efo, fo* (later *fe, efe* see below)], f. *hyhi*; pl. 1. *nyni*, 2. *chwychwi* (often pronounced but rarely written *chwchwi*), 3. *hwynt-hwy*.

mivi, tidi W.M. 4, *myfi* (see *vyvi* § 160 iii (1)), *chwichwi* R.B.B. 67, *chwchwi* S.G. 164, *hwyntwy* R.M. 132, *wyntwy* S.G. 165.

(2) These pronouns are usually accented on the ultima: *myfí, tydí, hwynt-hŵy*, etc.; but they were formerly accented on the penult also, and this accentuation survives in certain phrases used in Powys. Examples of penultimate accentuation:

Du serchog yw'th glog mewn glyn,
A **mýfi** *sy'n d' ymófyn.*—D.G. 521.

'Of a lovely black is thy coat in the glen, and it is I who call thee.'—To the blackbird.

Nid dídolc onid **týdi**;
Nato Duw bod hebot ti.—S.M., M 133/261.

'There is none faultless but thee; God forbid [that we should] be without thee.'

Thus accented they also appear as *mýfy, týdy*, etc.:

Mawr oedd gennyd dy fryd fry,
Mŵyfwy dy sôn na **mýfy**.—G.Gr., D.G. 246.

'Greatly didst thou boast thy intention yonder; more and more noisy [art thou] than I.'

(3) The forms *myfí, tydí* sometimes lose their unaccented *y* after *a, na* or *no*, giving *a m'fí, a th'dí*, etc.; as *megys yδ ymydawssam* **ath ti** R.A. 148 'as we forsook thee', cf. 121, l. 6.

Duw a'th roes, y doeth rysŵr;
A **th'di** *a wnaeth Duw yn ûr.*—W.M. 8.

'God gave thee, wise hero; and thee did God make a man.'

(4) In the spoken language *efô, yhí* became *yfô, yhí*; and the others followed, thus *yfí, ythdí* (in Gwynedd *ychdí* by dissim.) *ynî, ychí, ynhŵ(y)*. These may sometimes be seen written *y fo* etc. in the late period, e.g. C.C. 273, 340.

(5) Beside *efô* the reduced form *fō* appears in the 14th cent. The inconvenience of having different vowels in *fo* and *ef* was overcome in two ways: in N.W. *fō* replaced *ēf* (except in a few stereotyped phrases, as *ynté?* for *onid hēf?* 'is it not so?', *ai ế?* 'is it so?'); in S.W. *ē(f)* remained, and *fō* was changed to *fē*. From the S.W. *fe* Wm.S. made his new *efe* 2 Thess. ii 16, which, however, he uses very rarely. Dr. M. adopted this form, and used it throughout his Bible for the nom. case, independent and affixed—a remarkable observance of a self-imposed rule; that the rule was arbitrary is shown by the fact that *efe* is used where W. idiom expresses 'he' by an oblique case, as *am fod yn hoff ganddo* **efe** *y hi* Gen. xxix 20, *o herwydd ei farw* **efe** 2 Sam. xiii 39. In Ml. W. the only form is *efo*, see iv (2), which is rare compared with the simple *ef*. The bards also use *efo*, accented *éfo* and *efő*, see examples; but where it does not rhyme, late copyists often change it to *efe*; thus in *A fo doeth* **efe** *a dau* G. 144, the MS. actually used by the editor of G. has **efo** TR. 87.—*efe* S.G. 53 is *ef* in the MS., P 11/35*b*; and *eue* C.M. 87 is *euo* (i.e. *evo*) in the MS., R.B. 474. The form *éfo* survives in dial. *efo* 'with' for *éfo a* § 216 ii (3).

Nid oes offrwm, trwm yw'r tro,
Oen Duw úfydd, ond **éfo**.—R.R., F. 7.

'There is no sacrifice—sad is the case—except Him, the obedient Lamb of God.'

Iarll Penfro, **efő** *rydd fárch.*—L.G.C. 355.

'The Earl of Pembroke, he will give a horse.'

iii. Conjunctive: (1) Ml. W., sg. 1. *mynheu, minheu, minneu*, 2. *titheu*, 3. m. *ynteu*, f. *hitheu*; pl. 1. *nynheu, ninheu, ninneu*, 2. *chwitheu*, 3. *wynteu*. — Mn. W. sg. 1. *minnau*, 2. *tithau*, 3. m. *yntau*, f. *hithau*; pl. 1. *ninnau*, 2. *chwithau*, 3. *hwyntau, hwythau*.

(2) A pronoun of this series is always set against a noun or pronoun that goes before (or is implied): *Dioer, heb ef. . . . A unben, heb* **ynteu** W.M. 2 'By heaven, said he. . . . Ah! prince, said the other.' The series is in common use in Mn. W.; sometimes the added meaning is so subtle as to be untranslatable: *chwi a* **minnau** 'you and I', but as a rule *minnau* signifies 'I too', 'even I', 'I for my part', 'but I', 'while I', etc. The first term of the antithesis may be implied: *Wel, dyma* **finnau** *'n marw* Ceiriog O.B. 110 'Well, now even I am dying' [not somebody else this time; this is not said, but *finnau* implies it]. A conj. pron. often stands in apposition to a noun: **Ynteu** *Pwyll* W.M. 11, cf. 12, 14 'he also, [namely] Pwyll' i.e. Pwyll also; *a gwyr Troea* **wynteu** R.B.B. 20 'and the men of Troy on their part'. The 3rd sg. *ynteu* answers *naill* in the expression *naill ai . . . ai ynteu* 'on the one hand either . . . . . or on the other hand'. From its unaccented use as 'on the other hand' it became a conjunction 'then': *Paham,* **ynteu** IL.A. 13 'why, then?' *Pwy,* **ynteu** do. 27 'who, then?' *Nyt oes un wreic,* **ynteu** A.L. i 176 'there is no woman, then'. In Ml. W. pronouns of other persons are used instead of *ynteu* after *ae,* as *kymer vedyδ . . . ae* **titheu** *ymlaδ* C.M. 13 'receive baptism . . . or else fight'; as the subject of an impv. cannot come before it, *titheu* here replaces *ynteu* in *ae ynteu ymlaδ* 'or else fight' under the influence of *ymlaδ ditheu* 'fight then!'

iv. Origin of the independent pronouns: (1) *mi,* Ir. *mē* < acc. **mĕ* : Skr. *mā,* Gk. *με* (the Ir. *mē* seems to be **me* lengthened, as original *ē* > Kelt. *ī*);—*ti,* Ir. *tū* < **tū* : Lat. *tū,* Av. *tū,* Gk. *τύ-νη,* O.H.G. *dū*; *ti* partly also from Ar. acc. **t(u̯)ĕ*;—*ef,* O.W. *em,* Corn. *ef,* nom. *-e,* Ml. Bret. *eff,* Ir. *ē, hē*; f. *hi,* Corn. *hy,* Bret. *hi,* Ir. *sī.* The 3rd sg. pron. in Kelt. as in Germ. seems to have been **es* or **is,* f. **sī*; thus O.H.G. *er* < **es* : Ir. *ē* or *hē* < **es* (: Umbr. *es-to-* 'iste'); the Corn. nom. postfixed *-e* may represent this; but in W. it has been replaced by *ef*; W. *ef* < **emen* < **em-em* = O.Lat. *em-em,* redupl. acc. of **es,* cf. Skr. *im-ám* < **im-em.* As *hi* kept its *h-,* it is unlikely that *ef* is for **hef,* since the parallel could hardly fail to have been preserved; but in phrases where *ef* means 'so' there are traces of *h-,* as in N.W. *ynté,* S.W. *ontéf e* 'is it not so?' for *onid héf* (*ef*); here *ef* may be from **semo-s* 'same' = Skr. *samáḥ* 'like, same'. W. *hi* < Ar. **sī* : Goth. *si,* O.H.G. *sī, si,* Gk. *ἵ* (Sophocles); **sī* is an ablaut variant of **s(i)i̯ā* § 122 iv (1), f. of the pron. **s(i)i̯os, *s(i)i̯ā, *t(i)i̯od* (Skr. *syáḥ, syā́, tyát*) a derivative of **so, *sā, *tod* (Skr. *sá, sā́, tát,* Gk. *ὁ, ἡ, τό*).—Pl. *nī, chwī,* Ir. *snī, sī* < **s-nēs, *s-u̯ēs* : Lat. *nōs, vōs,* Skr. *naḥ, vaḥ* (or, as the *ē*-grade is not certain elsewhere, < **snī, *su̯ī* with nom. pl. *-ī* after *o*-stems);—*wy,* Ir. *ē* < **ei* nom. pl. of **es*; *wynt* with *-nt* from the 3rd pl. of verbs (so Ml. Ir. *īat*).

(2) The redupl. forms are the simple forms repeated, originally as separate words: *mi-vi* < Brit. **mī mí,* etc. As *ef* seems itself to be a redupl. form it is natural that it is not found reduplicated (*efe* being a figment ii (5)); the emphatic form is *efo.* In Ml. W. this is chiefly

an affixed accusative § 160 iii (1) : *llyma* **efo** W.M. 160 'see him here'; mostly following other pronouns: *gwassanaetha di* **evo** R.M. 185 'serve thou him', cf. 164, 168, 170, 198, 280; the transition to the indep. use is seen in *a thra guδẏych ti* **evo, evo** *a'th guδ ditheu* R.M. 173 'and while thou hidest it, it will hide thee'. The form *efo* is prob. for **efoeδ* § 78 i (1); this implies **émii̯o-*, and may be acc. **em-ei̯om* : cf. Lat. gloss *im-eum* "τὸν αὐτόν" < **im-ei̯om*.

(3) The conj. pronouns are re-formations based upon *yntau* which is for **hynn-teu* (loss of *h-* on the anal. of *ef*) < Brit. **séndos tou̯os* 'this other, the other'; **tou̯os* < **tuu̯os* : Skr. *tvaḥ, tuaḥ* 'other', mostly repeated *tvaḥ . . . tvaḥ* 'the one . . . the other'; the word is always unaccented in Skr.; this is also the condition to give *-eu* in W. § 76 iii (2). The origin is seen clearly in *naill . . . yntau* from **sendod álli̯od . . . séndod tou̯od*; cf. Skr. *tvad . . . tvad* 'at one time . . . at another' or with *tvad* after the second member only. When **hynn teu* came to mean 'he too' a fem. **hih teu* was formed giving *hitheu*; then followed **mim teu* > *mynheu, minneu*; **tīt teu* > *titheu*; and on these are modelled the pl. forms.

§ **160.** Dependent personal pronouns are either prefixed, infixed or affixed.

i. Prefixed pronouns. (1) The following stand in the genitive case immediately before a noun or verbal noun; the mutation following each is given after it in square brackets. For the aspiration of initial vowels see ii (5).

Sg. 1. *fy, f', 'y, '*, [nasal], 2. *dy', d'* [soft], 3. Ml. *y*, Mn. *i*, late misspelling *ei* [m. soft, f. spirant]; pl. 1. Ml. *an, yn*, Mn. *yn*, late misspelling *ein* [rad.], 2. Ml. *awch, ych*, late misspelling *eich* [rad.], 3. *eu* (sometimes Ml. *y*, Mn. *i*) [rad.].

These pronouns are always proclitics, and are never accented; when emphasis is required an affixed auxiliary pronoun is added to receive it; thus *dy ben* **dí** 'thý head'.

Before a vowel *fy* 'my', *dy* 'thy' tend to lose their *y*, and *f', d'* occur frequently in poetry: *f'annwyl* § 38 vi, *f'erchwyn* § 38 ix, *f'annerch* § 136 ii, *f'w͡yneb* § 38 iv; *d'eos* § 110 iii (2), *d'adwyth* D.G. 35, *d'adnabod* do. 147.

fy often becomes *'y*, see § 110 iii (2). This occurs only when the initial of the noun is nasalized, i.e. when its radical is an explosive (or *m-* in f. nouns : *'y mam* § 110 iii (2), *'y modryb* B.CW. 13 'my aunt'), for otherwise *'y* could not be distinguished from the article *y*; as it is, it cannot be distinguished from unaccented *yn* 'in' (*'y mhénn* 'my head', *ymhénn* 'at the end [of]'), except by the context.—When the *f-* vanishes as above, the *y* is liable to be lost after a vowel, leaving only the following nasal initial to represent the pronoun :

Darfu 'r ieuenctid dirfawr;
O dewr fu **'nydd** *darfu 'n awr.*—D.G. 529.

'Mighty youth is spent; if brave was my day, it is spent now.'

Llongwr wyf i yn ddîoed;
Ar ben yr hwylbren mae **'nhroed.**—H.D., P 101/259.

'At once I am a sailor; my foot is on the top of the mast.' See also *yw 'myd* § 38 vi, *yw 'mron* § 146 ii (1).

Ml. *y* 'his, her' > Mn. *i* § 16 ii (3). Occasionally *i* is already found in Ml. W., as *o achaws* **i** *drigiant ef* W.M. 12 'on account of his residing'. The spelling *ei* is due to Wm.S., § 5 (4), who also changed *yn* B.B. 108, *ych* do. 79 to *ein, eich*; there is no evidence of the earlier use of these forms; and in the spoken language the words are *i, yn, ych*, as in Early Mn. W. It is doubtful whether the correct spelling can now be restored, as the misspelling is distinctive, enabling *ei* 'his' to be distinguished from *i* 'to', and *i* 'I', as in *gwelais i dŷ*; and *ein* 'our' from *yn* 'in'; but the written *ei, ein, eich* should be read *i, yn, ych.*

eu 'their' is a Ml. form preserved artificially in lit. W. Already in the 14th cent. *y* appears for it as *ytat* LL.A. 117, l. 13 'their father', *ypenneu, ytavodeu* do. 152 'their heads, their tongues'. In Early Mn. MSS. it is generally *i*, distinguished from the sg. only by the rad. initial which follows it.

(2) Before *hun, hunan* 'self', § 167 i (3), the following forms occur in Ml. W.: sg. 1. *vy, vu, my, mu*, 2. *dy, du*, 3. *e*; pl. 1. *ny*, 2. ?, 3. *e*.

a minneu **vy** *hun* W.M. 88 'and I myself'; *am laδ o honaf* **vu** *hun vy mab* do. 35 'because I myself slew my son'; *namyn* **my** *hun* do. 88 'except myself'; *buw* **mu** *hunan* R.P. 1045 'I myself [am] alive'; *dy anwybot* **dy** *hun* W.M. 2 'thine own ignorance'; **du** *hun* do. 29 'thyself'; *ae δwylaw* **e***hun* LL.A. 10 'with His own hands'; **e***hun* LL.A. 77 'herself'; *arnam* **ny** *hunein* W.M. 29 'on ourselves'; *ar yn llun* **ny** *hun* R.P. 1368 'on Our own image'; *a gewssynt* **e** *hun* W.M. 59 'what they had had themselves'; *yryg̃thunt* **e** *hun* W.M. 421, *y ryngtunt* **e***hunein* R.M. 272 'between themselves'.

In Mn. W. the forms do not differ from those of the gen. given in (1); but *ny* persisted in the sixteenth cent.; *i'n pechod* **ny***hun* A.G. 17 'to our own sin'; *i ni* **ny***hun* do. 35 'for ourselves'.

Before numerals the forms are Ml.W. pl.1. *an, yn*, 2. (*awch, ych*), 3. *yll, ell*, Mn. W. 1. *yn* (misspelt *ein*), *'n*, 2. *ych* (misspelt *eich*), *'ch*, 3. *ill.*

ni **an** *chwech* W.M. 29 'us six', **yn** *dwy* LL.A. 109 'we two' f., **yll** *pedwar* W.M. 65 'they four'; *arnaδunt wy* **yll** *seith* S.G. 33 'on the

seven of them'; *ae δwylaw* yll *dwyoeδ* do. 39 'with both his hands'; *uδunt* ell *deu* w.m. 182 'to them both'. In Mn. W. *ni* 'n *dau* 'we two', *chwi* 'ch *tri* 'you three', *hwy* ill *tri* 'they three', etc.

ii. Infixed pronouns. (1) The following stand in the genitive case before a noun or verbal noun; mutation is noted as before:

Sg. 1. *-m*, now written *'m* [rad.]; 2. *-th*, *'th* [soft]; 3. Ml. W. *-e*, *-y*, Mn. W. *-i*, now written *'i* [m. soft; f. spir.]; pl. 1. *-n*, *'n* [rad.]; 2. *-ch*, *'ch* [rad.]; 3. Ml. *-e*, *-y*, Mn. *-i*, *'i*, late misspelling *'u* [rad.]. Also 3rd sg. and pl. *-w*, *'w* after Ml. *y*, Mn. *i* 'to'; see below.

The Ml. 3rd sg. and pl. *-e* or *-y* represents the second element of a diphthong; thus *oe* or *oy* 'from his' is simply *o y* contracted. The Mn. sound is *ŏi* (unacc. *oi*), and the late spelling *o'i* rests on the false assumption that the full form of the pronoun is *ei*. This contraction may take place after any word ending in a vowel, see § 33 v, and often occurs after final *-ai* and even *-au*. Similarly *'n*, *'ch* may occur after any final vowel or diphthong, as *Duw* 'n *Tad*, *Duw* 'n *Ceidwad* D.G. 486 'God our Father, God our Saviour', since this is only the ordinary loss of unaccented *y*, see § 44 vii.

But *'m*, *'th* stand on a totally different basis; these are not for **ym*, **yth*, which do not exist in the genitive.[a] But *a'm*, *a'th* are properly *a m'*, *a th'* for **a my*, **a thy* with the old spirant mutation after *a* as in *a mam*, *a thad*; hence we find that in Ml. W. they occur only after *a* 'and', *a* 'with' (including *gyt a*, *tu a*, etc), *na* 'nor', *no* 'than', all of which cause the spirant mutation, and after *ỳ* 'to', *o* 'from', which caused gemination of the initial of a following unacc. word in Kelt., thus W. *i'm*, *ym* 'to my' = Ir. *domm* 'to my'; see iv (2). In biblical Welsh this tradition is strictly followed. But in D.G. we already find *yw* 'is' added to the above monosyllables (if the readings are to be trusted), as *yw'm serch* 498, *yw'm Selyf* 522, *yw'th gân* 137, *yw'th wên* 497. After other words *'m* and *'th* are rare in D.G., and are possibly misreadings, as *iddi'm traserch* 498, *yno'th ddwyn* 478. After *neu* 'or' and *trwy* 'through', *fy* and *dy* are always used: *neu dy ladd* 264, *trwy dy hoywliw* 180, *Dyro dy ben drwy dy bais* 107. So after all ordinary words ending in vowels; the only non-syllabic forms of the pronouns being *f'*, *d'* or the nasal mutation, see i (1) above; as *hwde f'anfodd* 114 (not *hwde'm anfodd*), *mae d' eisiau* 19 (not *mae'th eisiau*), *mae d' wyneb* 107 (not *mae'th wyneb*), *colli 'na* 303 (not *colli 'm da*), *gwanu 'mron* 502 (not *gwanu 'm bron*). The insertion of *'m*, *'th* after all vocalic endings is a late misuse of these forms. The converse practice of using *fy* and *dy* after *a*, *o*, *i*, *na* (as *o fy* for *o'm*, *i dy* for *i'th* etc.) appears first in hymns to fill up the line, and is usual in the dialects; but it is a violation of the literary tradition.

[a] One or two apparent examples (as *yth eſſeiryat* c.m. 57) seem to be scribal errors.

After the prep. *i* 'to, for' the form *w* is used for the 3rd sg. and pl. with the mutations proper to the usual forms, as *i'w dŷ* 'to his house', *i'w thŷ* 'to her house', *i'w tŷ* 'to their house'. The combination appears in B.CH. as *yu*, as *pan el e brenyn* **yu** *estavell* A.L. i 48 'when the king goes to his chamber'; later **yw** *voli* C.M. 49 lit. 'for his praising', **yw** *swper* do. 43 'for their supper'; it is prob. a metathesis of **wŷ* § 78 iv (1) from **(d)oi*, an early contraction of **do ĭ* 'to his', **do* being the orig. form of the prep. § 65 iv (2). A later but still old contraction gives *oe*, as *A δoei hĭ ŷ gyt ac ef* **oe** *wlat ?* IL.A. 125 'would she come with him to his country?' In the 16th cent. *oi* 'to his' was still used in Carnarvonshire, G.R. [129]. But *oe*, Mn. *o'i* also means 'from his'; as this is an obvious meaning (*o* being 'from'), *oe* 'to his' became obsolete. A third form of the combination is *ŷ*, a contraction of *ŷ ŷ* 'to his'; this is a re-formation, with the prep. taken from other connexions after it had become *ŷ*; it is the usual form in Ml. MSS., as *y brenhin a aeth* **ŷ** *ystavell* C.M. 43 'the king went to his chamber', *Ynteu Pwyll . . . a δoeth* **ŷ** *gyvoeth ac* **ŷ** *wlat* W.M. 11 'Pwyll too came to his dominions and to his country'. In B.B. we find *ŷ eu* 66 l. 5 'to their', a rare form. The form *ĭ* 'to his, to her, to their' survives in Gwyn. dial.; but the usual Mn. form is *i'w*, which is the least ambiguous, and represents the oldest contraction.

'u is quite a late spelling; it is sounded *i̯* in natural speech, and thus has the same form as the 3rd sg., but takes the same mutation as *eu*. In Ml. W. there is no trace of **au*, **ou*; rarely we have *o eu* as in P 6/ii R., and often *ac eu*, *oc eu*, e.g. W.M. 89; where these are not employed, the forms met with are *ae*, *oe* or *ay*, *oy* like the sg.; in Early Mn. W. *ai*, *oi*. "Pro *'u* pl. post istas particulas [*a*, *na*, *o*], & scribitur & pronunciatur *'i*, vt, *a'i carodd*, pro *a'u carodd*, &c." D. 177. The 1620 Bible always has *'i* both gen. and acc.: *iachâodd hwynt, ac a'***i** *gwaredodd o'***i** *dinistr* Ps. cvii 20.

The forms *m* and *i̯* occur after *er* in Ml. W. *eirmoet* 'during my time', *eirŷoet* 'in his time', Mn. W. *er-m-ŏed*, *er-i̯-ŏed*; the latter became the stereotyped form for all persons, and is the usual expression for 'ever'. But *ermoed* survived in Early Mn. W., see L.G.C. 194.

(2) The following stand in the accusative case before verbs; all take the radical initial of the verb except *'th*, which takes the soft.

Sg. 1. *-m*, now written *'m*; 2. *-th*, *'th*; 3. Ml. W. *-e* *-y*, *-s*, *-w*, Mn. W. *-i*, *'i*, *-s*; pl. 1. *-n*, *'n*; 2. *-ch*, *'ch*; 3. Ml. W. *-e* *-y*, *-s*, *-w*, Mn. W. *-i*, *'i* (recent *'u*), *-s*.

'm, *'th*, *'n*, *'ch* are used after the relatives *a* and *y*, and where *y* is lost after a vowel, as *lle* for *lle y* 'where', *yno* for *yno y* 'it is there that', etc.; after the affirmative particles *neu*, *a*, *ef a*, *e*, *fo*, *fe*; the negative particles *ni*, *na*; the conjunctions *o* 'if', *oni* 'unless', *y* 'that', and *pe* 'if', Ml. *pei*, which is for *pei y* 'were it that'; and in Ml. W. the tense particle *ry*. Thus:

Ni'th wŷl drem i'th wâl dramawr ;
E'th glyw mil, nyth y glaw mawr.—D.G. 133.

'No eye sees thee in thy vast lair; a thousand hear thee, [in] the nest of the great rain.'—To the Wind.

a'th eura di § 7 ii; *lle'th fagwyd* D.G. 323 'where thou wast reared'; *am ssuinassei-e douit* B.B. 24 'the Lord created me'; *ef a'm llas* G.Gl. § 175 iv (6) 'I was killed'; *o'm lleddi* D.G. 59 'if thou killest me'; *o'th gaf* do. 524 'if I may have thee'; *oni'th gaf* do. 29 'if I have thee not'; *beith leðit* R.P. 1255 'if thou wert killed'; *rym gelwir* B.T. 36 'I am called'; see § 171 iii (2).

The 3rd sg. and pl. *-e* or *-y*, Mn. *-i*, *'i* (*'u*) is used after the relative *a* and the affirmative particles *a*, *ef a*, *e*, *fo*, *fe*; as *pawb a*y *dyly* W.M. 8 'everybody owes it'; *e'i gwelir* D.G. 524 'it will be seen'. It also follows the relative *y*, and is contracted with it to *y* (= *y y* 'that . . . it'); as *llyma yr weð* y *keffy* R.M. 2 'this is the way that (= in which) thou shalt have it'; *sef val* y *gwnaf* W.M. 3 'this is how I will do it'; *val* y *herchis* C.M. 89 'as he commanded them' (*val* is followed by *y* 'that'). In Early Mn. W. this is written *i*, later *ei* or *eu*; recently it has been written *y'i* and *y'u* in order to show the construction; but there is no authority for this, and the traditional sound appears to be *i* (not *yi*).

The 3rd sg. and pl. *-s* is used after *ni*, *na*, *oni* 'unless' and *o* 'if'; as *Ae eiðaw nys arvollassant* LL.A. 161 'and his own received him not'; *onis cwplaa oe weithretoeð* C.M. 15 'unless he fulfils it in his works'; *os myn* L.G.C. 187 'if he desires it'. It often serves to save the repetition of the object in the second of two negative sentences: *ny mynneis inheu un gwr . . . ac nys mynnaf* R.M. 11 'I did not want a husband, and do not want one'; *nyd enwaf neb ac ny's gwradwyddaf* J.D.R. [xvii] 'I name no one, and disgrace him not'; and often refers to a noun or pronoun placed absolutely at the head of a sentence, as *ond ef nis gwelsant* Luc xxiv 24 'but [as for] him, they saw him not'; *Safnau'r môr nis ofnir mwy* D.W. 271 'the mouths of the sea—one no longer fears them'. The form *-s* is also used after *pe*, thus Mn. W. *pes* for *pei y-s* 'were it that . . . it', as *pei ys gwyppwn* W.M. 42; in Ml. W. generally written *pei as*, as *pei as mynhut* W.M. 142 'if thou wishedst it'. Similarly *gwedy as gwelych* C.M. 83 'after thou hast seen it'. After affirmative *neu*, as *neus ŕoðes* W.M. 20 'he has given it'; rarely after affirmative *a*, as *A*s *attebwys dofyð* B.T. 24 'the Lord answered him'.—In Late Mn. W. *nis* is sometimes treated as if the *s* meant nothing; such a misuse is rare in Ml. W. and, where it occurs, is probably a scribal error, as *Nys gwelas llygat eiroet y sawl ðynỳon* LL.A. 117 with *nys* repeated from the previous line. On *os* for *o* 'if' see § 222 v (1).

In Early Ml. verse we sometimes find *nuy* (≡ *nŵy*) in relative sentences corresponding to *nis* in direct statements (*nwy* from an old contraction of **no i*, cf. **wy* (1) above, **no* being the orig. form of the neg. rel., see § 162 vi (3)); as *nis guibit ar* nuy *g(u)elho* B.B. 7 'he

will not know it who has not seen it'; cf. do. 8 ll. 1, 13. Later by metathesis this appears as *nyw*, as *nyt kerδawr* **nyw** *molwy* R.P. 1400 'there is no minstrel who does not praise him'; **nyw** *deiryt* do. 1273 'which do not belong to him'. Later *nyw* is used in direct statements, as *ac* **nyw** *kelaf* R.P. 1244 'and I will not conceal it'. In B.CH. occurs **enyu** (≡ *ynyw*) *teno tranoeth* 14 (misprinted *eny* in A.L. i 32) 'until he removes it the following day', formed analogically. We also find *rwy* rel., as **rwy** *digonsei* B.T. 24 'who had made him'.

(3) After *pan* 'when' and Ml. *kyt* 'since' syllabic accus. forms are used: *ym, yth, y, yn, ych, y*. In Late Mn. W. these are written *y'm, y'th, ei, y'n, y'ch, eu*; the apostrophe is incorrect, see iv (2). But even in Ml. W. after *pan* and other conjunctions ending in consonants, an affixed acc. pron. after the verb is preferred to the infixed; see iii (1).

yr pan **yth** *weleis gyntaf* W.M. 156–7 'since I saw thee first'; *pan* **i'm** *clywai clust* Job xxix 11; *kid* **im** *guneit* B.B. 23 (≡ *cyd ym gwnëyδ*) 'since thou makest me'. In the early period also after *nid* 'there . . . not', as *nid* **ann**-*vyδ* B.B. 90 'there will not be to us' (*ann* dat. see below).

(4) In Ml. and Early Mn. verse the forms in (2) and (3) are also used in the dative.

Dolur gormoδ **am** *doδyw* R.G. 1127 'too much grief has come to me'; *car a'*m *oedd, ny'*m *oes* G. M.A. i 201 'a friend there was to me, there is not to me' (i.e. I had but have not); *Am bo forth* B.B. 34 'may there be a way for me'; *pan* **im** *roted par* do. 23 (*t* ≡ δ) 'when existence was given to me'; *E'*m *rhoddes liw tes lw teg* D.G. 136 '[she of] the hue of summer gave me a fair pledge'; *Cerdd eos a'*m *dangosai 'Y mun bert* do. 499 'the nightingale's song would show me my comely maid'.

(5) Initial vowels are aspirated after the following prefixed and infixed pronouns: all the forms of the gen. 3rd sg. fem., and gen. 3rd pl.; all the infixed forms of the acc. 3rd sg. m. and f. and 3rd pl., except *-s*.

oeδ liw y **h***wynneb* IL.A. 81 'was the colour of her face'; *oc eu* **h***amsser* do. 119 'of their time'; *mi a'i* **h***adwaen ef* Gen. xviii 19.

After *'m, 'n* and *yn* gen. and acc. both aspirated and unaspirated initials are found.

om **h***anvoδ* R.M. 11, W.M. 18, *om* **a***nvoδ* R.M. 30, W.M. 43 'against my will'; *yn* **h***arglwyδ ni* IL.A. 165, *yn* **a***rδerchogrwyδ ni* do. 168 'our majesty'. So in Early Mn. W.: *A'm* **a***nnwyl* D.G. 219, *a'm* **e***dwyn* ibid. 'knows me', *o'm* **h***anfodd* D.E. G. 113, *i'm* **o***es* S.T. F. 29,

i'm **hoed** D.G. 498. In Late Mn. W. the *h-* is always used, and often written superfluously after *eich, 'ch.*

iii. Affixed pronouns are substantive and auxiliary.

(1) Substantive affixed pronouns are used in the accusative after verbs as sole objects; they are identical with the independent pronouns simple, reduplicated and conjunctive, with the initials of the 1st and 2nd sg. softened.

They occur where there is no preverb to support an infixed pronoun, as when the vb. is impv.; where the preverb ends in a consonant, as *pan*, etc.; and in some other cases where there is no infixed pronoun; for the details see Syntax.

dygwch **vi** *oδyma* W.M. 8 'bear me hence'; *hualwyd* **fi** D.G. 47 'I have been shackled'; *clyw* **fyfy** do. 100 'hear me'; *pann welsant* **ef** IL.A. 114 'when they saw him'; *ny roδassit* **hi** do. 122 'she had not been given'. They often follow auxiliary affixed pronouns, as *Pan geissych di* **vyvi** R.M. 224 'when thou seekest me'.

They are also used in the dative after interjections, as *gwae* **fi**! 'vae mihi!'

(2) Auxiliary affixed pronouns serve as extensions of other pronominal elements; they are appended to words which already have either personal endings, or prefixed or infixed pronouns. The form of the 1st sg. is *i*, in Early Ml. W. *-e* (≡ *y*); in Late Mn. W. it is written *fi* after *-f*, but this is an error, though sometimes found in Ml. W.; the 2nd sg. is *di*, after *-t ti*, Early Ml. *-de*; 3rd sg. m. *ef, efo*, f. *hi*; pl. 1. *ni*, Early Ml. *-ne*, 2. *chwi*, 3. *wy, wynt*, later *hwy, hwynt*. There are also conjunctive forms, *innau, dithau*, etc.

Supplementing (*a*) the personal form of a verb: *gueleis-***e** B.B. 71 'I saw', *arδuireav-***e** do. 36 'I extol'; *pan roddais* **i** *serch* D.G. 134 'when I set [my] affection', *andau-***de** B.B. 61 'listen thou', *Beth a glywaist* **ti**? D.G. 335 'what didst thou hear?' *y dêl* **hi** § 136 iii, etc.

(*b*) the personal ending of a preposition: *irof-***e** B.B. 23 'for me', *arnat* **ti** D.G. 136 'on thee', *iδaw* **ef** W.M. 5 'to him', etc.

(*c*) a prefixed or infixed pronoun, gen., acc. or dat.: **wi**-*llav-***e** B.B. 50 (≡ *vy-llaw-y*) 'my hand', **f**'*enaid* **i** D.G. 148 'my soul'; **am** *creuys-***e** B.B. 82 'who created me'; **nym** *daw-***e** do. 62 'there comes not to me'; *dyn ni* '**m** *cred* **i** D.G. 173 'a woman who does not believe me'.

Ni cheisiwn nef na'i threϖi
Be gwypwn nas kai hwnn **hi**.—H.S., P 54/i/257 B.

'I would not seek heaven and its abodes if I knew that he would not attain it.'

iv. Origin of dependent pronouns: (1) Prefixed.—*fy* < Ar. **mene* § 113 ii;—*dy* 'thy' < Brit. **to(u)* proclitic form of **toue* < Ar. **teue*;—*y* 'his' < Ar. **esi̯ŏ*: Skr. *asyá*; *y* 'her' < Ar. **esi̯ās*: Skr. *asyā̆h*, § 75 vii (2);— *an* 'our', Bret. *hon, hor*, all for **anr*, which (like Ir. *ar n-* for **anr n-*) represents regularly (§ 95 ii (3)) Kelt. **n̥sron* < **n̥s-rōm*: Goth. *unsara*, with suff. *-(e)ro-*: cf. Lat. *nostrum* with suff. *-t(e)ro-*;—*ny* before *hun* < **nes* or **nos*: Skr. *naḥ* acc., gen., dat.;— *awch* 'your', formed from *chwi* on the analogy of *an* : *ni*;—*eu* 'their', O.W. *ou*, Bret. *ho*, is probably for **ŵy* unaccented, and so from **eison* < Ar. **eisŏm*: Skr. *eṣā̆m* 'their' < **eisŏm*, Osc. *eisun-k*; for the weakening of unaccented *ŵy* to *eu* see § 78 iii;—*yn, ych* before numerals < **esnes*, **esues*: Goth. *izwis* 'you' acc. < **esues*;—*yll* is a form of an *l*-demonstrative § 165 vi, perhaps < acc. pl. **ollōs* < **ólı̯o-* or **olno-*: Lat. *ollus*.

(2) Infixed.—Gen.— *-m, -th* see ii (1); Brit. **men* caused the rad. of tenues, the nas. of mediae § 107 iv, and as the latter was generalized for *fy*, the former was for *'m*;— *-e* or *-y* is merely the prefixed *y* contracted with the preceding vowel;— *-n, -ch* are the prefixed forms with the vowel elided;— *-e* or *-y* 'their', originally only after *o* 'from' and **do* 'to'; thus *oe* or *oy* 'from their' < *o* **ŵy* contracted; similarly the rarer *oe* 'to their'; *ay* 'and their, with their' is formed on the analogy of *oy*, instead of the orig. *ac eu* which also survived, as *oc eu* 'from their' was formed on the analogy of the latter, instead of orig. *oy* (*o* 'from' had no *-c*);—*i'w* 'to his', etc., Ml. W. *yw* met. for **ŵy* < **do ĭ* 'to his' contracted after **esi̯ŏ* 'his' had become **ĭ*, but early enough for **oi* to become **ŵy*, see ii (1); the metathesis is actually attested in *nuy* (≡ *nŵy*) > *nyw*, see below.

Acc. (dat.).— *-m, -th* < **mm-*, **tt-* from acc. **me*, **te*, dat. **moi*, **toi*, originally used after the neg. *ny*, the tense part. *ry*, etc., which caused gemination of the initial; in Ir. also the forms after *nī, ro, no, do*, etc., are *-mm-, -t-* (≡ *tt*); see § 217 iv (1); after the rel. *a* which causes lenition, *-m, -th* must be analogical; the rad. initial after *-m* is due to the analogy of *-m* gen.;— *-n* (Ir. *-nn-*) < **nes*, see (1); *-ch* by analogy;—the syllabic forms prob. developed thus: **pann m cl-* > **pann n̥ cl-* > *pan ym clywai*; so *n* > *n̥* > *yn*; *yth, ych* by anal.; cf. *heb yr* § 198 iii; on the whole this is more probable than that *y-* represents the vocalic ending of *pann* lost elsewhere, which is the explanation of the corresponding Ir. forms generally assumed (Thurneysen Gr. 246, Pedersen Gr. ii 145); in any case the *y-* is not the rel. *y*, which is not used after *pan* § 222 xi (2), so that the form *pan y'm* is misleading and wrong;— *-e, -y*, in *ae, ay* 'who... him', for *ai* **ĭ* contracted; syllabic *y* < **ĭ*; **ĭ* < **en* < **em* 'him'; the nasal ending caused the rad. of tenues, which was generalized; *-s* from the fem. acc. **sīm* 'her', **si̯ās* 'them', with the initial doubled as in **mm-*, **tt-*, so that it gives *-s* (not **h-*); in Ir. *-s-* is f. sg. only; in Corn. it is f. sg. and pl.; in W. extended to the m. because the m. **ĭ* was lost after *ni*; thus **ni caf ef* became *nis caf ef* on the anal. of *nis caf hi*; so *ae* 'who... her'

instead of *as* on the anal. of *ae* 'who . . . him';—rel. *nyw* < *nuy* (≡ *nūy*) < **no ĭ*, see ii (2).

(3) Affixed.—The substantive forms are the same as the independent forms. Auxiliary: *i*, B.B. *-e* (≡ *ỹ*) < **iẓ* < **egō* : Lat. *ego*, Gk. *ἐγώ*, etc.; originally used as subject after a verb, it came to supplement a 1st sg. pron. in other cases;—*di*, B.B. *-de* < **tu*;—*ni*, B.B. *-ne* < **nes* or **nos* (which may have become nom. like *nōs* in Lat.).

¶ For pronouns suffixed to prepositions see §§ 208–212.

Possessive Adjectives.

§ **161.** i. A possessive adjective was placed after its noun, which was usually preceded by the article, as **y** *tŷ* **tau** D.G. 18 'thy house', sometimes by a pref. or inf. pron., as *ŷ'th wyndut* **teu** R.P. 1202 'to thy paradise'; rarely it was added to an indefinite noun, as

Ac i wneuthur mesurau
O benillion mwynion **mau.**—D.G. 289.

'And to make measures out of sweet verses of mine.'

The above adnominal use is common as a poetical construction; in prose it survived only in one or two phrases like **y** *rei* **eiδaw** LL.A. 20 "suos". Ordinarily the possessive adjective stands as the complement of the verbs 'to be', 'to become', etc., as *malpei* **teu** *vei* R.M. 127 'as if it were thine'; or is used substantivally preceded by the article, as *arnaf i ac ar* **y meu** S.G. 268 'on me and on mine'.

ii. (1) The forms of the possessive adjectives in use in Ml. W. are the following:

Sg. 1.	*meu*	Pl. 1.	*einym*
2.	*teu*	2.	*einwch*
3.	m. *eiδaw*, f. *eiδi*	3.	*eiδunt*

In Mn. W. the first three forms became *mau*, *tau*, *eiddo*, by the regular change of final syllables; and new forms of the 1st and 2nd persons arose; see iii.

See Ml.W. *einym* R.M. 132, *eiδunt* do. 26, *eiδi* W.M. 476; *einwch* etc. see below. The form *eiδyaw* LL.A. 129 shows *i̯* after *ei* § 35 ii; but the present N.W. sound is *euddo* with no trace of *-i̯-* before *-o*, and the intrusion is only sporadic in Ml. W.

(2) The above forms are sometimes extended by the addition of auxiliary affixed pronouns; thus *meu i* or *meu inneu*, *teu di* or

teu ditheu, *eiδaw ef* or *eiδaw efo*, etc. In Mn. W. the 1st sg. takes the form *mau fi* or *mau finnau*.

Pa δarpar yw yr **einwch chwi?** R.M. 292 'what preparation is yours?' *By ryw neges yw yr* **eiδaw ef?** W.M. 40 'what business is his?' *ÿ'r* **meu i** S.G. 34 'to mine', *y* **teu di** W.M. 84 'thine', *y* **meu inneu** S.G. 251; *A'r cwyn* **tau di** . . . *yw'r cwyn* **mau finnau** I.G. 392 'and thy plaint is my plaint'; the *f-* is attested by the cynghanedd in I.G. 318 q.v.

iii. In the 15th century new forms of the 1st and 2nd sg. and pl. sprang up. Siôn Cent has *A'i natur* . . . *ysy* **eiddom** *ÿ'n soddi* c 7/86 'and its [the earth's] nature is ours to sink us'. T.A. has *eiddoch* A 31102/121. We also find *eiddod*:

> *Gwŷr glân a gai air o glod;*
> *Gorau oedd y gair* **eiddod.**—G.I.LL.F., c 7/110.

'Fine men got a word of praise; the best was the word [spoken] of thee.'

H.R. uses the curious 2nd sg. *einwyd* D. 185. — G.R. (1567) gives *einof* or *eiddof*, *eiddot*, *einom* p. [123]; *einom* in A.G. 52. — J.D.R. gives *eiddof*, *eiddot*, *eiddom*, *eiddoch* 69. These are the forms used in Late W., though *mau* and *tau* persisted in poetry.

Wm.S. used *mau* and *tau* in his N.T., which were mostly changed into *eiddof* and *eiddot* by the translators of the Bible, see e.g. Ioan xvii 6, 9, 10.

The forms of the 3rd sg. and pl. remain unchanged, except that *eiddunt* is misspelt *eiddynt* in Late W.

iv. (1) It is generally assumed that *meu* is a new formation after *teu*, and that the latter comes from the Ar. gen. **teue* : Skr. *táva*. But Ir. *mui* shows that the formation is not very new; it goes back at least to Pr. Kelt. The Ir. *mui* occurs as a gloss, but **tui* is not found, and neither form occurs in construction. It is probable therefore that the predicative and substantival constructions so common in W. are secondary; for if original they might be expected to survive in Ir. on account of their convenience. Hence we may conclude that *meu* and *teu* were originally postfixes, a construction which disappeared in Ir. and only survived in poetry in W. They may therefore be derived directly from the Ar. enclitic genitives **moi*, **toi* : Gk. μοι, τοι (σοι), Skr. *me*, *te* (*e* < **ai* < **oi*), Lat. *mī* (< **moi*), see § 75 viii (2).

(2) The Ar. 3rd sg. corresponding to **moi*, **toi* was **soi* : Gk. οἱ, Av. *hē*, *šē*; this gives W. **(h)eu*. Beside *y meu* and *y teu*, there must have been *yr *heu*, which gives *rheueδ* 'property, wealth' (*ŕeueδ* M.A. i 244*a*); and *yr *(h)eu* 'his property' became 'the

property' whence *(*h*)*eu* 'property'. When *(*h*)*eu* became obsolete as an enclitic it was replaced in the sense of 'property' by *meu*, which gives *meueδ* 'property' (*meuet* M.A. i 361*b*). It was followed by *i* 'to' and a pronoun: *Ae* **meu ŷ minneu** *dy verch di weithon?* **Meu** *heb ynteu* R.M. 142, lit. 'is thy daughter property to me now? Property [i.e. Yes] said the other'; *vy merch inneu a geffy yn* **veu itt** do. 125 'and my daughter thou shalt have as property to thee', i.e. for thine own; *yn* **veu iδaw** *e hun* do. 207 'as property for himself'. In its orig. form the last expression would be **eu iδaw*; of this *eiδaw* is an obvious contraction; similarly *eiδi* for **eu iδi*; *eiδunt* for **eu iδunt*. On the analogy of *eiδaw ef* (for **eu iδaw ef*) arose *meu i, teu di*. In *eiδaw ef* the *ef* is of course the ordinary affixed pron. supplementing the personal ending of *iδaw*, see § 160 iii (2) (*b*).

(3) The use of *yn* **eu* for the later *yn veu* is attested in the O. W. *nou* glossing genitives in M.C.; as *nouirfionou* gl. rosarum = (*y*)*n* **eu yr ffioneu* 'as the property of the roses', i.e. that of the roses (*n*- representing *yn* before a vowel is common, e.g. *ny* L.L. 120 'in its' § 107 ii). It is found before the 1st pl. pron.: *nouni* gl. nostrum = (*y*)*n* **eu* (*y*)*nny*; later **eu ynny* became *einym* on the analogy of the prepositional form of *eiδaw*, and of *gennym* '(belonging) to us' (*mae gennym* 'we possess'); *einwch* was evidently formed from *einym* on the analogy of *gennwch*.

The processes which produced these forms have repeated themselves at later periods: *eiδo* 'his' (like the old **eu* 'his') became a noun meaning 'property'; it began to be used with a dependent genitive in the 14th century: *a vu* **eiδaw** *dy vam di* S.G. 270 'was thy mother's property'; **eiδaw** *nep* L.A. 35; **eiddo'r** *Arglwydd* 1 Cor. x 26; thus O. W. *n*-**ou**-*ir-fionou* would now be *yn* **eiddo'r** *ffion*. From *eiddo* were formed the new 1st and 2nd sg. and pl. forms *eiddof* (*fi*), *eiddot* (*ti*), *eiddom* (*ni*), *eiddoch* (*chwi*), carrying further the analogy of *eiddo* (*ef*). Lastly, there is a recent tendency, instead of *yn eiddo* (*ef*), to say *yn* **eiddo** *iddo* (*ef*), which exactly reproduces *yn* **eu** *iδaw* (*ef*), which is the origin of *yn eiδo* (*ef*).

The Relative Pronoun.

§ **162.** i. The forms of the relative pronoun are—nom. acc. **a** [soft]; adverbial cases, before vowels Ml. **yd**, **yδ**, Mn. **yr**, before consonants Ml. **yd** [soft], Ml. and Mn. **y** [rad.]; in the genitive and in cases governed by prepositions both *a* and *yδ* (*yr*), *y* are used.

Nom.: *gyrru yr erchwys* **a** *laδysseí y carw eymdeith* W.M. 2 'to send the pack that had killed the stag away'; *Gwyn ei fyd y dyn* **a** *wnelo hyn* Es. lvi 2 'Blessed is the man that doeth this'.—Acc.: *o ymgael a'r gwr* **a** *δywedy di* W.M. 4 'to find the man whom thou

mentionest'; *Ai dyma'r ympryd* **a** *ddewisais ?* Es. lviii 5 'Is this the fast that I have chosen?'—Adv. : *o'r lle* **yð** *oeð* W.M. 39 'from the place where he was'; *e korn* **eð** *euo e brenhỳn* A.L. i 76 'the horn from which the king drinks'.—Nom. and adv.:

Af a mawl **a** *fo melys*
O'r tud **yr** *wyf i'r tad Rys.*—G.S. P 55/31.

'I will go with praise that is sweet from the land where I am to Father Rhys.'

The gen. rel. is supplemented by a prefixed personal pronoun to point out the case : *Mab . . .* **a** *ðylivas Iðas* **ỳ** *leith* B.B. 87 'the Son whose death Judas plotted'; *Ol . . .* **a** *ðucpwyd moch* **ỳ** *dat* W.M. 469 'Ol, whose father's pigs were stolen'; *brawt ỳ'r gwr* **y** *buost neithwyr yn* **ỳ** *lys* do. 130 'brother of the man in whose court thou wast last night'; *y neb* **y** *maddeuwyd* **ei** *drosedd* Ps. xxxii 1 'he whose transgression is forgiven'.—Similarly a preposition takes a personal ending to show the gender and number of the relative : *ỳ'r neb* **a** *welei newyn a sychet* **arnaw** IL.A. 126 lit. 'to the one whom he saw hunger and thirst on him'; *nyt amgen no'r prenn* **y** *dibynnawð yr arglwyð* **arnnaw** do. 61 'no other than the tree on which the Lord was crucified'.—Dat. *y* followed by *i* with suff. : *y rhai* **y** *rhoddwyd* **iddynt** Matt. xix 11 'they to whom it is given'; also without the prep.:

Ieuan deg a'i onwayw dur
Y *perthyn campau Arthur.*—G.Gl., P 83/58.

'Fair Ieuan with his spear of ash and steel to whom belong the qualities of Arthur.' *Rhywia' dyn* **y** *rhoed enaid* T.A. A 14967/29 'the most generous man to whom a soul was [ever] given'.

The form *ae* in *E betev* **ae** *gulich y glav* B.B. 63 'The graves which the rain wets' may be an echo of O.W. *ai* with the rad. after the acc., see vi (1).

By the elision of unaccented syllables *a* is often lost in Mn. W. verse, as *Y ddraig coch' ddyry cychwyn* D.I.D. G. 177 '[it is] the red dragon that gives a leap'. *Y gŵr llên' gâr holl Wynedd* Gut.O. G. 204 'the learned man whom all Gwynedd loves'. The soft initial remains to represent it. In Ml. W. it may be lost before initial *a-*. The frequent dropping of the rel. *a* is a characteristic of much of the slipshod writing of the present day.

ii. (1) The usual adverbial form before a vowel in Ml. W. is *yð*; but *yr*, though rare, appears in the 14th cent., as *yno* **yr** *adeilawð Beuno eglwys* IL.A. 123 '[it was] there that Beuno built a church'; *hyt y seneð* **yr** *oeðit yn ỳ aros* do. 114 'as far as the synod where he was awaited'. In Mn. W. *yr* became the usual form, but *yð* remained as a poetical form, the bards using both indifferently according to the demands of the cynghanedd, as

O erw i gant **yr** *â gŵr:*
O ddwy i un **ydd** *â anwr.*—I.D., TR. 150.
'[It is] from an acre to a hundred that a man goes, [and] a churl from two to one.'

(2) Between vowels *yδ* or *yr* may become *'δ* or *'r*, e.g. *wedi* **'dd** *él* L.G.C. 394 'after [the time] when it goes'; but before a consonant it is always *y*; unlike the article, it cannot appear as *'r* after a vowel if a consonant follows. On the sound of the *y* in the word see § 82 ii (1).

iii. In Early Ml. W. the adverbial rel. often appears as *yd* (≡*yd*, not *yδ*), later written *yt*; this occurs not only before vowels but before consonants also, the latter usually undergoing the soft mutation.

Tec **yd** *gan ir adaren* B.B. 107 '[it is] sweetly that the bird sings'; *myn* **yd** *vo truin* **yd** *vit trev* do. 83 '[it is] there where a nose is that a sneeze will be'; *yn Aber Cuawc* **yt** *ganant gogeu* R.P. 1034 '[it is] at Aber Cuawg that cuckoos sing'.

In the B.B. the soft occurs after *yd* twelve times; the rad. occurs four times (*id p-* 41, 53, *id k-* 85, 95), and in each case may be due to provection. Before *t-*, *d-*, *g-*, *ff-*, *s-*, *m- n-*, only *y* [rad.] occurs; before *k-*, *gw-*, *b-*, *ll-*, both *y* [rad.] and *yd* [soft] appear; before *p-*, *r-* only *yd-*; before a vowel, *yδ*, rarely *yd*.

iv. (1) The pres. ind. of the verb 'to be' has a relatival form **sydd**, **sy**, Ml. W. *yssyδ*, *yssy*, in the B.B. often *issi* (*i*≡*y*). The full form *ysydd* is also used in Mn. W., and is generally wrongly divided *y sydd*, because the accent is on the second syllable. The suffixed rel. is the subject of the verb, which always means 'who is', 'who am', etc.

Although originally 3rd sg., the rel. may have a noun or pron. of any number or person as antecedent; thus *Diau mai chwychwi* **sy** *bobl* Job xii 2 'Doubtless it is you who are people'.

(2) In the verb **pieu** the interrogative element *pi* came to be used as a relative; see § 192 ii (2), (3).

(3) **pan**, originally interrogative, is mostly relative in Ml. and Mn. W. It is used for 'when', chiefly where no antecedent is expressed; see § 222 vi (1).—In questions and answers it expresses 'whence', as *o py wlat . . .* **pan** *henwyt* C.M. 33 'from what country [is it] that (= whence) thou art sprung?' *Ae o bysgotta* **pan** *deuy di* do. 53 'is it from fishing that thou comest?' In these cases *yδ* may be used, and *yr* supplants *pan* in Mn. W. On *pan* in answers see § 163 i (6).

v. (1) The negative relative is nom. acc. **ni, nid**, Ml. W. *ny, nyt*; this form is also used in the gen., in the loc. after *lle*, and in cases governed by prepositions; but the adverbial form generally (e.g. after *pryd, modd, fel, megis, paham, pa fodd*, etc., and adverbs like *braidd, odid*, etc.) is **na, nad**, Ml. W. *na, nat*. In Late W. there is a tendency to use the *a* form everywhere.

Nom. : *Nyt oes yndi neb* **ny**'*th adnapo* R.M. 3 'there is in it no one who will not know thee'. *Gwyn ei fyd y gŵr* **ni** *rodia* Ps. i 1.—Acc. : *yr hynn* **ny** *welsynt* L.A. 12 'that which they had not seen'; *cenedl* **nid** *adweini* Es. lv 5; also with a redundant *-s* : *llyna beth* **ny-s** *gwrthodaf-i* C.M. 42 'that is a thing which I will not refuse (it)'.—Gen. : *y drws* **ny** *δylywn ny* **ŷ** *agori* R.M. 41 'the door which we ought not to open', lit. 'whose its opening we ought not'.—Loc. : *lle* **ny** *wyper* L.A. 26 '[in] the place where it is not known'.—After a prep. : **ny** *roδei hi . . .* **iδaw** R.M. 33 'to whom she did not give'.—Adv. : *pryt* **na** L.A. 26, W.M. 183, R.M. 85, *pryd* **na** Jer. xxiii 7, D.G. 29, G. 297; *mal* **na** C.M. 20; *braidd* **na** D.G. 50.

(2) The perfective particle *ry* may introduce a rel. clause; see § 219 v.

vi. (1) The relative pron. *a* probably comes from the Ar. relative **i̯os, *i̯ā, *i̯od* : Skr. *yá-ḥ, yā́, yád*, Gk. ὅς, ἥ, ὅ. It was a proclitic in Brit., and pretonic **i̯o* might become **i̯a* § 65 vi (2); this was metathesized to *ai* the oldest attested form, as in **hai**-*oid* B.S.CH. 2 'which was', **ai** *torro hac* **ay** *dimanuo y bryeint hunn* L.L. 121 'who breaks and who dishonours this privilege', **hai** *bid* CP. 'which will be'; and *ai* was reduced to *a*, a trace of *ae* occurring in Ml. W., see i.—To explain the soft mutation after it we have to assume that in Kelt. the nom. sg. m. was **i̯o* like that of **so, *sā, *tod* : Gk. ὁ, ἡ, τό (forms without *-s* are older, and **i̯o* might be a survival).—The verb *syδ, yssyδ* represents regularly **estí i̯o* = **estí i̯o*; it differs from *yssit* 'there is', which sometimes precedes it, as *yssit rin yssyδ vwy* B.T. 28 'there is a secret which is greater', § 189 iii (3).—The acc. *a* (< **i̯om*) prob. had a radical initial after it at first, cf. *ae gulich* i above, and *a gulich . . .* 'which . . . moistens' four times in B.B. 46.

(2) In Ar. adverbs were formed from pronominal and other stems by adding various suffixes, many of which began with a dental : thus, denoting place, **-dhi* (Gk. πό-θι 'where?' ὅ-θι 'where'), **-dhe, *-dha* (Skr. *i-há* 'here', Gk. ἰθα-γενής), **-ta* (Gk. κατά, W. *gan* < **km̥-ta*); whither, **-te* (Gk. πό-σε? < -τε, Goth. *hvaþ* 'whither?'); whence, **-dhem* (Gk. -θεν), **-tos* (Skr. *yá-tah* 'whence', Lat. *in-tus*, W. *hwn-t* 'hence'); manner, **-ti* (Skr. *í-ti* 'thus', Lat. *iti-dem*), **-thā* (Skr. *ka-thā́* 'how', *yá-thā* 'as', Lat. *ita* < **i-tā*); time, **-dā* (Skr. *ya-dā* 'when'), **-te* (Gk. ὅ-τε 'when'); Brugmann² II ii 728–734. To these may be added the adj. of number formed with **-ti* (Skr. *ká-ti* 'how many?' W. *pe-t* id., Lat. *quo-t*, Skr. *yá-ti* 'as many').

The W. adverbial forms of the rel. prob. represent several of these derivatives of the rel. *i̯o- ; accented *o* would remain, and, becoming unacc. later, would give *y* § 65 iv (2). Distinctions of meaning were lost, and the forms were adapted to the initials which followed them.—*yδ* before a vowel may represent *i̯ó-dhi* 'where' or *i̯ó-dhem* 'whence'; possibly in *id* thrice before *aeth* in B.B. 3, 97 (marg. bis) an old distinction is reflected : *id* < *i̯ó-te* 'whither'.—*yd* [soft] denoting manner as *kelvit* id *gan* B.B. 15 '[it is] skilfully that he sings' < *i̯ó-ti* or *i̯ó-thā*; denoting number, as *pop cant* id *cuitin* do. 95 '[it was] by the hundred that they fell' < *i̯ó-ti*, cf. Ml. W. *pet* 'how many?'—*y* [rad.] prob. has two sources: 1. *yd* [soft] before *t-* gives **yd d-* which becomes *y t-*, i.e. *y* [rad.], afterwards extended to other initials; 2. *yδ* must have been orig. used before consonants as well as vowels, and might take the rad. (*yδ* 'whence' < *i̯ó-dhem*); the *-δ* would be lost before the consonant § 110 iv (3).—As *yr* is not known to occur before the 14th cent. it is improbable that it represents an old *r*-derivative. It is most probably for Late Ml. *yr* as in *val yr lygryssit . . . ỳ grofdeu* W.M. 75 'the way that his crofts had been ruined', from *y ry*, as *pob gwlat o'r y ry fuum* do. 144 'every country of those where I have been'. (Earlier, *ry* is used without *y* as *Huchof re traydhassam* A.L. i 58.) The analogy of the art. *y* : *yr* might help to spread *yr* rel. before a vowel.

(3) The neg. rel. *ny* may be < **no* < **ni̯o* < **ne i̯o*. It caused lenition because orig. unaccented, see § 217 iv; later the mutation after it was assimilated to that following ordinary *ny* 'not'; probably *nyt* rel. is also analogical. *na* is probably the same as indirect *na*, see ib.

vii. (1) The relative in all cases comes immediately before the verb of the rel. clause (only an infixed pron. can intervene); and is often preceded by the demonstratives *yr hwn*, *yr hon*, *yr hyn*, *ar* as well as *y sawl*, *y neb*, *yr un*, *y rhai*. In translations these, which are properly antecedents or stand in apposition to the antecedent, are often attracted into the relative sentence, producing a confused construction; see Syntax. Before the adverbial forms there occur similarly *y lle* '[in] the place' (the rel. meaning 'where'), *modd*, *mal*, *megis* '[in] the manner' (the rel. meaning 'in which'), *pryd* 'the time' (the rel. meaning 'when'), etc.

(2) In sentences beginning with a noun or adverb followed by a rel., the noun or adv. is the predicate and the rel. clause the subject. Thus *Dafydd a welais i* means '[it is] David whom I saw' or '[the man] whom I saw [is] David'; *yma y ganed Dafydd* means '[it is] here that D. was born'. In the spoken language the noun or adv. is always emphatic and predicative, and the literal meaning is not

departed from. But in lit. W. sentences of the above form are used rhetorically where the noun or adv. is not emphatic; hence some scholars have doubted that *a* and *yδ* are relatives. It seems clear however that the sense preserved in the spoken language is the literal one. This is confirmed by the use of the rel. verbs *sydd*, *pieu*, see iv (1), § 192 ii (3); cf. § 163 v.

Interrogative Pronouns, Adjectives and Adverbs.

§ **163**. i. The interrogative pronouns, adjectives and adverbs are the following (the form of the interrogative is the same whether the question be direct or indirect):

(1) Ml. and Mn. W. **pwy** 'who ?'

Puy *guant cath paluc* B.B. 96 'who wounded P.'s cat?' *Ac ny wnn i* **pwy** *wyt ti* W.M. 3 'and I know not who thou art'; *y* **bwy** *y roδit* W.M. 402 'to whom it should be given'; **Pwy** *a osododd ei mesurau hi, os ywyddost? neu* **pwy** *a estynnodd linyn arni hi?* Job xxxviii 5. **Bwy** W.L. 44, 59.

In Ml. W. *pwy* is also used for 'what is?' as *dayar*, **pwy** *y llet neu* **pwy** *y thewhet* B.T. 20 'the earth, what is its breadth or what is its thickness?' **pwy** *enw y teir kaer* do. 35 'what is the name of the three forts?' Cf. R.P. 1054. It is also found later with *enw*, as **Pwy** *dy henw* D.G. 365 'what is thy name?' This may be for *py* **wy* where **wy* is an older form of *yw* 'is' § 78 iv (1); if so, in *pwy yw dy enw* IL.A. 128 the *yw* is redundant.

The use of *pwy* before a noun is rare: **Pwy** *ystyr yw gennyt ti kelu* . . . W.M. 454 'what reason hast thou to conceal . . .?' Probably the *yw* here is redundant as above, and the construction was originally that in **Pwy** *ystyr nas agory ti* do. 456 'what is the reason that thou wilt not open it?' This type of phrase might give rise to the adjectival use of *pwy*, which occurs more frequently later, and is common in the dialects: **pwy** *wr* IL 30/103, **pwy** *ryw fyd* do. 480, cf. **pwy** *un* ii (1) below.

(2) Ml. W. **pa, py, ba, by,** Mn. W. *pa*, *ba* (rarely *py*) 'what . . .?' adjectival. It causes the soft mutation (B.B. *pa gur* ≡ *pa ɣwr*).

Pa *gur yv y porthaur* B.B. 94 'what man is the porter?' **Pa** *gyvarwydd a vyδ ymi* W.M. 4 'what indication will there be to me?' *y edrych* **pa** *veδwl yw yr eiδunt* do. 39 'to see what thought is theirs'; *ym* **mha** *ddinasoedd y maent yn preswylio* Num. xiii 19.—**Py** *δrwc yw hynny* R.M. 178 'what evil is that?' i.e. what does that matter? **py** *le pan δeuei* W.M. 132, R.M. 204 'whence he came'.—**Ba** *beth*

see (3), **by** *δyn bynnac* R.P. 1256. Forms with *b-* are common in Early Mn. verse.

In Early Ml. W. *pa, py* is also used for 'what?' substantival, as **pa** *roteiste oth olud* B.B. 20 'what didst thou give of thy wealth?' **Pa** *δarvu* W.M. 58, R.M. 41 'what happened?' **Pa** *wnaf* R.P. 1045 'what shall I do?' **Py** *gynheil magwyr dayar yn bresswyl* B.T. 28 'what supports the wall of the earth permanently?'—It is also used for 'why?' as **Py** *liuy* (≡ *livy* or *liwy*) *di* W.M. 454 'why dost thou colour?' *Duw reen* **py** *bereist lyvwr* R.P. 1032 'Lord God, why hast thou made a coward?'

(3) Ml. W. **peth** 'what?' substantival, usually *beth*, also **pa beth**, *ba beth*: Mn. W. *beth, pa beth.*

A wδost ti **peth** *wyt* B.T. 27 'dost thou know what thou art?' *Na wn, heb ynteu,* **peth** *yw marchawc* W.M. 118 'I do not know, said he, what a knight is'; **Peth** *bynnac* see iv.

beth *yw dy arch di* W.M. 20 'what is thy request?' **beth** *yw hynny* do. 28, 42 'what is that?' **beth** *yssyδ yn y boly hwnn* do. 54 'what is in this bag?' **beth** *yssyδ yma* ib. 'what is here?' **Beth** *a δarvu yn y diweδ iδaw ef* IL.A. 16 'what happened in the end to him?' **beth** *am y ŕei bychein* do. 41 'what about the little ones?' **Beth** . . . *pei* 'what if' 12 times in IL.A. 67–8. **Beth** *a gawn* G. 228 'what shall we have?' **Beth** *a wnawn i'n chwaer?* Can. viii 8.

Papeþ *bi* JUV. gl. quid; **paped***pinnac* M.C. gl. quoduis; **ba beth** *oreu rac eneid* B.B. 84 'what [is] best for the soul'; **Pa beth** *a wnnant wy* IL.A. 66 'what do they do?' **Pa beth** *yw dŷn i ti i'w gofio?* Ps. viii 4.

(4) Early Ml. W. **pet** [soft] 'how many . . .?' (In Late Ml. W. and Mn. W. this gave place to *pa sawl* ii (4).)

pet *wynt,* **pet** *ffreu,* **pet** *avon* B.T. 20 'How many winds, how many streams, how many rivers'; *Gogwn* . . . **pet** *δyδ ym blwyδyn,* **pet** *paladyr yŷ kat,* **pet** *δos yŷ kawat* do. 21–2 'I know how many days [there are] in a year, how many spears in an army, how many drops in a shower'.

(5) Early Ml. W. **pyr** 'why?'

pir *deuthoste* B.B. 23 'why hast thou come?' **pyr** *na'm dywedyδ* B.T. 27 'why dost thou not tell me?' **pyr** *na thr(a)ethwch traethawt* do. 19 'why do you not make a statement?' **pyr** *y kyverchy di* W.M. 486 (in R.B. 126 *Py rac* . . .) 'why dost thou accost [me]?' A form *pyt* occurs once, and may be an error for *pyr*:—**pyt** *echenis drwc* B.T. 27 'why did evil arise?'

(6) Ml. W. **pan** 'whence?' also *ban* B.B. 102. It is generally repeated before the verb in the answer.

pan *δoy di, yr yscolheic ?* **Pan** *δoaf, arglwyδ, o Loyg*ŷ*r* W.M. 76 'Whence comest thou, clerk? I come, lord, from England.' In the answer *pan* has become a relative, so that the original meaning would be 'whence I come, lord, [is] from England'. *pan* is similarly used in the answer when it occurs as a relative (for *yδ*) in the question; *o ba le* **pan** *δeuy di ?* **Pan** *δeuaf, heb ynteu, o'r dinas* R.M. 275 'from what place [is it] that thou comest? I come, said he, from the city'. On *pan* rel., see § 162 iv (3).

(7) Early Ml. W. **cw, cwd** (*cwt*), **cwδ** 'where?' 'whence?' 'whither?'

mor, **cv** *threia* **cud** *echwit . . . Redecauc duw*ŷ*r . . .* **cvd** *a . . .* **cv** *treigil,* **cv** *threwna*(?)*, pa hid a, nev* **cud** *vit* B.B. 88 'The sea, whither it ebbs, whither it subsides . . . Running water, whither it goes, whither it rolls, where it settles (?), how far it goes, or where it will be'. **kwt** *ynt plant y gwr* W.M. 453 'where are the children of the man?' (in the R.M. 101 *ble mae* for *kwt ynt*). *Neu nos* **cwt** *δyuyδ,* **kwδ** *δirgel r̂ac dyδ* B.T. 41 'or night, whence it comes, whither it recedes before day'; **cwδ** *vyδ nos yn arhos dyδ* do. 28 'where the night is, awaiting the day'. *Ny wtant* **cwt** (*t* ≡ *δ*) *ant* P.M. M.A. i 284 'they know not where they go'.

(8) **pi-eu** 'to whom belongs?' See § 192.

ii. Many interrogative expressions are formed by combining *pa, pŷ* with nouns and adjectives; thus—

(1) **pa un,** pl. *pa rai* 'which?' (followed by *o* 'of'). *pwy un* is also found.

Am **ba un** *o'r gweithredoedd hynny yr ydych yn fy llabyddio i ?* Ioan x 32. *gwraig i* **bwy un** *o honynt yw hi ?* Luc xx 33. **Pa rei** *vu y r̂ei hynny* IL.A. 17 'which were those?'

pa un is also used sometimes for 'who?' as *dywet titheu* . . **pa un** *wyt ti* S.G. 57 'and do thou say who thou art'.

pa un and *pwy un* are sometimes contracted to *p'un* and *pwy'n*; thus **pun** *wyt* R.M. 222 'who thou art' (for W.M. 154 *pwy wyt*); *Brig kŵyr, pwy ni ŵyr* **pwy'n** *yw* S.Ph. c 19/274 '(Maid of) the waxen hair, who knows not who she is?'

(2) **pa le,** *ple, ble* 'where?' 'whither?' *o ba le, o ble* 'whence?' *i ba le, i ble* 'whither?' **pa du** 'where?' 'whither?' (These forms supplanted *cw, cwd, cwδ* in Late Ml. and Mn. W.)

Pa le *y bu Babel* IL.A. 44 'where was Babel?' **ble** *mae plant y gwr* R.M. 101, see i (7) above; **Pa le** *yδ aeth Aδaf yna* IL.A. 13 "quo ivit tunc Adam?" **Ble**'*dd ân' rhag blaidd o Wynedd* T.A. A 14966/57

'whither will they go from the wolf of Gwynedd?' **O ba le** *y daw breuδwydon* LL.A. 57 'whence come dreams?' **I ble** *y tyn heb weled tir* T.A. A 14979/143 (D.G. 296) 'whither will it (the ship) make for without seeing land?' **Pa du** LL.A. 19 'whither?' **py tu** W.M. 484 'where'.

(3) **pa δelw, pa weδ, pa ffurɏf, pa voδ,** late **pa sut** 'how?'

Pa δelw *y daw yr arglwyδ ŷ'r vrawt* LL.A. 61 "qualiter veniet Dominus ad judicium?" **Pa weδ** do. 15 "quali modo?" **Pa ffurɏf** do. 4; **pa voδ** do. 21.

pa bryd 'when?' **pa awr** (*pa hawr* § 112 i (2)), **pa δyδ,** etc., 'what hour?' 'what day?'

(4) **pa faint** 'how much? how many?' followed by *o* 'of', **pa hyd** 'how long?' **pa sawl** [rad.] 'how many?'

ny δiδory **pa veint** *o wyrda Ffreinc a δivaer* C.M. 78 'thou carest not how many of the nobles of France are destroyed'. **Pa faint** *o gamweddau . . .?* Job xiii 23. **Pa hyd** *arglwydd y'm anghofi?* Ps. xiii 1. **Bysawl** *nef ysyδ* LL.A. 128 'how many heavens are there?' **Pysawl** *pechawt a oruc Aδaf* do. 131 'how many sins did Adam commit?' **Pa sawl** *llyfr,* **pa sawl** *bedd . . . a welsoch* B.CW. 70 'How many books, how many graves have you seen?'

maint and *hyd* are equative nouns § 148 i (12), (8). *pa* may also be put before any equative adj. with *cyn*; as **py gybellet** *oδyma yw y cruc* W.M. 154 'how far from here is the mound?' It is also used in Mn. W. with *mor* and a pos. adj. *pa mor δa,* etc.

(5) **pa gyfryw** [soft] 'what manner of . . .?' Mn. W. *pa ryw fath* [soft], *pa fath* [soft] id.

Py gyfryw *wr yw awch tat chwi pan allo lleassu pawb velly* W.M. 152 'what manner of man is your father when he can kill everybody so?' **Pa ryw fath** *rai* A.G. 36.—*cyfryw* is the equivalent of an equative § 149 ii (1).

(6) **pa ryw** [soft] 'what . . .?' adjectival.

Sometimes *pa ryw* means 'what kind of?' as **Pa ryw** *lun yssyδ ar yr engyl̈yon* LL.A. 9 "qualem formam habent angeli?" But generally it means 'what particular (thing, etc.)?' or 'what class of (things etc.)?' preserving the older meaning of *ryw* § 165 vi; as **pa ryw** *lu sy'n poeri i lawr* D.G. 409 'what host is spitting down [the snow]?' *ynteu a ofynnwys* **pa ryw** *δynyon oeδ y r̂ei hynny* C.M. 14 'and he asked what class of men those were.'

pa ryw became *pa ry* (cf. *amry-* § 165 iv (9)) wrongly written *pa'r y,* as **pa'r y** *ddyfnder* M.H. i 212 'what depth?' This is again reduced to *pa r'* (wrongly written *pa'r*), as **pa r'** *ofid waeth* T.A. A 14866/201 'what sorrow [could be] worse?' *Perygl i wŷr,* **pa'r**

glwy waeth L.M. D.T. 145 'dangerous to men, what disease [is] worse?' *a* **pha'r** *gledi sydd arno 'rŵan* B.CW. 73 'and what hardship does he suffer now?'—*pa ryw un* 'which (particular) one?' becomes *pa r'un* M.L. i 182, which is very common in Gwynedd, and is sometimes further reduced to *p'r'un*.

iii. *pa* or *py* might have a postfixed preposition, § 47 iv. Of the expressions so formed only **pahám** 'why?' survives; often contracted to *pam* which is at least as early as W.B. Others in use in Ml. W. are *pa-har* and *pa rac* or *py rac*; for references see § 47 iv.

Pam *y kymerwn inheu hynny gan y tayogeu lladron* W.M. 68, cf. 73 'why should we take that from the thievish villains?'

Ml. W. *paδiw*, *pyδiw* 'to whom?' seems to belong to this class, but its formation is obscure; see vi.

O.W. *padiu* OX. 'for what?' glossing quid in "Quid tibi Pasiphae pretiosas sumere vestes?" *issit padiu itau gulat* JUV. lit. 'there-is to-whom-it-is that-comes lordship' (?) glossing est cui regia in "Cunctis genitoris gloria vestri laudetur celsi thronus est cui regia caeli".—Ml. W. *geỳr eu ỳ eỳr* [*ef*] **paδỳu** *ỳ ŕoδes* [**pyδiw** *nys ŕoδes*] A.L. MS. A. [MS. D.] i 108 'his (the donor's) word is word (i.e. decides) to whom it is that he gave it, to whom it is that he did not give it'. *gwynn ỳ vyt* **pyδiw** *y ŕoδir kerennyδ Duw* R.P. 1056 'Blessed is he to whom is given the grace of God'. Later with a redundant *ỳ* 'to': **ỳ byδiw** *y bo gorδerch dec* **iδaw** C.M. 32 '[we shall know] to whom it is that there will be a fair leman'.

iv. The forms **pwy bynnag**, *peth bynnag*, *beth bynnag*, *pa beth bynnag*, *pa . . bynnag*, etc., have lost their interrogative meaning, and are used as "universal" relatives, meaning 'whosoever', 'whatsoever', 'what . . . soever'.

Pwybynnac *a vynnho* IL.A. 138 "Quicunque vult". **Peth bynnac** *o garueiδrwyδ a vei yrungthunt* W.M. 6 'whatsoever of blandishment there was between them.' *A Duw a vyδ ỳ gyt a thi* **bethbynnac** *a wnelych* IL.A. 105–6 'And God will be with thee whatever thou doest'. **By** *δyn* **bynnac** *vych*, **by** *gerδ a vettrych* R.P. 1256 'what man soever thou art, what craft [soever] thou art skilled in'. **pa** *ddaioni* **bynnag** *a wnelo pob un* Eph. vi 8.

In S.W. dialects *bynnag* loses its final *-g*, and in late S.W. MSS. it sometimes appears as *bynna* or *benna*. We also find in Late Mn. W. *bynnag* put before *pa*, *peth*, as **Bynnag beth** *sydd mewn creadur* Wms. 294 'whatsoever is in a creature'; **bynnag pa** *'r fodd* M.L. i 82, 97 'however'; though used here by W.M., it does not seem to be a N.W. construction. A dialectal form in S.W. of *bynnag* is *gynnag*,

and *gynnag pwy, gynnag beth* are found in some lesser writings of the late period; more recently they appear in the corrupt and curiously meaningless forms *gan nad pwy, gan nad beth.*

v. As the interrogative is always predicative it is followed regularly in Ml. and Mn. W. by the relative on the analogy of affirmative sentences; thus *pwy* **a** *wyr* 'who [is it] that knows?' on the analogy of *Duw* **a** *wyr* '[it is] God that knows', § 162 vii (2). But this appears to be an innovation in the case of the interrogative, as the oldest examples omit the relative, as *puy guant* i (1), *pa roteiste* i (2), *pir deuthoste* i (5).

vi. The stems of the interrogative in Ar. were $*q^{u}o$-, $*q^{u}e$-, f. $q^{u}\bar{a}$-, also $*q^{u}i$-, $*q^{u}u$- the last in adverbs only (Brugmann² II ii 348).—W. *pwy* < nom. sg. mas. $*q^{u}o$-*i* : Lat. *quī* < $*q^{u}o$-*i*.—W. *pa, py* adj. < stem $*q^{u}o$- compounded with its noun and so causing lenition; *o* after the labial becomes *a*, or remains and becomes *y*, cf. § 65 iv (2).—W. *pa, py* subst. < nom., acc. sg. neut. $*q^{u}o$-*d*, $*q^{u}i$-*d* : Lat. *quod, quid*; lenition is perhaps due to the analogy of the adj. *pa, py*.—W. *peth* < $*q^{u}id$-*dm̥* § 91 ii; already in Brit. the word had become indef., meaning 'something, thing', hence *pa beth* 'what thing?' *beth* is not necessarily a shortening of this, as *pa* is not omitted in such phrases in Ml. W.; but *beth* is for *peth* (= Ml. Bret. *pez* 'quid?') which occurs in Ml. W., see i (3), with *b*- as in *ba, by* i (2), *ban* B.B. 55, 56.—Ml. W. *pet* 'how many?' Bret. *pet* < $*q^{u}e$-*ti* § 162 vi (2).—Ml. W. *pyr* 'why?' < $*q^{u}o$-*r* : Goth., O.E. *hwar* 'where?' < $*q^{u}o$-*r*, Lat. *cūr* < $*q^{u}\bar{o}$-*r*.—W. *pan* < $*q^{u}an$-*de* < $*q^{u}\bar{a}m$-*de* : cf. O. Lat. *quamde*, Umbr. *ponne* § 147 iv (4) p. 245.—Ml. W. *cw, cwd, cwδ* represent different formations of $*q^{u}u$- ($q^{u} > k$ before *u* § 89 ii (3)) by the addition of more than one of the suffixes named in § 162 vi (2); the different forms have been confused, and can no longer be disentangled; similar formations are Skr. *kú-ha* (*h* < *dh*), Gathav. *ku-dā* 'where?' Lat. *ubi* < $*q^{u}u$-*dh*-, O. Bulg. *kŭ-de* 'where?'

W. *pam, paham* < $*pa(\delta)$ *am* < $*q^{u}od$ *m̥bhi* 'what about?' *paδiw* or *pyδiw* is obscure; no dative form seems possible; an analogical $*pod$-*do* might give $*py\delta$ (as *d*-*d* > *d* § 93 iii (1)) and *iw* may be *yw* 'is' § 77 v; so 'to whom it is' or 'for what it is'.

W. *bynnag*, Bret. *bennak, bennag*, seems to be from some such form as $*q^{u}om$-*de* 'when' + *ac* 'and', so that in meaning it is the literal equivalent of Lat. *cum-que*, and is, like it, separable (Lat. *quī cumque* lit. 'who and when').

Demonstrative Pronouns and Adjectives.

§ **164.** i. (1) The demonstratives **hwn** 'this', **hwnnw** 'that' are peculiar in having a neuter form in the singular. Both are substantival and adjectival. The adjectival demonstrative is placed after its noun, which is preceded by the article; thus *y gŵr*

hwn 'this man'. The different forms are—sg. mas. *hwn*, *hwnnw*, fem. *hon*, *honno*, neut. *hyn*, *hynny*, pl. m. and f. *hyn*, *hynny*.

The following forms occur in O.W. : *hinn* M.C., JUV., CP. 'hyn'; *hunnoid* OX., *hunnuid* M.C. 'hwnnw'; *hinnoid* OX. 'hynny'; *hirunn* JUV. 'yr hwn', *ir hinn* M.C. 'the one', m., see iv (1); *hunnuith* CP. f., *hinnuith* ib. m., *hinnith* ib. neut. and pl.

(2) *hwnnw* means 'that' person or thing out of sight, 'that' in our minds. To indicate objects in sight, adverbs are added to *hwn*; thus *hwn yna* 'that (which you see) there, that near you', *hwn acw*, Ml. W. *hwnn racko* 'that yonder'. So *hwn yma* 'this here'. But *yma* and *yna* are also used figuratively; *hwn yma* 'this' which I am speaking of, *hwn yna* 'that' which I have just mentioned. Hence we can have the abstract *hyn* before these; but not before *acw* which is always used literally of place.

Vy arglwyδes i yw **honn racko** R.M. 175 'that (lady) yonder is my mistress'. *Guttun Ywain a ysgrivennodd* **hwnnyma** Gut.O. auto. **L** 28/33 **B**. 'Guttun Owain wrote this'.

An-áml yw i **hwn yma**
Nag ystôr nag eisiau da.—I.D., TR. 149.

'It is rare for this one to store or to want wealth.'

These expressions are sometimes used adjectivally as **y** *wreic weδw* **honn yman** L.A. 114 'this widow'; *o'r byt* **hwnn yma** do. 117 'from this world'; **y** *vorwyn* **honn yma** S.G. 143 'this maiden'. But for this purpose the adverb alone is generally used : *yn* **y** *byt* **yma** L.A. 102, 155 'in this world'; *o'r esgobawt* **yma** R.P. 1272 'from this diocese'; **y** *vyδin burwenn* **racco** R.M. 151 'the white army yonder'. Any other adverb of place may be similarly employed : **y** *fan* **draw**, **y** *tu* **hwnt**, etc.

In the spoken language *hwn ýna*, *hon ýna*, *hyn ýna* are commonly contracted to *hŵ|na*, *hō|na*, *hŷ|na* (not *hwnna*, etc.); and these forms occur in recent writings.

(3) The neut. sg. *hyn*, *hynny* always denotes an abstraction; it means 'this' or 'that' circumstance, matter, thought, statement, precept, question, reason, etc.; or 'this' or 'that' number or quantity of anything; or 'this' or 'that' period or point of time.

Hynny, *hep ef, ansyberwyt oeδ* W.M. 2 'that, said he, was ungentlemanliness' (meaning 'that' conduct); *Pater noster . . . sef yw pwyll* **hynny** *yn tat ni* L.A. 147 'Pater noster . . . the meaning of that is our Father'. *A wnelo* **hyn** *nid ysgogir yn dragywydd* Ps. xv 5; *wedi* **hyn** 'after this'.

Nid wylais gyda'r delyn
Am 'y nhad gymain a **hynn**.—I.D. TR. 151.

'I have not wept with the harp for my [own] father as much as this.'

ii. (1) The neut. *hyn* or *hynny* is substantival, not adjectival. In Mn. W. it is sometimes used adjectivally after certain nouns; but as the construction is unusual in Ml. W., it must be a neologism: *yn y kyfrwŷ hynny* R.B.B. 11 for *yŷ kyfrwŷ hynny* do. 319, 320, 321. The examples show that it is added to nouns expressing ideas for which substantival *hyn* stands.

o'r chwedl hir **hyn** H.A. LL 133/164 'of this long story'; *A'r peth* **hyn** S.Ph. E.P. 275 'and this thing' [which thou knowest]; *y peth* **hyn** Dan. iii 16 'this matter'; *ein neyes* **hyn** Jos. ii 14, 20 'this our business'; *y pryd* **hynny** 1 Sam. xiv 18; *ai'r pryd* **hyn** Act. i 6.—This use of *hyn, hynny* never became common, but seems to have been more or less local. In Gwent *hyn* adj. has spread, and is now used with all nouns.—O.W. *hinnith* after *ir loc guac* in CP. 6 seems to be an error for *hinnuith* as in 9, 11, 14, 15, a form of *hwnnw*, with *y* for *w* in the penult, cf. § 66 ii (1).

(2) The pl. *hyn* or *hynny* is both adjectival and substantival. The former use is extremely common. The latter is comparatively rare; examples are—

ny thebygaf i y un o **hyn** *vynet* W.M. 35 'I do not imagine any of these will go'. *a* **hene** (≡*hynny*) *a elguyr goskorth e brenyn* A.L. i 8 'and those are called the king's guard'. *Ni phalla un o* **hyn** Es. xxxiv 16 'No one of these shall be missing'.

The reason that this use is rare is that *hyn* or *hynny* pl. was liable to be confused with *hyn* or *hynny* neut. sg.; thus *hyn* 'these' might be taken for *hyn* 'this (number)'. To avoid the ambiguity 'these' and 'those' substantival were expressed by *y rhai hyn* and *y rhai hynny*, literally 'these ones' and 'those ones'. Though still commonly written in full, these expressions were contracted, early in the Mn. period, to *y rhain* G.Gl. c. i 198 and *y rheiny* do. do. 194, or *y rheini* T.A. A 24980/85.

Angeu Duw fu 'Nghedewain
O'i trysor hwy 'n treisiaw **'r rhain**.—L.G.C. 175.

'The death [angel] of God has been at Cedewain, robbing these [i.e. the people there[a]] of their treasure.'

[a] Cf. Θεμιστοκλῆς φεύγει ἐς Κέρκυραν, ὧν αὐτῶν εὐεργέτης, Thuc. i 136. "Massiliam pervenit, atque ab iis receptus urbi praeficitur," Caes. B.C. i 36. —Paul-Strong 163.

Mae'r henwyr? Ai meirw **'r rheini?**
Hynaf oll heno wyf i.—G.Gl., P. 100/411.

'Where are the elders? Are those dead? Eldest of all to-night am I.'

iii. Adjectival *hwn* and *hon* form improper compounds with nouns of time; thus *yr awr hon* > *yr áwron* (§ 48 iv), *yr áwran*; *y waith hon* > Ml. W. *e weỳthỳon* A.L. i 242 (MS. B) usually *wéithon*, Mn. *wéithion*, *wéithian* (§ 35 ii (1)); *y pryd hwn* > *y prýtwn* W.M. 102; *y wers hon* > *y wérshon* W.M. 128; all the above mean 'now'. So *y nos hon* > *y nóson* 'that night', and *y dydd hwn* > *y dýthwn*, *y dŵthwn* § 66 ii (1) 'that day'. The form *dythwn* was still in use in the 17th cent.; see Silvan Evans, s.v. *dwthwn*.

Arwydd ydyw **yr awron**
Wreiddiaw Rhys o'r ddaear hon.—L.G.C. 206.

'It is a sign now that Rhys is sprung from this land.'

Ar bob allawr **yr awran**
Y gwneir cost o'r gwin a'r cann.—D.N., G. 149.

'On every altar now provision is made of wine and white [bread].'

Bardd **weithian** *i Ieuan wyf.*—L.G.C. 275.

'I am now a bard to Ieuan.'

By dissimilation *yr awran* (pron. *yr owran* § 81 iii (2)) became *yr owan*, and is now sounded in N.W. *yrŵan*. The loss of the *r* goes back to the 15th cent.:

O bu draw 'r bywyd ar ran,
Mae'r Eos yma **'r owan.**—G.I.H. P 77/384.

'If his life has been spent partly away, the Nightingale is here now.'

As 'this day' and 'this night' were expressed by *heδiw* and *heno*, the forms *y dythwn* and *y noson* were used for 'this day' or 'this night' of which we are speaking, i.e. 'that day' or 'that night'. When the composition of the words was forgotten *hwnnw* and *honno* were added for clearness' sake; thus in A.L. i 142, where MS. A. has *ni δele* **y dithun** *kafail ateb* 'he is not to have an answer that [same] day', the later MS. E. has *y dythwn hunnw*. This is the Biblical construction; see *y dwthwn hwnnw* Jos. iv 14, vi 15, viii 25, ix 27, etc.; *y noson honno* Dan. v 30, vi 18. Later, *noson* and *dwthwn* were wrested from this context, and taken to mean simply 'night' and 'day'; e.g. *a dreuliodd y* **dwthwn** *yn sanctaidd* RH.B.S. 215 translating "who has spent his day holily".

iv. (1) The forms *yr hwn*, *yr hon* and *yr hyn* (but not **yr hwnnw* etc.) are used before the relative, meaning, with the latter, 'the one who' or 'he who', 'she who', and 'that which'; in the pl.

y rhai 'the ones' is used, which is more strictly the pl. of *yr un* 'the one'; the latter is similarly employed, as are also *y neb*, *y sawl* and definite nouns like *y gŵr* Ps. i 1, etc.

O. W. *ir hinn issid* M.C. 'he who is' gl. ille; *ir hinn issid Christ* JUV. 'he who is Christ'; *hirunn* JUV. gl. quem. The first two glosses show that *ir hinn* might be mas. in O. W.

(2) The above forms may be qualified by superlatives: *o'r* **hynn odidockaf** *a wypych* R.M. 163 'of the rarest that thou knowest'; *o'r* **hyn goreu** *a gaffer* W.M. 428 'of the best that is to be had'. When so qualified a rel. clause need not follow: *o'r* **hyn lleiaf** Act. v 15 'at least'; *taled o'r* **hyn goreu** *yn ei faes ei hun* etc. Ex. xxii 5. So with adverbial expressions: **yr hwnn** *y tu a Chernyw* W.M. 59 'the one towards Cornwall'.

(3) In the 16th cent. *yr* was often omitted before *hwn* in this construction: **hwn** *a fedd fawredd* W.LL. G. 292 'he who possesses greatness'; **Hwn** *a wnaeth nef* E.P. PS. cxxi 2 'He who made heaven'; *i* **hwn** *a'th wahoddodd* Luc xiv 9; *i* **hyn** *a weddiller* Act. xv 17. In Gwyn. dial. *yr hwn* has been replaced by *hwnnw*.

v. Before relatives we also have in Ml. W. the form **ar**, which is sg. and pl.

Iolune **ar** *a beir* B.B. 88 'let us praise Him who creates'; *yno kyrcheist* **ar** *a gereist o rei goreu* G.M.D. R.P. 1202 'there thou broughtest those whom thou lovedst of the best'; **ar** *ny δel yn uvyδ kymmeller o nerth cleδyveu* W.M. 8 'let him who will not come obediently be compelled by force of arms'; *ac a vynnwys bedyδ o'r Saracinyeit a adwys Charlys yn vyw, ac* **ar** *nys mynnwys a laδawδ* C.M. 3 'and [those] who would be baptized of the Saracens Charles left alive, and those who would not he slew.'

It is chiefly found in the form **'r** after *o* 'of'.

Ac o'r a welsei ef o helgwn y byt, ny welsei cwn un lliw ac wynt W.M. 1 'and of those that he had seen of the hounds of the world he had not seen dogs of the same colour as these'; *o'r a δelei y'r llys* W.M. 34 'of those who came to the court'; *pob creadur o'r a wnaethpwyt* IL.A. 4 'every creature of those that have been created'; *bob awr o'r y hoetter* C.M. 86 'every hour of those during which it is delayed'.

In Mn. W. this construction survives with *o* replaced by *a* § 213 iii (1).

na dim a'r sydd eiddo dy gymydog Ex. xx 17. *Pob peth byw a'r sydd gyda thi* Gen. viii 17, see ix 16. *ym mhob dim a'r y galwom arno* Deut. iv 7. *dim a'r a wnaethpwyd* Ioan i 3.

vi. *hwn* and *hon* come in the first instance from Brit. **sundos*, **sundā*; the neut. *hyn* from **sindod*, and the pl. *hyn* from either

**sundī* or **sindī*. The *-u-* and *-i-* are undoubtedly for *-o-* and *-e-* before *-nd-* § 65 iii (1); we arrive, therefore, at **sondos, *sondā* for *hwn, hon, *sendod* for *hyn* neut., and **sondī* or **sendī* for *hyn* pl. (In the Coligny Calendar *sonno* and *sonna* occur, Rhys CG. 6, but the context is obscure or lost.)

The most probable explanation of the above forms seems to be that they are adjectives formed from adverbs of place, which were made by adding a *-d(h)-* suffix, § 162 vi (2), to **sem-, *som-* : Skr. *samá-h* 'same', Gk. ὁμός, Ir. *som* 'ipse'. The form of the adverb would be similar to that of Skr. *sa-há* 'in the same place together' < **sm̥-dhe*; but the Kelt. formations have the full grades **sem-, *som-* (instead of the R-grade **sm̥-*) and the demonstrative meaning ('in this place, here'). For the formation of an adj. **sendos* from an adv. **sende* cf. Lat. *supernus* : *superne*, and cf. the transference of the flexion to the particle *-te* in Lat. *is-te*, etc.

It is probable that coming after its noun the form of the adj. was m. **sondos*, f. **sondā*, neut. **sondod*, pl. m. **sondī* giving W. m. and neut. *hwn*, f. *hon*, pl. *hyn*. This agrees with the fact that neut. adj. *hyn* after a noun is an innovation ii (1).—Before a noun the form would be **sendos* etc., whence the Ir. article *(s)ind*. This survives in only a few phrases in W.—The substantival form would also be m. **sendos*, f. **sendā*, neut. **sendod*, pl. m. **sendī* which would give W. m. *hyn*, f. **hen*, neut. *hyn*, pl. *hyn*. We have seen above, iv (1), that *ir hinn* was m. in O.W., but was already beginning to be ousted by *hirunn* (for **ir hunn*), as **henn* had perhaps been already replaced by *honn*, for in Corn. the forms are m. *hen* (= W. *hynn*), f. *hon* (= W. *honn*). The result is that *hyn* remains as the neut. subst.; but the m. and f. substantives *hynn, *henn* were changed to *hwnn, honn* on the analogy of the adjectives.

The form *hwnnw* comes from a derivative in *'-i̯o-* of the adj. **sondos*; thus **sóndi̯os* > *hunnoiδ* § 75 iv (2) > *hunnuiδ* > *hwnnw* § 78 i (1), (2). The fem. **sóndi̯ā* would also give the same form, which actually occurs as f. : *ir bloidin hunnuith* CP. 'that year'; *honno* is therefore a re-formate on the analogy of *hon*; so the last syll. of *hynny* § 78 i (1).

ar is prob. formed in a similar manner from an adv. with the suffix *-r* which was mostly locative, Brugmann² II ii 735. The stem might be **an-* § 220 ii (11); thus **an-ro-s* > **arr* > *ar*.

Pronominalia.

§ **165.** i. Pronominalia expressing alternatives are substantival and adjectival, definite and indefinite.

Subst. def.: **y naill . . . y llall** 'the one . . . the other'; pl. *y naill . . . y lleill* 'these . . . the others'. In Ml. W. the first term is *y neill* or *y lleill*, thus *y lleill . . . y llall* 'the one . . .

the other'. With an adj. or rel. clause, and in negative sentences, the first term is **yr un** 'the one', pl. **y rhai**, Ml. *y ṙei* 'the ones'.

Subst. indef.: **un . . . arall** 'one . . . another'; pl. *rhai . . . eraill*, Ml. *ṙei . . . ereill* 'some . . . others'.

In the following list of adjectival forms *gŵr, gwŷr, gwraig* show the position and initial mutation of the noun:

Adj. def.: **y naill** *ŵr* . . . **y** *gŵr* **arall** 'the one man . . . the other man'; *y naill wraig . . . y wraig arall*; *y naill wŷr . . . y gwŷr eraill*. For *y naill* Ml. W. has *y neill* or *y lleill*, and for *eraill, ereill*, also used in Mn. W.

Adj. indef.: **rhyw** *ŵr . . . gŵr* **arall** 'a certain man . . . another man'; **un** *gŵr . . . gŵr* **arall** 'one man . . . another man'; *rhyw wraig . . . gwraig arall*; *un wraig . . . gwraig arall*; *rhyw wŷr . . . gwŷr eraill*; Mn. W. *rhai gwŷr . . . gwŷr eraill*. Ml. W. *ereill*, also used in Mn. W. § 81 iii (1).

y naill (and Ml. *y lleill*) adj. 'the one' and *rhyw* form compounds with their nouns, which are lenited § 155 ii (1), iii (7). The compound is often a strict one as *y néillffordd, rhýwbeth*. As *-ll* causes provection of mediae, an initial tenuis after *neill, lleill* generally appears unmutated in Ml. W., as *y neill***p***arth* for *y neill***b***arth*, etc., § 111 vi (2); but analogy generally restores the mutation in Mn. W., especially when the compound is loose, as *y naill* **b***eth a'r llall* 'the one thing and the other'; but *neilltu*, see ib.

Subst.: *yn gyflym y lladawd* **y neill** *o'r gweisson, ac yn y lle y lladawd* **y llall** R.M. 191 'he quickly slew one of the youths, and forthwith slew the other'; *yny orffei* **y lleill** *ar* **y llall** R.M. 262, W.M. 408 'until the one overcame the other'; *a'***r un** *y byδei borth ef iδi a gollei y gware, a'***r llall** *a δodei awr* W.M. 174–5 'and the one that he supported lost the game, and the other gave a shout'.—*ṙei ohonunt yn wylaw,* **ereill** *yn udaw,* **ereill** *yn cwynaw* LL.A. 152 'some of them weeping, others moaning, others crying'; *i* **un**, . . . *ac i* **arall** . . . *ac i* **arall** . . . etc. 1 Cor. xii 8–10; the second term may of course be repeated when indef.

Adj.: *o'***r lleill** *ḃ parth* . . . *ac o'***r** *parth* **arall** W.M. 421–2 'on the one hand . . . and on the other hand' (*ḃ* beginning *barth* deleted by underdot); *am nat oeδ kyn δiogelet* **y neill***fforδ a'***r llall** S.G. 29 'because the one way was not as safe as the other'.—*Or bwytey mywn* **un** *amser yn y dyδ, a symut hynny ỳ amser* **arall** M.M. 33 (from R.B.) 'if thou eatest at one time in the day, and changest that to another time'; **ryw** *δyn cynbhigennus . . . undyn* **arall** J.D.R. [xxii] 'a jealous man . . . any other man'; Mn. W. **rhai** *dynion* . . . **eraill** RH. B.S. 87 "some men . . . others"; the use of *rhai* before a noun seems to be late, but *neb ṙei* occurs so in Ml. W., iv (3).

ii. (1) The first alternative may be a noun or personal or demonstrative pronoun, as *ti ac arall* 'thou and another' (i.e such as thou), *hyn a'r llall* 'this and that'.

Cân *yn cyhuddo* **arall!**
Hawdd i'r **llaw** *gyhuddo'r* **llall.**—T.A., c. ii 78.

'A kinsman accusing another! [It is] easy for the hand to accuse the other.'—*kanys yr hynn a vynnei* **hwnn** *nys mynnei* **y llall** S.G. 49 'for that which this [one] desired the other desired not'. In these cases the second term subst. pl. may be (*y*) *rhai eraill* '(the) others': *mwy . . . oeδ* **honno** *no'r* **rei ereill** *oll* W.M. 180 'that [ship] was larger than all the others'; **llοg̃** *a oeδ vwy noc un o'r* **rei ereill** do. 185; cf. **IL.A.** 102.

(2) The first alternative may be implied, as in other languages; as **y** *dydd* **arall** M.IL. i 178 'the other day'; **y** *nos* **arall** R.P. 1362, D.G. 25 'the other night'; *Gad i* **eraill** *gadw arian* T.A. F.6 'let others hoard money'.

iii. All the forms of the first term except *y naill* subst. may be used without a sequel as ordinary pronominalia meaning 'one, some'; thus—

(1) Adj. **y naill** 'one' in *y naill hanner* 'one half' (now generally 'about a half'), *y naill du* or *y neilltu* 'one side' (hence *neilltuo* 'to retire' etc.); *neill-law* see example.

Eisteδ a oruc Peredur ar **neill law** *yr amherodres* W.M. 164 (**neill-law** R.M. 231) 'Peredur sat beside the empress', lit. 'on one side of the e.' *ond pan êl o'r* **neilltu** Diar. xx 14; see Gen. xxx 40; Barn. vii 5; 2 Sam. iii 27; etc.

(2) Subst. **un** 'one', pl. **rhai**, Ml. *ŷei* 'some'; often with qualifying adjectives **un** *da* 'a good one', **rhai** *drwg* 'bad ones'. Also *yr un* 'the one', pl. *y rhai*, Ml. *y ŷei* 'the ones'; these are chiefly used with adjectives as *yr un drwg* 'the evil one', or with a relative clause § 164 iv (1); and *yr un* instead of the indef. *un* in negative sentences, as—

Pa obeith yssyδ ŷ'r gler? Nyt oes **yr un** **IL.A.** 40 'What hope is there for the bards? There is none.' Cf. S.G. 17, l. 10.

Adj. **yr un** [m. rad., f. soft] 'the same', followed, if necessary, by *ac* (*ag*), *a* 'as'. Also **un** [soft], forming compounds strict or loose with nouns; the compound is an adj. meaning 'of the same . . .', § 149 ii (3).

(3) Adj. **rhyw** 'a (certain), some'. The noun with which *rhyw* is compounded, see i, may be singular or plural.

ŕyv *duted edmic* B.B. 43 'an admirable covering'. **ŕyw** *δavatenneu* M.M. 6 (from R.B.) 'some warts'. *Yr oedd gan* **ryw** *ŵr ddau fab* Luc XV 11 "*ἄνθρωπός τις*". **rhyw** *ddynion* 1 Tim. v 24 'some men'; **rhyw** *bethau* 2 Petr. iii 16 'some things'; *mywn* **rhyw** *bhanneu* (*bh* ≡ *v*) J.D.R. [xvii] 'in some places'.

iv. Subst. *un*, pl. *rhai* and adj. *rhyw*, preceded by pronouns, numerals or prefixes, form composite or compound pronominalia, thus:

(1) **Pa un**, pl. **pa rai** 'which?' § 163 ii (1); **pa ryw un** § 163 ii (6).

(2) **pob un** 'every one', pl. **pob rhai**.

A **fob un** *o honunt* W.M. 7 'and each one of them'. **pop ŕeỳ** *o('r) ŕeỳ henne* A.L. i 8 'all of those'. *Gofyn a oruc ỳ Chyarlys ansawδ* **pob ŕei** *o naδunt* C.M. 14 'he inquired of Charles the condition of all (i.e. each group) of them'.

(3) **neb un** or **nebun** subst. 'some one, any one', adj. 'a certain', pl. **neb rhai**, generally in positive sentences.

" Subst. *Nid mor ddihareb* **nebun** § 151 ii (3); **neb ŕei** *o ovynnei* [read *-eu*] *bychein* IL.A. 2 "quasdam quaestiunculas"; **nep ŕei** *drwc* do. 30 'certain bad ones'.—Adj. **neb un** *vrenhindref yni* IL.A. 166 'a certain province of ours'; **nebun** *genedyl* R.B.B. 280 'a certain tribe'; **neb ŕei** *ŕinweδeu* IL.A. 102 'certain miracles'.

(4) **rhyw un, rhýwun** 'some one', pl. **rhyw rai, rhýwrai**, Ml. *ŕyw rei*.

rhyw un 1 Cor. xv 35 "*τις*"; *O achaws mileindra* **ŕyw rei** . . . *kanys y mae* **ŕyw rei** *a'm lladei i* S.G. 320 'On account of the brutality of some people; for there are some who would kill me'.

(5) **dau ryw, tri rhyw**, etc. 'two (three, etc.) different, two (three, etc.) kinds of'.

Seithryw *pechawt* (read *bechawt*) *marwawl ysyδ* IL.A. 147 'there are seven different deadly sins'. **Tri ŕyw** *gywyδ yssyδ* . . . **Deu ryw** *gywyδ deu eir yssyδ* R.G. 1134 'there are three kinds of *cywyddau*, . . . there are two kinds of *cywyddau deuair*'.

(6) **pa ryw** § 163 ii (6).

(7) **pob rhyw** 'every, all manner of'.

Pob ŕyw *δa o'r a orchymynnei yr yscrythur lan* IL.A. 126 'Every good that holy scripture commanded'. *a* **phob ŕyw** *vlas yssyδ ar y*

dwfyr hwnnw do. 167 'and that water has every kind of taste'. *a* **phob ŕyw** *unpeth* R.P. 1214 'and every single thing'. *i* **bob rhyw** *aderyn* Ezec. xxxix 4; *o* **bob rhyw** *beth* Matt. xiii 47.

(8) **neb rhyw** 'any, any kind of', in negative sentences.

canyt oes **nep ŕyw** *greadur a allo ỳ drossi ef* LL.A. 33 'for there is not any creature that can turn Him'. *nyt argyweδa* **neb ŕyw** *wenwyn* do. 166 'no poison hurts'.

neb rhyw ddim, see § 170 iv (2).

(9) **amryw** 'various, several'. In Ml. W. it was generally used with a sg. noun; in Late Mn. W. a pl. noun is generally used. In the Bible the noun is sometimes sg., but often pl.

Yssit yn y boly hwnn **amryw** *vlawt* W.M. 54 'There are in this bag various kinds of flour'; **amryw** *duted* (*t* ≡ δ) M.A. i 220, 'various coverings'; **amryw** *wleδeu* LL.A. 70 'various feasts'; **amryw** *bwys*, ... **amryw** *fesur* Deut. xxv 13, 14; **amryw** *had* .... **amryw** *ddefnydd* Deut. xxii 9, 11; **amryw** *Galan* Gr.O. 40 'many a New Year's Day'; **amryw** *bwysau ac* **amryw** *fesurau* Diar. xx 10; **amryw** *glefydau* Matt. iv 24; **amryw** *ddoniau* ... **amryw** *weinidogaethau* ... **amryw** *weithrediadau* ... **amryw** *dafodau* 1 Cor. xii 4, 5, 6, 10.

amryw, like *rhyw*, forms the first element of a compound; in some cases the compound is strict, and *amryw* then appears as *amry-*; thus *amrý-liw* 'parti-coloured'; *amrýson* 'wrangle' (*sδn* 'talk'); *amrýfus* 'erring' (*-fus* < **mois-* < **moit-t-*: Lat. *mūto*, E. *miss*, W. *meth*).

The recent *amrai* is a fiction; see Silvan Evans, s.v.

(10) **cyfryw** 'such', usually with the article, **y cyfryw**; followed, if necessary, by *ac* (*ag*), *a* 'as', which may be omitted before a demonstrative pron. or a relative clause (the rel. itself is 'as' in this case, cf. Eng. *the same who*; and the demonst. prob. represents an old obl. case of comparison).

y kyfryw *vwyt* **ac** *a oeδ ganthaw* S.G. 200 'such food as he had' (lit. 'as what was with-him'); *yn* **y kyfryw** *le* **a** *hwnn* W.M. 10 'in such a place as this'; **y kyfryw** *δyn* **a** *hwn* W.M. 123 'such a man as this'. Without *ac* 'as': **y kyfryw** *varchawc yδ oeδ ef yn ỳ ol* W.M. 138 'such a knight as he was after'; **y kyfryw** *δyn hwnn* R.M. 198 'such a man [as] this'; *ỳ*'**r kyfryw** *wr hwnnw* R.B.B. 65 'to such a man [as] that'.—Without the art.: *a galw* **kyfryw** *δyn* **a** *hwn* W.M. 123 l. 30 (beside *y kyfryw* l. 16 quoted above) 'and to call such a man as this'; cf. S.G. 316, Jer. v 9, Matt. ix 8.

On the analogy of *y meint* etc., **y rhyw** is used instead of *y cyfryw* in the above constructions.

Ny bu eiryoet **y ŕyw** *lewenyδ* **ac** *a wnaethpwyt* S.G. 144 'there never was such a welcome as was prepared'; **y ŕyw** *bryf* **a** *hwnnw* W.M. 77 'such a reptile as that'. Without *ac* 'as': **y ŕyw** *genedyl a elwir y pagannyeit* LL.A. 166 'such a tribe as is called the pagans'; **y ŕyw** *bryf hwnnw* R.M. 54 'such a reptile [as] that'; **y ŕyw** *gatwent honno* R.B.B. 58 'such a fight [as] that'.

y cyfryw is also substantival.

lawer o'r **kyfvryw** LL.A. 49 'many such'. *Yn erbyn* **y cyfryw** *nid oes ddeddf* Gal. v 23.

pa gyfryw § 163 ii (5); **pob cyfryw** 'all' emphatic § 168 i (2); **neb cyfryw** 'any such' § 170 iv (3).

(11) **unrhyw**, generally **yr unrhyw** 'the same', followed, if necessary, by *ac* (*ag*), *a* 'as'.

a'r **unŕyw** *ymadrawδ yantunt* **ac** *a δothoeδ yan y marchawc cyntaf* R.M. 200 'and [bringing] the same tale with them as came with the first knight'. *Nid yw pob cnawd* **un rhyw** *ynawd* 1 Cor. xv 39.

NOTE.—*unrhyw* came in the 19th cent. to be commonly used as a translation of the English 'any'; thus *ni welais* **unrhyw** *ddyn* for *ni welais* **un** *dyn*. Pughe in his Dic. does not give the word this meaning. (In D.G. 519 l. 46 *unrhyw* seems to be a mistake for *yn rhyw*.) The phrase *o un rhyw* 'of any kind' is older.

un rhyw or **unrhyw** 'same' is also substantival.

Ponyt **un ŕyw** *a ymerth Iudas* **a** *Phedyr* LL.A. 25 "Nonne Judas idem accepit quod Petrus?"

v. **rhyw** is also used as a noun m. 'kind'; and as an ordinary adj. in the phrase *rhyw i* '[it is] natural to . . .'. From *rhyw* 'kind' come *rhywiog* 'kindly, of a good kind', *rhywogaeth* 'species', *afryw*, *afrywiog* 'unnatural, harsh'.

Y **rhyw** *hwn* Marc ix 29.—*mor oeδ* **ryw** *ym llew llywyaw* G.D.A. R.P. 1226 'how natural it was to my lion to rule!' **Rhyw** *iddi roi rhodd yr ŵyl* T.A. A 9817/179 'It is natural to her to give a gift at the feast'. *Nid* **rhyw** *iddaw ond rhoddi* G.Gl. P 152/102 'It is only natural to him to give'.

vi. *y naill* (Ml. *y neill*) 'the one' is for **ynn eill* in which **ynn* = *hynn* 'this', Ir. *ind* 'the' < **sendos* § 164 vi; **eill* < **ál̥lios* < **álal̥ios*, redupl. of **al̥ios* : Lat. *alius*, Gk. ἄλλος; owing to the wrong division the *y* is treated as the art. and becomes *'r* after a vowel.—Ml. W. *y lleill* 'the one' may be similarly for **yll eill*, in which **yll* is an *l*-demonstrative, like Lat. *ille* etc., ultimately allied to **al̥ios* itself, Brugmann² II ii 340.—*y llall* similarly for **yll all*; *all* < **álios*; pl. *y lleill* with **eill* < **álī̆ī*.—*arall* < **arál̥ios* (: Ir. *araile*)

by dissim. for **alálios* § 102 iii (2); pl. *ereill* < **aráliī*; see § 100 iii (2), (3).—Note the contrasted accentuation **ál(a)lios* > **eill* 'one' : **alálios* > *arall* 'other'.—*un* 'one' § 75 ii (1).—*rhyw* < **riŭó-*; *rhai* < **riĭī* § 75 v; **riŭo-* < **pri-o-* = *-prio-* in Lat. *proprius* : Lat. *prīvus*, Umbr. *prever* 'singulis', *preve* 'singillariter', Osc. *preivatud* 'privato, reo' (the *-v-* in these is a suff.); the orig. meaning is 'proper, particular'; *rhyw δyn* 'a particular man'; *rhyw i* 'proper to . . ., natural to . . .'; *rhyw* 'a particular kind'; etc.; **pri-o-* may be an adj. derived from the prep. **pri* (: **prei*, **prai*) 'before' ('prominent' > 'characteristic'), spv. Lat. *prīmus*.

§ **166.** i. 'Each other' is expressed by **pawb i gilydd** or *pob un i gilydd*, literally 'each his fellow' or 'each one his fellow'.

ac y taĝnoveδwyd **pawb** *o naδunt ae* **giliδ** W.M. 451 'and each of them was reconciled to the other'. *Llawen vu* **pob un** *wrth ŷ* **giliδ** *o honunt* do. 9 'Each of them welcomed the other'. (For the form *gil*iδ see § 77 iii; it is of course the spoken sound at the present day.)

Yn iach weithian dan y dydd
Y gwelom **bawb i gilydd**.—S.T., C.C. 186.

'Farewell now until the day when we shall see each other,' lit. 'each his fellow'.

In the 15th century *pawb* or *pob un* came to be omitted, and **i gilydd** alone thus came to mean 'each other'.

Ni a gawn drwy flaenau'r gwŷdd
Roi golwg ar **i gilydd**.—Gut.O., A 14997/15.

'We shall see each other through the branches of the trees.' *Ni a ddylem garu* **i gilydd** A.G. 25 'we ought to love one another'.

In the familiar Salesburian orthography *i gilydd* is of course *ei gilydd* 'his fellow'. As the antecedent is generally pl., the *i* was mistaken in the spoken lang. for *i* 'théir' (written *eu*); and after the 1st and 2nd pl. *yn* and *ych* are substituted for it on the analogy of the construction of *hun* 'self'; thus in the recent period *ein*, *eich*, *eu* are written before *gilydd*, which owes its *g-* to the fact that the pron. before it was the 3rd sg. m. *i* 'his'.

Wm.S. and Dr. M. sometimes misspell the pron. as *eu* (Salesbury often confuses his own invention *ei* with *eu*; the spoken form of both was *i* then as now). In the 1620 Bible the 3rd sg. m. pron. is correctly written in the orthography adopted in it : *ar garu o honoch* **ei gilydd** Ioan xiii 34; *os bydd gennych gariad i'w* **gilydd** do. 35; *Byddwch yn vn-fryd â'i* **gilydd** Rhuf. xii 16; *Anherchwch* **ei gilydd** 1 Petr v 14; *Anwylyd carwn* **ei gilydd** 1 Ioan iv 7, see 11, 12. In

all these cases the 3rd sg. pron. was changed by R.M. (1746) to *eich, 'ch, ein.*

ii. (1) After *yr un* in negative sentences *i gilydd* often takes the place of *y llall*..

Ac nyt attebei **yr un** *mwy noe* **gilyδ** R.M. 211–2 'and neither answered more than the other'.—*ny δigawn* **yr un** *ohonunt vot ỏ wrth* **ỏ gilyδ** LL.A. 128 'Neither of them can be away from the other'.

(2) It takes the place of *arall* after *neu* 'or'; as **ryw** *ddydd* **ne'i gilydd** D.G. 337 [*ne'i* (for *new'i*) misprinted *noi*] 'some day or other'.

(3) It is used instead of *arall* or *y llall* after a noun, § 165 ii (1), in such phrases as the following:

O δrwc ỏ [= *ỏ* **ỏ**] **gilyδ** R.M. 141 'From one evil to another'; *o'r pryt ỏ* [= *ỏ* **ỏ**] **gilyδ** do. 62 'from one time to the other' (? the same on the following day); *o'r ysgraff pwy* **gilyδ** S.G. 125 'from one barge to the other'; *o'r mor pw* **y** [**gilyδ**] W.M. 180, *o'r mor py*[=*py* **ỏ**] **gilyδ** R.M. 83, *o'r mor bwy* **gilyδ** R.P. 1263 'from sea to sea'.

Da iawn y gŵyr dan y gwŷdd
Droi gwïelyn drwy [**i**] **gilydd.**—D.N. C.C. 265.

'Right well she knows under the trees [how] to plait an osier with another.'

The noun would originally be mas., as it is in the above examples. Breton has a form *é-ben* to be used instead of *é-gile* after a fem. noun; this is more likely to be original than the Corn. use of *y-ben* after both genders. (The idea that this is *pen* 'head' is refuted by Henry, Lex. 109.)

iii. Irish *cách a chéle*, the exact equivalent of *pawb i gilydd*, is used in the same way. The Breton expression is *ann eil égilé* (Legonidec 227) which in W. would be **y naill i gilydd.*

The word *cilydd* is used as an ordinary noun in the older Welsh poetry; as *ṙac Davyt awch* **kilyt** *kilỏwch* P.M., M.A. i 280 'before David your comrade stand aside'. *Duw ỏ Cheli vu ỏ* **chilyδ** B.D. R.P. 1251 'God her Lord was her companion'. Also in the proverb *Ch(w)echach bwyt* **kilyδ** R.B. 966 'A neighbour's food is sweeter'.

For the etymology of the word see § 106 ii (1).

§ **167.** i. (1) 'Self' is expressed by sg. and pl. **hun** or sg. **hunan**, pl. Mn. **hunain**, Ml. **hunein** with prefixed pronouns; for the forms see § 160 i (2).

(2) *fy hun* means both 'myself' and 'alone'; thus *mi af yno fy hun* 'I will go there myself' or 'I will go there alone'. After gen.

prefixed or infixed pronouns it means 'own', as *fy llyfr fy hun* 'my own book'.

(3) *fy hun, dy hun,* etc. always stand in an adverbial case, meaning literally 'by myself', etc.; they do not replace a pronoun or pronominal element, but supplement it. Thus *euth*um **fy hun** 'I went by myself' (not **aeth fy hun* 'myself went'); **fy** *nhŷ* **fy hun** 'my own house' (not **tŷ fy hun* 'the house of myself'); *amcanodd* **ei** *ladd* **ei hun** Act. xvi 27; cf. 1 Ioan i 8; Iago i 22; 2 Tim. ii 13; *efe a'***i** *dibrisiodd* **ei hun** Phil. ii 7; similarly *arn***at dy hun** 1 Tim. iv 16 (not **ar dy hun*); *yn***ddo ei hun** Es. xix 17 (not **yn ei hun*); *dros***tun e-hunein** LL.A. 37 (not **dros e hunein*), etc. The reflexive *ym-* counts as a pronoun: **ym***roddi* **e-hun** LL.A. 120, cf. 89 and A.L. i 176. (In colloquial Welsh *i hun* is used alone as the object of a verb or v.n., as *wedi lladd i hun* instead of *wedi i ladd i hun,* and this neologism occurs in recent writings; but in other connexions the old construction survives, thus *mi af fy hun, arnat dy hun* etc.) But after a conjunction joining it to another clause the pronoun which it supplements is not necessarily expressed; thus *nyt archaf inheu ŷ neb govyn vy iawn namyn* **my hun** R.M. 64 'I will bid no one demand my indemnity but myself'; *nad oes o'r tu yma 'r un ond* **fy hunan** B.CW. 68 'that there is on this side none but myself'; *yn uch no* **my-hun** LL.A. 67 'higher than myself'.—When put at the head of the sentence *fy hun* etc. are followed by the adverbial rel. *y* (*yδ, yr*), as *vy hun* **yr** *af* I.D. 35 lit. '[it is] myself that I will go'; *canys ei hunan* **y** *gelwais ef, ac* **y** *bendithiais, ac* **yr** *amlheais ef* Es. li 2.

ii. *un* 'one' has a derivative **un-an* lost in W. but surviving in Corn. *onon, onan,* Bret. *unan*; this and the fact that *hun, hunan* express 'alone' make it probable that the *-un* in these is the numeral. But Corn. *ow honan,* Ml. Bret. *ma hunan* show that the *h-* in W. *fy h-unan* is not merely accentual. Before *u* it may represent either **s-* or **su-*; thus *hun* may be from **su̯'oinom* < **sue oinom* (limiting accusative); the reflexive **sue* might stand for any person at first (Brugmann² II ii 397), but personal pronouns were afterwards prefixed, thus **me su̯'oinom* > *my hun.* The *u* in Ml. *mu* etc. is due to assim. to the *u* of *hun.*

§ **168.** i. (1) Subst. **pawb** 'everybody'. Though sometimes treated as pl., e.g. *pawb a debygynt* W.M. 463 'everybody thought', *pawb a'm gadawsant* 2 Tim. iv 16, *pawb* is, like Eng. *everybody,* properly sg., and is mas. in construction:

Pawb *ry-gavas* **ŷ g***yvarws* W.M. 470 'everybody has received his boon'. So in a large number of proverbial sayings: **Pawb** *a'i chwedl gantho* 'everybody with his story'; *Rhydd i* **bawb i** *farn* 'free to everybody [is] his opinion'; **Pawb** *drosto 'i hun* 'each for himself'.

(2) Adj. **pob** [rad.] 'every'. It sometimes forms improper compounds with its noun; as *popeth* (≡ *poppeth* for *pobpeth*)

beside *pob peth* 'everything'; *pobman* beside *pob man* 'every place'; *poparth* G. 234 beside *pob parth* 'every part'; *o boptu* besides *o bob tu* 'on each side'.

The mutated form *bob*, by dissimilation of the consonants appears, though very rarely, as *bod*, in late Ml. orthography *bot*; as *ỳ* **bot** *un ohonunt* LL.A. 3 'to each one of them'. N.W. dial. *bŏd yg ŭn* 'each and all', lit. 'and one'; earlier *bod ag un* LL.M. 9, T. i 346.

pob un, pob rhyw § 165 iv, **pob cyfryw** 'every such', as **pob cyfryw** *orfoledd* Iago iv 16 'all such rejoicing'. But ordinarily *pob cyfryw* means 'every' emphatic, 'all manner of', the *cyf-* having the intensive meaning § 156 i (9) (b). It is followed by *o* 'of' after *pob* (not by *ag-* 'as' after *cyf-*, so that the *cyf-* is not comparative).

pob kyfryw *δyn eithyr Awt* R.P. 1245 'every single person but Awd'. *Yr ŕei hynn oeδ gyfrwys . . . ym* **pob kyvryw** *arveu* C.M. 10 'these were skilful in all manner of arms'. *Pa le i mae Christ?* **Ymhob cyfriw** *le* C.C. 319 'Where is Christ? In every single place'. **Pob cyfriw** *beth* coll. 'every single thing'.—*o* **bop kyfryw** *vwydeu o'r a rybuchei ehun* S.G. 10 'of all viands which (lit. of those which) he himself desired'. Cf. R.M. 8, R.B.B. 50.

(3) *pawb*, Ir. *cāch*, gen. *cāich* < Kelt. **q^{u}āq^{u}os*; the second element is probably the interr. and indef. **q^{u}os* and the first, **q^{u}ā-*, an adverbial form of the same (Thurneysen Gr. 293).

pob, Ir. *cach* is the same, with the vowel shortened before the accent, which fell on the noun. The shortening is independent in W. and Ir.; the W. *o* (like *aw*) implies Brit. *-ā-*, § 71 i (2). Similarly Bret. *pep* < **peup* with **eu* < *-ā-*. The Ir. *cech* is an analogical formation; see Thurneysen ibid.

ii. (1) Adj. **yr holl** [soft] 'all the', *fy holl* [soft], etc., 'all my'. Before a definite noun the article or its equivalent is omitted: *holl Gymry* R.B.B. 340 'all Wales'; *holl lyssoeδ y δayar* W.M. 6 'all the courts of the earth' (*lyssoeδ* being made definite by the dependent gen.).

A wybyδ **yr holl** *seint a wnneuthum i yma* LL.A. 71 'Will all the saints know what I have done here?' *a'r* **holl** *bethau hyn* Matt. vi 33 'and all these things'; **dy holl** *ffyrdd* Ps. xci 11.

A compound of *holl* of the form *hollre* LL.A. 166, *holre* do. 165, *y rolre* (= *yr olre*) B.B. 71 is used much in the same way, but is rare.

The derivative *hollol* 'entire' is an ordinary adj. following its noun, but is used chiefly with *yn* as an adverb: *a hynny* **yn hollawl** LL.A. 162 'and that wholly'; cf. Ps. cxix 8; Gen. xviii 21, etc.

(2) **oll**. This is always used in an adverbial case (of measure), and generally follows the word or phrase which it limits, though in poetry it may precede it.

Kemry **oll** A.L. i 2 'all Wales', lit. 'Wales wholly'; *y byd* **oll** G. 294 'the whole world', lit. 'the world wholly'; *gwadu* **oll** *y dadyl* A.L. i 396 'to deny wholly the plea'; *Nyni* **oll** Es. liii 6.

It cannot be used in the nom. or acc. case, but is always adverbial, limiting the pronominal element which is subj. or obj., and which must be expressed; thus *aeth***ant oll** 'they went wholly' (not **aeth oll* 'all went'); *arnaδ***unt oll** R.M. 113 'on them altogether', Mn. W. *arn***unt oll** (not **ar oll*), etc.; cf. *fy hun* § 167 i (3).

NOTE.—In Recent written Welsh a neologism *yr oll* has arisen to express 'the whole', instead of *y cwbl* which is the form used in the natural spoken language. *yr oll* is even substituted for *oll* in late editions of earlier works; thus *Ti sy 'n trefnu* **oll** *dy hun* Wms. 555 appears in recent hymn-books as *Ti sy 'n trefnu* **'r oll** *dy hun*. (Of course *yr* + *oll* gives *yr holl* the adjectival phrase, see below.)

(3) W. *oll* < Kelt. **oli̯od* (limiting accus.); Ir. *uile* < Kelt. **oli̯i̯os*; probably cognate with Eng. *all*, Germ. *all*, Goth. *alls* < **ol-no-s*.

The *h-* of *holl* is caused by the *-r* of the article before the accented vowel § 112 i (2), and was transferred to cases where the article was not used. But the adverbial *oll* remained, since the article never occurred before this.

hollre seems to be compounded of *holl* and *gre* < **greg-* : Lat. *greg-*; as in *camre* § 127.

iii. (1) Subst. **cwbl** 'the whole', followed by *o* 'of'.

Ef a δoy am dy benn **cwbyl o'r** *govut* W.M. 80 'all the retribution would have come upon thy head'; **cwbyl** *a geveis i* **o'm** *hamherodraeth* do. 190 'I have recovered the whole of my empire'; *kaeawδ* **kwbyl o** *δrysseu . . . y neuaδ* S.G. 5 'closed all the doors of the hall'; **kwbyl o'r** *wirioneδ* do. 161 'the whole of the truth'; *yn ôl* **cwbl o** *gyfraith Moses* 2 Bren. xxiii 25; cf. Nah. i 5.

In Late Mn. W. the article came to be put before *cwbl*; this appears already in the Bible: Gen. xiv 20 (1620); in late edns. in Ex. xxiii 22, 2 Chron. xxxii 31.

(2) Adj. **cwbl** [soft] 'complete'.

cwbyl *waradwyδ a geveis* W.M. 42 '[it is] a thorough insult that I have had'; **cwbyl** *weithret*, **cwbyl** *sarhaet* A.L. i 526 'the complete act, the full fine'; **cwbl** *ddiwydrwydd* 2 Pedr i 5.

It is also used after its noun: *kanny bu weithret* **cwbyl** A.L. i 526 'since there was not a complete act'; *cymodlonedd* **cwbl** M.A. i 348 'complete reconciliation'.

Adv. *yn gwbl, o gwbl* 'wholly': *ac ereỳll* **en kubyl** *a δyleassant*

A.L. i 2 'and others they entirely abrogated'; *y byδei eur* **o gwbyl** R.M. 62 [where iron should be] 'there was gold throughout', cf. R.B.B. 280. In neg. sentences *o gwbl* 'at all' is in common use in spoken W. (pron. *ó gúbwl*).

(3) W. *cwbl*, Corn. *cowl*, *cowal* probably represent **cwvl* § 111 vii (4) < **kom-(p)lu-(s)* : Gk. πολύς, W. *llawer* § 169 ii (3), the prefix having its intensive meaning, as in *com-plete*, etc., § 156 i (9) (b).

§ 169. i. (1) Subst. **y sawl** sg. 'such', pl. 'as many', used only before relative clauses, the rel. expressing 'as', § 165 iv (10).

Y sawl *ae gwelei kyflawn vyδei oe serch* R.M. 117 'such as saw her was filled with her love'; *gwelet* **y sawl** *a welei o velineu* W.M. 161 'to see as many as he saw of mills'. **Y sawl** *a'm carant i a garaf inneu* Diar. viii 17.

Rarely *sawl* with a dependent genitive: *a ŕwy o* **sawl** *y ŕei yssyδ* R.P. 1252 'and more of the like of those that are'.

(2) Adj. **y sawl** [soft] 'as many', usually with a pl. noun and without *ac*; but the noun may be sg. and *ac* expressed; cf. § 165 iv (10).

Ac ny ellit dwyn bwyt i'r **sawl** *vilỳoeδ yssyδ yma, ac o achaws hynny y mae* **y sawl** *velineu* (*hynn*) W.M. 162 (R.M. 229) 'and food could not be brought to as many thousands as are here, and [it is] for that reason that there are so many mills ([as] these); **y sawl** *vorynyon racko* S.G. 33 'as many maidens [as those] yonder'. **y sawl** *ryveδawt* **ac** *yssyδ yn y vlat honn* S.G. 18 'as many a wonder as there is [lit. as which is] in this land'.

(3) The original meaning seems to be 'such'; hence probably *sawl* < **s-tāl-* : Lat. *tālis*, with Kelt. prefixing of *s-* § 101 ii (1).

ii. (1) Subst. **llawer** sg. 'much', pl. 'many', followed, if need be, by *o* 'of'. Also pl. *llaweroedd* 'multitudes'.

A guedy byryer **llawer** *yndi* W.M. 21 'and when much has been thrown into it', i.e. much food; **llauer** *nys guir ae gowin* B.B. 68 'many who do not know ask it'; *a* **llawer o** *vein gwerthvawr ereill* RL.A. 166 'and many other precious stones'; **llawer** *a ddichon taerweddi y cyfiawn* Iago v 16; *fy ngwas cyfiawn a gyfiawnhâ* **lawer** Es. liii 11.

In an adverbial case (of measure) *llawer* [rad.] before a cpv. and *lawer* after a cpv. signify 'much' adv.: **llawer** *gwell* 'much better'; **llawer** *iawn gwell* Phil. i 23 'very much better'; *mwy* **lawer** RL.A. 68 'much greater'; *a muy Wydỳon noc ynteu* **lawer** W.M. 106 'and Gwydion [regretted] more thān he, much'; *mwy oeδ ef* **lawer** *no hynny* do. 229 'he was bigger much than that'. But *o lawer* is perhaps more common after the cpv., as in the last two passages in R.M. 77, 166.

(2) Adj. **llawer** [rad.] 'many a' followed by a sg. noun.

a **llawer** *damwein a ðiyawn bot* W.M. 28 'and many an accident may happen'.

Llawer *merch weddw o'i pherchen,*
Llawer *gŵr mewn llurig wen.*—D.ll., TR. 249.

'Many a woman widowed of her lord, many a man in a white corselet.'

(3) W. *llawer* < **(p)luɣeros* formed by adding the cpv. suffix *-ero-* to **plu-*, **p(a)lu-* < **pelu-* : Gk. πολύς < **pelu-*.

iii. (1) Subst. **llíaws** 'many, a multitude'; *lluosydd* id.

llýaus B.B. 5 (*ý* ≡ *i*); *yn llyr ý guyr* **lluossit** B.B. 66 (*-it* ≡ *-yδ*) 'thoroughly does a multitude know it'. *Na ddilyn* **liaws** *i wneuthur drwg* Ex. xxiii 2; **lliaws** *o flynyddoedd* Job xxxii 7. With a dependent genitive : **lliaws** *dy dosturiaethau* Ps. li 1.

(2) Adj. **llíaws** [soft] 'many a, much', with a sg. or a pl. noun; this is the noun *llíaws* compounded with another noun. The adj., used as a complement, is Ml. W. **lluossawc**, Mn. W. **lluosog**.

Lliaws *gurýaw* R.P. 1216 'much suffering'; *Cevɛis i* **liaws** *awr eur a phali* M. M.A. i 192 'I had many a time gold and silk'; *o* **llaws** *eirchýeid* M.A. i 259 'of many suppliants'; *i* **lios** *lu* § 71 ii (1); *Mor* **lluosog** *yw dy weithredoedd* Ps. civ 24.

(3) *llíaws* < **plēiōs-tā(t)s*. The longer forms have *u* as *lluossawc* R.P. 1043, *lluossogrwyδ* W.M. 34, R.M. 22, *lluosog* in 1620 Bible. These are not formed from *llíaws* but from an old adj. **plēiōsto-s*, see § 74 i (2), § 75 iii (3) and § 76 ix (2).

iv. (1) Subst. **peth** 'some, a certain quantity'.

Dywedadwy yw rac llaw o **beth** *o vucheδ Veuno* IL.A. 118 '[the story] is to be told in what follows of some of the life of Beuno'; *ac wrth hau,* **peth** *a syrthiodd ar ymyl y ffordd . . . a* **pheth** *arall,* etc. Luc viii 5–8.

In an adverbial case, **beth** 'to some extent, for some time':

Dir yw in dario ennyd,
Ac aros **beth** *gwrs y byd.*—D.ll., IL 120/258 R.

'We must tarry a little, and await awhile the course of events.'

(2) *peth* is the interrogative pronoun § 163 i (3) used indefinitely (cf. Gk. τις); from 'some, something' it came to mean 'thing', and thus became an ordinary noun, pl. *pethau*; see § 163 vi.

v. (1) Subst. **bychydic, ychydig** 'a little, a few'.

bychydic *a dal vy nghyngor i ý ti* S.G. 43 lit. '[it is] little that

my advice avails to thee' i.e. my a. is worth little. *Pa obeith yssyδ yj'r porthmyn?* **Ychydic** LL.A. 40 'what hope is there for the merchants? A little'. **ychydig** *o nifer* Ezec. v 3; **ychydig** *o honaw* Job iv 12.

(2) Adj. **ychydig** [soft] sg. 'a little', pl. 'a few'.

ychydig *gysgu*, **ychydig** *hepian*, etc. Diar. vi 10; **ychydig** *win* 1 Tim. v 23.—**ychydig** *bechodau* T.A. c 16/13 'a few sins'; **ychydig** *ddydd*iau Gen. xxix 20; **ychydig** *bethau* Dat. ii 14.

(3) *ychydig* is for *fychydig* mut. of *bychydic*: W. *bychod* 'small quantity', *bychodedd* 'scarcity, poverty'; Corn. *boches* 'a little', *bochesog*, *bochodoc* 'poor', Ir. *bocht* 'poor': **buk-so-t-*, **buk-to-*: with Kelt. *b-* for **p-* to Lat. *paucus*? § 101 iii (2).

(4) Subst. **odid** 'a rarity'.

odit *a vo moledi*w R.P. 1041 'a rarity [is he] who is worthy of praise'; *ac* **odit** *o'r rei hynny ysyδ yn gristonogyon* LL.A. 165 "quarum paucae [lit. paucitas] sunt Christianae"; **odid** *elw heb antur* prov. 'a rarity [is] (i.e. there is rarely) profit without enterprise'.

ond odid 'probably', literally 'excepting a rarity'.

(5) *odid*: Lat. *paucus*, E. *few* § 76 ii (3).

vi. (1) Adj. **aml** [soft] sg. 'many a', pl. 'many'; **ambell** [soft] 'an occasional'.

> **Aml** *iawn waedd am Elin wen*,
> **Aml** *eisiau am elusen*.—T.A., c. ii 83.

'Full many a cry for fair Elin, many a need for charity.'

> *Ond o hirbell ymgellwair*
> (*O bai well ym*) **ymbell** *air*.—I.D. 23.

'But from afar bantering (if it were better for me) an occasional word.'

y mae rhai a graffant ar **ymbell** *air* M.K. [vii] 'there are some who will look at an occasional word'. **Aml** *ddrygau* Ps. xxxiv 19, *dy* **aml** *drugareddau di* Dan. ix 18; **ambell** *dro* 'occasionally'.

The dialectal *i* -sometimes heard before the noun is a recent intrusion (? corruption of *iawn* as in the first example).

Both these words are used as ordinary adjectives, and are compared; see Silvan Evans s.vv.

(2) *aml* < Brit. **amb'lu-s* for **ambilus* < **mbhi-(ρ)lu-*, with **plu-* for **pelu-*: W. *llawer* 'many', Gk. πολύς, see ii (3) above.

ambell < **ambi-pell-* 'mutually far'; for the prefix see § 156 i (4) (b); for the stem § 89 i.

§ 170. i. Subst. **neb** 'any one', **dim** 'anything', are used chiefly with negatives; as *ni welais neb* 'I did not see anybody';

heb Dduw, heb ddim 'without God, without anything'. Also in conditional sentences, as *o phęcha* **neb** 1 Ioan ii 1 'if any man sin'; in questions; in comparisons; etc.

A derivative **nebawd** occurs: *nebaud* B.B. 21, 43 'any one', *ny gwybyδ nebawt* B.T. 19 'no one will know'.

ii. Owing to constant association with negatives *neb* and *dim* came to be used in certain phrases for 'nobody' and 'nothing'.

As a rule it is the verb that requires the negation; thus 'he gave me nothing' is logically 'he did not give me anything' *ni roes ef imi ddim*, since there was no giving. But the verbal idea may be positive, as in 'it is given for nothing'; this has to be expressed by *fe'i rhoddir am ddim*, where *dim* has to stand for 'nothing'. *dim* is thus used as early as the 14th cent.; see IL.A. 60, 89. But there seem to be no Ml. examples of *neb* 'nobody'.

iii. *dim* and *neb* are positive in positive sentences in the phrases—

(1) **pob dim** 'everything':

Pob dim *kywrein . . . goruc Kelvyδ* B.D., R.P. 1251 'every cunning thing the Artist made'. *Duw, maddeu* **bob dim** *iddaw* I.F. M 148/329 'God forgive him everything'. Cf. 1 Cor. xiii 7; Deut. iv. 7, xxviii 47, 48; Col. i 16.

(2) **y neb** 'the one, he' before a relative § 162 vii (1):

twyllwr yw **y neb** *a aδefvo kyfvrinach arglwyδ ý'r* **nep** *a wypo ý vot yn elyn iδaw* IL.A. 26 'he who betrays a lord's secret to him whom he knows to be his enemy is a traitor'. Cf. IL.A. 28, 32, 33, 34, etc. **Y neb** *a atalio ei yd, y bobl a'i melldithia* Diar. xi 26.

(3) **neb un** § 165 iv (3).

iv. (1) *neb* is used adjectivally, thus *neb* [rad.] 'any': *ni bu yma* **neb** *amarch* F. 14 'there has been no disrespect here'. It is rarely adjectival except in the follov ing phrases:

(2) **neb un** above; **neb rhyw** § 165 iv (8); **neb ŕyw δim** 'anything at all', W.M. 64, 65, R.M. 46, 47; **neb dyn** 'any man' IL.A. 126.

(3) **neb cyfryw** [soft] 'any at all', cf. § 168 i (2).

Kanyt oes **neb kyfryw** *rym . . . y gallem ni vynet* R.B.B. 178 'for there is no power by which we might go'.

(4) **nĕmawr, nĕmor** (for **neb mawr*), with a negative 'not much, not many, but little'.

ny weleiste eto **nemawr** *o boeneu uffernn* LL.A. 154 'so far thou hast seen but little of the pains of hell'.

Adjectival, with neg., **nemor** *ddim* 'hardly anything', **nemor** *un* 'hardly any one'.

yn emawr S.G. 27, *yn ymor* C.M. 55, with prosthetic *y* § 21 iii.

(5) **népell** (for **neb pell*), with a neg. 'not far'.

er nad yw efe yn ddiau **neppell** *oddiwrth bob un o honom* Act. xvii 27; *yn epell* S.G. 219.

v. (1) *dim* is probably never an adj.; a noun following it is a dependent genitive, as—

heb **δim** *llywenyδ* LL.A. 147 'without anything of joy' i.e. without any joy; *heb allel gurneuthur* **dim** *lles* S.G. 37 'without being able to do any good'; *na wna ynddo* **ddim** *gwaith* Ex. xx 10; cf. Ps. xxxiv 10.

(2) But before a definite noun or pron. *o* 'of' is used after *dim*:

ny wyδant **δim ohonunt** LL.A. 8 'they know nothing of them'; *ac nyt oeδ* **dim ohonaw** *yno* R.M. 18 'and there was nothing of him there' i.e. he was not there; *ny warandawei* **δim o'r** *attep* W.M. 53 'he would not listen to anything of the reply' i.e. to the reply.

δim o was of very frequent occurrence, and was reduced to **mo** in the spoken lang. (chiefly N.W.) as early as the 14th cent. if D.G. 496 is authentic. Cf. E.P. 271, Diar. xxii 22, 28, Job xxxvii 23, B.CW. 18 l. 1.

Odid i Dduw, doed a ddêl,
Fyth ddewis **mo** *vath Howel.*—W.LL. 45.

'Scarcely will God, come what may, ever choose such a one as Howel.'

(3) Used in an adverbial case *δim* signifies 'at all', etc. *Nac ef* **δim** LL.A. 48 'not at all'; cf. 1 Cor. xv 29, 1 Thes. v 3.

This adverbial *ddim* is nearly as frequent in the spoken lang. as *pas* after a neg. in French.

vi. (1) W. *neb*. Ir. *nech* 'any one' (gen. *neich*) < Kelt. **neqᵘos* : Lith. *nekàs* 'something', *nekùrs* 'quidam'. It is believed that the **ne-* is the neg. particle, so that the meaning was originally neg., and became positive by the use of another neg. in the sentence (cf. Fr. *nul*). But it is possible that this **ne-* is positive, and is a form of the *n*-demonstrative : Lat. *ego-ne*, see Walde² 255 (where Lith. *ne-kùrs* is so explained, though differently in 510).

(2) W. *dim* : Ir. *dim* 'something', as in *ni di nacca dim, acht is du dim* 'it is not from no thing, but is from something'.—The W. *dim* is written with *i* in Ml. MSS. which distinguish *i* and *y*; and *dim* in "proest" with *grym* M.A. i 374 shows that its vowel was not *y* in the

early 13th cent.[a] The v.n. *diddymu* is a late 16th cent. word formed from *diddim* on the false assumption that it stands for *diddym* as *dibin* does for *dibyn* § 77 iii, whence *dibynnu*; a more correct, and prob. older, form is *diddimio* M.K. [40]. In the laws *dyn diδim* means 'a man without assets', see A.L. ii 36. Hence we may suppose W. *dim* < **dī-smen* 'share, part, fraction', √*dāi̯-* 'divide', R_{1a} **dai-*, R_2 **di-*, R_3 *dī-* § 63 vii (5) : Gk. δαίομαι, δαίς, Skr. *dáyate* 'divides, allots, possesses', *dītiḥ* 'distribution' (E. *time* < Pr. Germ. **tīman-* 'period' < **dī-*); *heb ddim* lit. 'without a fraction'. A dimin. (or obl. case) *dimyn* occurs in *kymeint* **timmyn** R.P. 582 'every jot' (cf. *kymein hun* § 106 iii (2)); whence perhaps Mn. *bob tipyn* (by dissim. *mm* > *bb*, which gives *pp*).

VERBS

§ 171. i. (1) The Welsh verb has three moods, the indicative, the subjunctive and the imperative.

(2) The indicative mood has four tenses, the present, the imperfect, the past (aorist or perfect), and the pluperfect.

(3) The subjunctive mood has two tenses, the present and imperfect.

(4) The imperative mood has one tense, the present.

ii. (1) The pres. ind. is often future in meaning. In the spoken language the future is the usual meaning; the present sense is retained only in a few common verbs such as *gwelaf* 'I see', *clywaf* 'I hear', *medraf* 'I can', *tybiaf* 'I think'. (Ordinarily the present meaning is expressed periphrastically.)

(2) The impf. indic. is seldom a mere impf. in meaning; usually it expresses Eng. 'would' or 'could'.

The impf. is derived from the Ar. optative, and preserves its original meaning. It is used now in spoken W. as it is used in Homer and the Rig-Veda. Taking Meillet's examples (Intr.[2] 193): Vedic *kāmáyeta rā́jā samrā́ḍ bhávitum* 'a king would like to be a supreme ruler' = W. **carai** *brenin fod yn benadur*, cf. *Mi wn ple* **mynnwn** *fy mod* D.G. 501 'I know where I should like to be', **Mynnwn**, *pe nef a'i mynnai* do. 288 'I would, if heaven would, [that . . .]'; χερμάδιον . . . ὃ οὐ δύο γ' ἄνδρε φέροιεν, E 303 = W. *maen . . . ni* **chodai** *deu-ddyn*, cf. *Ni* **thynnai** *saith einioes hwn* T.A.

[a] The metre called *proest* has instead of rhyme a correspondence of fina consonants with varying vowels. The stanza referred to is by G.Gw. c. 1200 A.D.

A 14975/107 'seven (men) could not take his life'; *θεός γ' ἐθέλων . . . ἀμείνονας . . . ἵππους δωρήσαιτο*, K 556 = W. **rhoisai** (plup.) *duw ewyllysgar well meirch*; Vedic *yát páceyuḥ kravyádaṃ kuryuḥ* = W. *pes* **pobynt gwnaent** [*y tân*] *yn gnawd-ysol* (carnivorous), etc. It denotes a possible or hypothetical as opposed to an actual thing; cf. *O na welwn* Wms. 508 'Oh that I am unable to see' i.e. would that I saw! The impf. use comes through forms like *gwelai* 'he could see' > 'he saw', as in *ef a welei lannerch . . . ef a welei carw* etc. W.M. 1. The form *oeδ* 'would be' W.M. 17, l. 29, has passed over entirely to the impf. sense, and forms periphrastic impfs. in the spoken lang., which does not use the impf. of other verbs in that sense. In speaking, we do not say *fe safai'r dref ar y bryn* 'the town stood on the hill' as the expression of a fact, but we do say *fe safai Dafydd yn segur am oriau* 'D. would stand idle for hours' expressing a possibility; we say *fe welai rywbeth* 'he saw something' (could see), but not *fe safai yno* 'he stood there' (was standing).

(3) The past is in the vast majority of cases aorist in meaning, as it is predominantly in derivation. It may however have a perfect meaning, as some verbs have perfect instead of aorist forms, as *treuliais fy nghlod* D.G. 138 'I have spent my reputation'.

(4) The plup. ind. is very rarely plup. ind. in meaning; it usually means 'would have', 'could have', etc.; see (2).

(5) The pres. subj. in a principal sentence expresses a wish. In a dependent sentence it expresses a general, as opposed to a particular, contingency; thus *doed a ddêl* 'come what may come', as opposed to *y byd a ddaw* 'the world which will come'.

(6) The impf. subj. is used in dependent clauses only; it either stands in the protasis before the impf. ind., or represents the past of the pres. subj.

The uses of the tenses can only be dealt with fully in the Syntax.

iii. (1) Each tense is inflected for the three persons of the sg. and pl.

(2) Each tense has in addition an impersonal form, whose implied indefinite subject means 'some one, some, they', Fr. 'on', Germ. 'man'; as *dywedir* 'they say, there is a saying, on dit'.

The impersonal form is generally spoken of as a "passive"; but as it takes after it pronouns in the accusative case, it cannot be parsed as a passive. Thus *fe'm cerir* or *cerir fi* 'on m'aime' (not **cerir i* 'I am loved'). The older grammarians pretended to inflect it for the different persons by adding accusative affixed pronouns § 160 iii (1);

as *cerir fi, cerir di, cerir ef,* etc., though Dr. Davies confesses that "omnia verba passiua ad naturam impersonalium quam proxime accedunt" D. 101. It has been argued that a substantival object has a soft initial, as *gwêl δyn* 'he sees a man'; but this is a late use; the soft is rarely found after the 3rd sg. in Early Mn. poets. It arose to distinguish the subject from the obj., but in the case of the impersonal there is no ambiguity. Intransitive verbs including the verb 'to be' are frequently used in the impersonal, and the forms are not felt to be in any way different from transitive impersonals except that a trans. verb requires an object: *cychwynnir am ddau* 'a start will be made at two'.

The impersonal with its object is generally most conveniently translated into English by a passive with its subject, thus *cerir fi* 'I am loved'; but this should not blind us to the construction in Welsh.

iv. (1) Each verb has also a verbal noun and most have verbal adjectives.

(2) The verbal noun is not strictly an infinitive; it governs the genitive, not the accusative, case. It may be used, like an abstract noun, with the article or an adj., as the subject or obj. of a verb or the obj. of a preposition; but it is sufficiently distinct from an ordinary abstract noun by reason of certain constructions in which it cannot be replaced by the latter. See e.g. § 204 ii.

(3) Verbal adjectives are used like ordinary adjectives, and have not developed the peculiar uses of participles.

The Regular Verb.

§ 172. i. The regular verb *caraf* 'I love' is conjugated as follows; Ml. forms are given in spaced type:

Indicative Mood.

Present Tense.

Ml. W.		Mn. W.	
sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
1. *karaf*	1. *karwn*	1. *caraf*	1. *carwn*
2. *kery*	2. *kerwch*	2. *ceri*	2. *cerwch*
3. *kar*	3. *karant*	3. *cár*	3. *carant*
Impers. *kerir*		Impers. *cerir*	

Imperfect Tense.

Ml. W.		Mn. W.	
sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
1. *karwn*	1. *karem*	1 *carwn*	1. *carem*
2. *karut*	2. *karewch*	2. *carit*	2. *carech*
3. *karei*	3. *kerynt*	3. *carai*	3. *cerynt, carent*
Impers. *kerit*		Impers. *cerid*	

Aorist Tense.

1. *kereis*	1. *karassam*	1. *cerais*	1. *carasom*
2. *kereist*	2. *karassawch*	2. *cerais*	2. *carasoch*
3. *karawδ*	3. *karassant*	3. *carodd*	3. *carasant*
Impers. *karwyt*		Impers. *carwyd*	

Pluperfect Tense.

1. *karasswn*	1. *karassem*	1. *caraswn*	1. *carasem*
2. *karassut*	2. *karassewch*	2. *carasit*	2. *carasech*
3. *karassei*	3. *karassynt*	3. *carasai*	3. *carasynt, -ent*
Impers. *karassit*		Impers. *caresid, -asid*	

Subjunctive Mood.

Present Tense.

1. *kar(h)wyf*	1. *kar(h)om*	1. *carwyf*	1. *carom*
2. *ker(h)ych*	2. *kar(h)och*	2. *cerych*	2. *caroch*
3. *kar(h)o*	3. *kar(h)ont*	3. *caro*	3. *caront*
Impers. *kar(h)er*		Impers. *carer*	

Imperfect Tense.

1. *kar(h)wn*	1. *kar(h)em*	1. *carwn*	1. *carem*
2. *kar(h)ut*	2. *kar(h)ewch*	2. *carit*	2. *carech*
3. *kar(h)ei*	3. *ker(h)ynt*	3. *carai*	3. *cerynt, carent*
Impers. *ker(h)it*		Impers. *cerid*	

Imperative Mood.

Present Tense.

	1. *karwn*		1. *carwn*
2. *kar*	2. *kerwch*	2. *cár*	2. *cerwch*
3. *karet*	3. *karent*	3. *cared*	3. *carent, -ant*
Impers. *karer*		Impers. *carer*	

Verbal Noun.

karu ; *caru*

Verbal Adjectives.

karedic, karadwy ; *caredig, caradwy*.

ii. Stems ending in -i̯- (Ml. W. -ẏ) drop the i̯ before *i*, *y*, and *u* ; as *rhŏdi̯af, rhŏdir, rhŏdynt, rhŏdut* ; *sŏni̯af, sŏnnir*, etc. ; and stems in -u̯- drop the u̯ before *w* as *cădu̯af, cădwn* ; see § 36 i, ii.

Notes and Additional Forms.

§ 173. Pres. Ind.—i. In the 2nd sg. and pl. and the imps., *a* and *aw* in the stem are affected ; thus Mn. W. *teli* 'thou payest', *ceni* 'thou singest', *gwrandewi* 'thou listenest', *gwrandêwch* for *gwrandêwwch* 'ye listen', *gofelir* 'care is taken', *amcenir* 'an attempt is made'.

ii. The 1st sg. ends in **-af** ; in B.B. written *-aw*, as *dywedaw, kyuodaw, credaw* 82 (≡ *dywedaf, cyfodaf, credaf*) ; in O.W., *-am* (≡ *aṽ*), as *ni choilam* OX. 22*b* 'I do not believe'.

Traces of an ending **-if** occur : *gwneif* B.A. 1 'I will do', *kuynhiw* B.B. 100 'I complain', *kynn mudif lle* R.P. 1037 'before I change [my] place', *cenif, dygif* M.A. i 191 'I sing, I bring' ; cf. Bret. fut. *kaninn*.

iii. (1) The Ml. ending **-y** of the 2nd sg. remains in D.G., see *ceny* 186, *rhedy* 132, and is sometimes met with later ; but in Mn. W. generally it became **-i**, see § 77 iv.

(2) The Ml. **-y** itself seems to be for **-yδ** = Bret. *-ez* by loss of -δ, § 110 iv (3) ; the form *-yδ* occurs in Early Ml. verse : *ymwaredit* B.B. 19 (where *-it* ≡ *-yδ*) 'savest thyself', *digonit* ib. 'committest', *guneit* do. 23 'makest' ; *roδyδ* B.T. 57 'givest', *mal y kynnullyδ yt wesceryδ* ib. 'as thou gatherest thou scatterest'. Before *di* the -δ was lost early : *nerthiti* OX. gl. hortabere, Ml. W. *nerthy di* 'thou strengthenest' (cf. *diwedyδ* for **diweδ-dyδ* § 110 iv (2)).

(3) In some expressions in common use forms without an ending occur ; thus beside *wely dy yna* W.M. 36 we have *wel dy yna* R.M. 23 'seest thou there?' *wel dy racco* W.M. 59, etc. § 221 iv (2). So *os mŷn di* E.M. 93 'if thou wilt' ; and dial. *fŷn di* 'wilt thou?' *glŷw di* 'dost thou hear?' Without *di* we have *os mŷn* D.G. 113 'if thou wilt'.

iv. (1) The standard form of the 3rd sg. has no ending. The vowel of the stem undergoes the ultimate *i*-affection § 83 ii ; thus *daliaf* 'I hold', *deil* 'holds' ;—*archaf* 'I bid', *eirch* 'bids' ;—*galwaf* 'I call', *geilw* ;—*safaf* 'I stand', *saif* ;—*paraf* 'I cause', *pair, peir* ;—*gannaf* 'I am contained', v.n. *genni* 'to be contained' (< **ghn̥d-* : Lat. *pre-hendo*, Gk. χανδάνω), 3rd sg. *gain*, see example ; in Ml. W. *(g)ein* R.P. 1055, see vi (3) below, also *geing* by § 106 i (2), whence *ng* spread to other forms ;—*agoraf* 'I open', *egyr* ;—*collaf* 'I lose',

cyll;—*torraf* 'I break', *tyrr*, written *tyr*;—*atebaf* 'I answer', *etyb*;—*gwelaf* 'I see', *gwŷl*, in Late Mn. W. *gwêl*;—*cynhaliaf* 'I hold', *cynnail*, *cynneil*;—*gwaharddaf* 'I prohibit', *gwéheirdd* D.G. 20;—*ataliaf* 'I withhold', *eteil*;—*gwasgaraf* 'I scatter', *gwesgyr* and *gwasgar*;—*tawaf* 'I am or become silent', *teu*, *tau*;—*(g)adawaf* 'I leave', *edeu*, *gedy*;—*tarawaf* 'I strike', *tereu* B.B. 63, *tery*;—*gw(a)randawaf* 'I listen', *gwerendeu*, *gwrendy*;—*gosodaf* 'I set', *gesyd*;—*cyrhaeddaf* 'I reach', *cyrraidd*;—*sorraf* 'I sulk', *syrr*, written *syr*;—*somaf* (*sŝomaf*) 'I disappoint, cheat', *sym*;—*diolchaf* 'I thank', *dîylch*;—*parchaf* 'I respect', *peirch* B.B. 50, B.T. 17, G.Gr. D.G. 254;—*arbedaf* 'I spare', *erbyd* Diar. vi 34, E.P. 269 (but *arbed* Es. lv 7);—*rhangaf fodd* 'I please', *reingk boδ* S.G. 277.

Ni **ain** *o fewn main y mur,*
Ni bu 'n f'oes neb un fesur.—T.A., A 14967/91*b*.

'There is not contained within the stones of the wall, there has not been in my time, any one of the same stature.'

Am na **ain** *d'aur mewn un dwrn.*—T.A. A 14975/16.

'Because thy gold will not go into one hand' (is more than a handful).

A fo doeth efo a **dau**;
Annoeth ni reol enau.—G.I.H., TR. 87.

'[He] who is wise is silent; the unwise does not control [his] mouth.' *Pan vynner iδi tewi hi a* **teu** R.M. 122 'when one wishes it (a certain harp) to be silent, it is silent'. *fel y* **tau** *dafad* Es. liii 7 'as a sheep is dumb'.

O **syr,** *lle* **gwesgyr** *gwasgwyn,*
O'm dawr, Gwyn ap Nudd i'm dwyn.—D.G. 246.

'If he sulks, where he scatters [his] gasconade, G. ap N. take me if I care.'

Nid yw anair ond ennyd;
Ni **sym** *twyll mo bwyll y byd.*—E.P. 271.

'Calumny is but [for] a while; deceit will not cheat the good sense of the world'; *ny'm* **sym** R.P. 1198 'will not disappoint me'.

I Dduw Madog a **ddîylch**
Gan i chwaer hael cael y cylch.—D.G. 292.

'Madoc thanks God that he has had the ring from his generous sister.' Cf. 167, L.G.C. 70.

(2) In many verbs which have *a*, the vowel is unaffected; thus *câr* 'loves', *cân* 'sings', *tâl* 'pays', *gad* 'leaves'; also in some with *e*, as *cymer* 'takes', *adfer* 'restores', *arfer* 'uses'.

Some verbs with *a* have both the affected and unaffected form; thus *gallaf* 'I can', *geill* LL.A. 169, D.G. 29, or *gall* E.P. 259; *dialaf* 'I avenge', *diail* D.G. 162, G.Gl., P 108/41 R., *dîal* L.Môn § 186 ii; *chwarddaf* 'I laugh', *chweirδ* R.P. 1240, *chwardd* D.G. 402, L.G.C. 379, Job xli 29, Ps. ii 4; *barnn* LL.A. 64 'judges', *beirn* R.P. 1321.

(3) The vowel of the stem, if mutable, is of course mutated when the ending is dropped in the 3rd sg.; thus *cyrchaf* 'I make for', *cyrch*; *dygaf* 'I bring', *dwg* 'brings'; *ceisiaf* 'I seek', Mn. W. *cais* 'seeks', Ml. *keis*, § 81 iii (1). In many cases *-o-* is a mutation of *-aw-*, the latter appearing in the 3rd sg., thus *toddaf* 'I melt', *tawdd* 'melts'; *boddaf* 'I drown, or am drowned', *bawdd* 'drowns'; *holaf* 'I ask', *hawl* 'asks'. But in disyllabic stems, when the unaccented *-aw-* in the ult. became *-o-*, it was in some cases treated on the analogy of original *-o-* and affected to *y*; thus *adroδaf* 'I narrate', *adrawδ* B.A. 1 'narrates', later *edryδ* R.P. 1253; *halogaf* 'I defile' (denominative from *halawc*, Mn. W. *halog*), *helyc* IL.A. 34 'defiles'. In the 16th cent. *dichyn* was used, § 196 ii, but was supplanted later by the original form *dichon* 'can', Ml. W. *dichawn*. The substitution of *-y* as in *tery* C.M. 32 for the affected *-eu* of *tereu*, etc., see (1), is due to the same analogy; see § 83 ii.

A similar analogy gave rise to *gwerchyd* D.G. 175 'guards' from the V.N. *gwarchod* for *gwarchawd* metath. for *gwar-chadw*; the old 3rd sg. was *gwer-cheidw*.

v. (1) Verbs with stems in *-ha-* had the vowel unaffected in the 3rd sg.; the affected forms *bwyty* 'eats', *pery* D.G. 441 'lasts' are late; the original 3rd sg. of *bwytá-af* 'I eat' is *bwyta* W.M. 456 'eats', *ef a vwytta* IL.A. 170, and of *parhá-af* is *pár(h)a*, as *parha* B.T. 40 'lasts', *ny phara* R.P. 1046, W.M. 86 'does not last', *ni phara* T.A. G. 236. The accent falls regularly on the penult; and the *-h-* after it was lost, § 48 ii, as in *pára*, but not before changing a media to a tenuis as in *bíwyta* 'eats' (: *bwyd* 'food').

(2) The *-(h)a* of the 3rd sg. is thus the unaffected stem-forming suffix, but it came to be mistaken for a personal ending; and as *-ha-* forms the stems of denominatives, *-(h)a* seemed to be a 3rd sg. ending of denominatives, and was used to form the 3rd sg. of denominatives generally. This may have originated in doublets like *neshá-af*, V.N. *neshá-u* and *nés-af*, V.N. *nésu* 'to approach' (: *nes* 'nearer'); the 3rd sg. of the first is regularly *nés-(h)a*, which, being very naturally taken to be the 3rd sg. of the second, suggested a 3rd sg. ending *-(h)a*. For exactly the same reasons it became a 2nd sg. imperative ending, and is used as such in all verbs in which it appears in the 3rd sg. pres. ind. In older examples the form is *-ha*, the *-h-* hardening a media or remaining as an *-h-*; such examples survive in Ml. W. side by side with others in which the ending has come to be regarded as *-a* simply. Thus we find *gwata* R.P. 1382 'denies', *oetta* impv. R.P. 1254 'delay', *gwatta* M.A. i 319*a* 'denies', *ehetta* do. 319*b* 'flies', *tremycca* IL.A. 150 'despises', *poenha* do. 28 'punishes', *dielwha* do. 147 'ruins' (makes worthless), *gwyhwa* do. 148 'withers', *cerδha* do. 168 'goes', *gweδha* do. 165 'beseems', side by side with *gwada* R.P. 1256 'denies', *oeda* impv. do. 1285 'stay', *llettya* do. 1254 'lodges', *ogana* ib. 'satirizes', *a gylchyna* M.A. i 319*b* 'surrounds', *a boena* IL.A. 147, *kerdda* do. 165, *kerδa* do. 167, *gweδa* R.P. 1272. In the last examples simple *-a* has become a 3rd sg. ending.

(3) It is added to nearly all denominative stems which represent a noun or adj. without a suffix; thus *hwyδa* LL.A. 148 (: *hŵyδ*, *chŵyδ* 'a swelling'), *a ge(i)thiwa* ib. (: *keithiw* 'captive'), *argyweδa* do. 166 (: *argyweδ* 'harm'), *saetha* R.P. 1272 'shoots' (: *saeth* 'arrow'), *amcana* 1285 (: *amcan* 'design'), *gwarchaea* ib. (: *gwarchae* 'fortification'), *dilyssa* ib. *dilyssa* 1254 (: *dilys* 'certain'), *llaessa* 1254 (: *llaes* 'slack'), *sura* R.M. 123 (: *sur* 'sour'), *a gospa* LL.A. 30 (: *cosp* 'punishment'), *gwassannaetha* do. 28 (: *gwasanaeth* 'service'), *kyfvyrgolla* do. 35 (: *cyfr-goll* § 156 i (9)), *breinia* M.A. i 318*a* (: *braint* 'privilege'), *yssiga* ib. (: *ysig* 'crushed'), *diwedda* do. 318*b* (: *diwedd* 'end'), *cynnydda* 319*a* (: *cynnydd* 'increase'), *mynycha* 319*b* (: *mynych* 'frequent'), *lwydda* ib. (: *llwydd* 'prosperity'), *a gocha* R.B.B. 146 (: *coch* 'red'), *kyflea* R.P. 1286 (: *cyf-le* 'situation'), *metha* 1253 (: *meth* 'failure').

(4) It is also added to some stems not obviously denominative; thus *cerddaf* 'I walk, go' has 3rd sg. *cerδa* in Ml. W., see examples above, and in Mn. W., see Diar. iii 28, vi 3, but *a gerδ* B.T. 15; so *sathra* LL.A. 147 'tramples', but *sathyr* R.B.B. 144; *damuna* LL.A. 148 'wishes' (the noun is *damunet* 'wish'), *traetha* B.B. 8 'relates' (noun *traethawd* 'treatise' < Lat. *tractāt-us*).

(5) It is added to stems in *-i̯-* mostly denominatives; as *tykya* W.M. 14, Mn. W. *tŷci̯a* 'avails' (: *twg* 'success' < **tu-k-*, √*teu̯ā-* 'increase') used only in the 3rd pers., § 196 v, *llywya* R.P. 1285 'governs', Mn. W. *llywi̯a* 'steers' (: *llyw* 'rudder'), *hwyli̯a* M.A. i 318*a*, Mn. W. *hwyli̯a* 'sails, governs' (: *hwyl* 'sail', cf. Lat. *gubernāre* 'steer, govern'), *cili̯a* do. 319*b* 'recedes' (: *cil* 'back'), *rhodi̯a* Ps. i 1 (: *rhawd* 'course' < **rōt-*, L°-grade of √*ret-* 'run'), Mn. W. *preswyli̯a* 'resides' Ml. W. *presswyla* LL.A. 169 (: *presswyl* 'residence'), *distrywi̯a* (: *distryw* 'destruction'). But some *i̯*-stems do not take it: *dali̯af*, *deil* (not *dali̯a*), *ceisiaf* 'I seek', *cais* (not *ceisi̯a*), *peidi̯af* 'I cease', *paid* (not *peidi̯a*), *meiddiaf*, *beiddiaf* 'I dare', *maidd*, *baidd*, 'dares'.

(6) It is added to denom. stems in *-ych-*: as *gwledycha* LL.A. 169, M.A. i 318*a* 'governs', *fflammycha* do. 318*b* 'flames', except *whennych* R.M. 123, *chwen(n)ych* LL.A. 73 'desires' (: *chwant* 'desire').

(7) Lastly, it is added redundantly to *-ha-* itself, as *mwynhaa* M.A. i 317*b*, Mn. W. *mwynhá* 'enjoys', *kyt-lawenhaa* LL.A. 72, Mn. W. *llawenhá* 'rejoices', *dynessaa* R.B.B. 148, Mn. W. *neshá* 'approaches', *arwyδockaa* do. 144, Mn. W. *arwyδocá* 'signifies', Mn. W. *glanhá* 'cleans', *edifarhá* 'repents', etc., etc.

(8) A few verbs have two forms, one with and one without *-(h)a*; as *plycca* impv. R.M. 97 'fold', *plyc* B.T. 18 'bends' (*plygaf* 'I bend', *plyg* 'fold'); *tybia* D.I.D. TR. 98, *tyb* T.A. F. 16 'imagines' (*tybiaf* 'I imagine', *tyb* 'thought, fancy'); *a dwylla* Jer. ix 5, *a dwyll* LL.A. 147 'deceives' (*twyllaf* 'I deceive', *twyll* 'deceit'); *gweinyδa* R.P. 1254 'serves', *gweinyδ* do. 1238; *barn* iv 2, *barna* Ps. cxxxv 14.

vi. (1) Sg. 3. *-id*, used where there was no preverb, is found in Ml. W., and survived in proverbs, and rarely in verse; like the fut. *-(h)awd* it became *-(h)id*; thus O.W. *prinit* (without *-h-*) OX. 22*b*

'buys'; Ml. W. *ottid* B.B. 89 'falls' (of snow), *meccid* do. 90 'nourishes'; **Trenghit** *golut, ny threingk molut* R.B. 1082 'wealth perishes, fame perishes not'; **Tyfid** *maban, ny thyf i gadachan* 'an infant grows, its swaddling cloth does not grow'; **Dirmycid** *merch . . . ŵr ni welo* G.Gr. P 77/194 'a woman despises a man whom she does not see'.

-yd occurs in *ë-yt* (rh. with *byt* 'world') R.P. 1055 'goes'. It seems to be confused with *-id* in *megyt, meckyt* R.P. 1029 'nourishes', *gwlychyt* do. 1032 'wets'.

(2) An ending **-(h)awd** of the 3rd sg. occurs in Early Ml. W. with a future meaning: *bithaud* (≡ *byδhawd*) B.B. 7 'will be', *ŷeddaud* (*dd* ≡ *tt* for *dh*) do. 58 'will run', *dirchavaud* do. 61 'will arise', *parahaud* do. 100, *parahawt* B.T. 23 'will continue', *gyrhawt* B.T. 13 'will drive'. These forms were survivals, and appear sometimes to be misused as passives under the influence of the *-t* impersonals: *cluttaud* B.B. 10 'will be brought', *briuhaud* do. 58 'will be broken'.

(3) There are traces of a 3rd sg. in **-yδ**, as *ny* **wneyδ** *gwir ny ein ymro* R.P. 1055 'he who does not do justice will not be suffered [lit. contained] in a country'; *kyn noc y daw rwng y δwylaw y* **gwesgeryδ** do. 1049 '[it is] before it comes between his hands that he scatters it'. This is quite distinct from *-yd* above, and comes, as seen, after relatives.

There is no sufficient ground for the assumption, Arch. Camb. 1873 150, of a 3rd sg. *-haw*; for *chaffaw* B.B. 8 ≡ *chaffaf* 1st sg., see ii above, *gwnaw* SK. 126 is an error for *gwnaho* B.T. 16 l. 2; *a wnaϑ* B.T. 30 l. 18 is prob. a sc. error for *wnaaϑt*; the other examples are from untrustworthy texts.

(4) In the dialects an ending **-iff**, in Gwynedd **-ith**, is in common use. D. 85 regards it as falsely deduced from *caiff*, "Vt *Ceriff* pro *Car*, *Periff* pro *Pair* . . . Quæ nunquam sine indignatione audio." (As *-iff* is not a syllable in *caiff* the suggested deduction is improbable.)

vii. Beside the usual **-wn** of the 1st pl., we seem to have a 1st pl. pres. **-en** once in the O.W. *cet iben* JUV. SK. 'we drink together'.

viii. The affection of the stem vowel in the 2nd pl. *cerwch* shows that **-wch** must be for **-ywch** § 26 vi (5). A trace of this form occurs in *chedywch* IL.A. 157 'ye keep' dissim. for **chedwywch*; the usual form is *cedwch* for *cedwwch* : *cadwaf* 'I keep'.

ix. (1) Corresponding to the 3rd sg. in *-hawt*, a 3rd pl. in **-hawnt** occurs rarely in the earlier periods: *cuinhaunt* JUV. gl. defleb(unt), *gwnahawnt* B.T. 13 'they will make'.

(2) In O.W. a 3rd pl. pres. **-int** occurs, as *limnint* JUV. gl. tondent, *scamnhegint* JUV. gl. levant, *nertheint* JUV. gl. armant. Some examples occur in the early poetry: *diwrissint kedwyr . . . mi nyd aw* B.B. 108 'warriors hasten . . . I go not'; *vyδ . . . pan δyorf(yδ)yn* B.T. 13 'will be when they conquer', *discynnyn* ib. 'they will descend'.

x. ☞ The final -t of the 3rd pl. of this and of every other tense is often dropped in poetry, even in Early Ml. W., § 106 iii (2): *tirran* (≡ *tyrran*) B.B. 2 'they muster', *dygan* ib. 'they bring', *darparan*

do. 5 'they prepare', *vidan* (≡ *vyδan*) ib. 'they will be'; other tenses: *deuthan* do. 2 'they came', *wnaethan* do. 4 'they did', *darvuan* do. 6 'they perished', *cuitin* (≡ *cwŷδyn*) do. 95 'they fell'. The *-t* is lost in the spoken language.

xi. (1) Beside the impers. in **-ir**, a form in **-(h)awr**, corresponding to the 3rd sg. in *-hawt*, occurs in Early Ml. W.; as *talhaur* B.B. 31 'there will be payment', *ffohawr* B.T. 16 'there will be flight', *dialawr* ib. 'there will be vengeance', *dyrehawr* do. 33 'will be mustered', *agorawr* W.M. 456 'will be opened'; *Dygyn yw aδaw a* **garawr** R.B. 1062 'it is hard to promise what is loved'; *Heul yn Ionawr ny mat* **welawr**, *M(a)wrth a Whefrawr ae* **dialawr** R.B. 970 'Sun in January is not good to be seen, [in] March and February there will be retribution for it'.

(2) The ending **-(h)er** has a fut. ind. meaning in Early Ml. W., as *moch* **guelher** *y niuer* B.B. 2 'soon will the host be seen'; *nyth* **ater** *ti y mywn* W.M. 457 'thou shalt not be admitted'.

(3) In the early poetry an impersonal in **-itor, -etor, -ator, -otor** occurs: *kenhittor kirrn* B.B. 52 'horns will be sounded', *canhator* B.T. 75 'will be sung', *megittor* B.B. 62 'will be brought about', *ŕewinetor* B.T. 68 'will be ruined', *traethattor*, *molhator* do. 23, *brithottor* B.B. 33 'are variegated'. Forms in *-etawr* also occur: *dygetawr* B.T. 10 'will be brought', *galwettawr* do. 41 'will be called'; in these the ending has come under the influence of *-hawr*.

§ **174.** Imperf. Ind.—i. The 2nd sg. ending in Ml. W. is **-ud**, as *dianghut* B.P. 1037 'thou wouldst escape'. In Early Mn. W. this remains, as *wyddud*, *atebud* rhyming with *mud* in D.G. 460; but *-ud di* became *-it ti* § 111 ii, § 77 ix; hence Late Mn. W. *carit*. The *-i-* not being original does not affect the *-a-*; *cerit* is an artificial form: "secunda sing. fit etiam sine mutatione vocalis, & fortasse rectiùs, *Carit*" D. 89. In the dialects the vowel of the 2nd pl. is introduced, as *caret*; and this debased form occurs in recent writings.

ii. In the early poetry a 3rd sg. **-i** is found, affecting *-a-* in the stem (as well as the usual *-ei*, not affecting); thus *ef yelwi* B.A. 22 'he called', *ef lleδi* ib. 'he slew' (beside *pan elei* ib. 'when he went'), *ny cheri* do. 26 'he loved not' (beside *ef carei* ib. 'he loved'), *eiδuni* do. 16 'he desired', *klywi* ib. 'he heard', *a weli* B.B. 45 'whom he saw'.

For the 3rd sg. in *-iad* see § 191 ii (3).

iii. (1) The vowel of the pl. endings is **-e-**, which regularly becomes **-y-** before **-nt**, § 65 iii (1). The introduction of the *-y-* into the 1st and 2nd as in *hoffym* Gr.H. G. 98 (for *hoffem*) is rare, and doubtless artificial. On the other hand the *-y-* of the 3rd has tended to be replaced by the *-e-* of the 1st and 2nd since the 15th cent., e.g. *nis terfynen'* L.G.C. 244 'they would not end him' (usually L.C.C. has *-yn(t)*: *a berynt* 186, *a'm ceryn'* 206). In Late Mn. W. the re-formed *-ent* became the usual ending, though *-ynt* remained in use in poetry, e.g. E.F. 36, 287, 316.

(2) In Ml. W. a re-formed 3rd pl. **-eint**, with the vowel of the 3rd

sg., occurs; as *y wawt a ganeint* LL.A. 95 'the song which they sang', *a δeueint . . . a syrthỳeint* do. 97 'which came, [tears] which fell', *achubeint* W.M. 466 'they seized'. It is sometimes found in Early Mn. verse: *anrhegaint* D.G. 24 'they presented', *oedaint, fyddaint, rhedaint* do. 25; occasionally later: *rhedeint* B.CW. 23.

§ **175.** Aor. and Plup. Ind.—i. The 3rd sg. aor. has a number of endings:

(1) Ml. W. **-awδ**, Mn. W. **-odd**, is common in Ml. W., and almost supplanted all other endings in the Late Mn. period. Ml. W. examples: *kerδauδ* W.M. 9 'walked' (beside *a gerδwys* do. 8), *cymhellauδ* do. 17 'incited', *wharyawδ* do. 163 'played', *parawδ* ib. 'caused' see (4), *gofynnawδ* do. 164 'asked', *diskynnawδ* do. 422 'descended', *r̂wymawδ* ib. 'bound', *frwynglymawδ* ib. 'fastened by the reins', *dechreuawδ* R.B.B. 117 'began', *dewissawδ* do. 319 'chose'. **-oδ** already appears in Late Ml. W.: *parhaoδ, arveroδ, lladoδ* C.M. 92 'lasted, used, killed', *brathoδ* do. 93 'stabbed'.

(2) **-as**, in *cavas* B.B. 66, W.M. 10 'got', *gwelas* B.B. 101, W.M. 13 'saw'. It survived as the regular ending in these two verbs in Ml. W.; in Early Ml. W. other verbs take it, *bradas, twyllas* B.B. 81 'betrayed, deceived', *creas* G. M.A. i 196 'created', *gallas* B.V. do. 372 'could'. In *cafas* it survived in Early Mn. W.:

Pwy mewn gaeaf a **gafas**
Fis Mai yn dwyn lifrai las?—D.G. 265; cf. 116.

'Who in winter [ever] found a May-month wearing green livery?'

(3) **-es** is added to stems having *-o-* or *-oe-*; as *dicones* JUV. SK. 'wrought', *r̂otes* (*t* ≡ δ) B.B. 42, *r̂oδes* W.M. 9 'gave', *torres* W.M. 94 'broke', *arhoës* do. 47 'waited', *ffoës* R.M. 152 'fled', *ymhoeles* R.B.B. 199 'returned'. It is common in Mn. W., more especially in the earlier period: *ffoës* D.G. 61, *s̃iomes* G.Gl. c. i 196 'deceived', *colles* I.T. F. 43 'lost', *codes* do. 45 'rose', *rhoddes* Phil. ii 9 'gave', *torres* Gr.O. 41 'broke'. It survives in the spoken lang. in contracted forms *rhoes, troes*.—Contrary to analogy it replaced *-as* in *gwelas* in Late Ml. and Early Mn. W., as *gweles* R.B.B. 130, D.G. 279, T.A. G. 235.

(4) **-is** is added to stems having *-a-* (which it affects to *-e-*), or *-aw-* (> *-ew-*): *treg̃his* B.B. 21 'perished', *cedwis* do. 43 'kept', *erchis* LL.A. 2 'bade', *dienghis* W.M. 56 'escaped', *peris* do. 57 'caused', *ettellis* (*l-l*, vb. *atal̃iaf*) R.B.B. 174 'withheld', *cynhellis* (*l-l*, vb. *cynhal̃iaf*) do. 257 'held', *edewis* R.M. 169 'left', *eδewis* R.B.B. 171 'promised'. Also *dechreuis* W.M. 27, R.M. 17 'began' (beside *dechreuwys* W.M. 413, R.M. 267). It is occasionally met with in Early Mn. W., as *gadewis* D.G. 61.

Ni wn a fûm yn iawn fis
Heb hiraeth,—hi a'i **peris**.—I.D. 20.

'I do not know that I have been well for a month without longing,—[it is] she that caused it.'

(5) **-wys** is perhaps the commonest ending in Ml. W.: *pechuis* B.B. 41

'sinned', *guiscvis* do. 43 'wore', *treulwys* W.M. 9 'spent', *cyrchwys* ib. 'made for', *meδylỳwys* do. 10 'thought', *diffygỳwys* do. 12 'failed', *trigỳwys* R.M. 92 'resided', *gallwys* do. 108 'could', *mynnwys* R.B.B. 200 'desired'. It was simplified early to **-ws** § 78 i (2), as *bendigus* B.B. 36 'blessed', *ffruincluymus* (read *-clymus*) do. 93; *cerδws* P 14/6 R. (mid-13th cent.) 'walked', *claδws* P 14/14 R. 'buried', *kemerrws* P 29/31 R. 'took'. The form *-ỽys* disappeared, but *-ws* is sometimes met with in Mn. lit. W., and became the usual ending in parts of S.W.

Hadlyd liw hudol o dlws,
Hudolion a'i **hadeilws**.—D.G. 447.

'Perished colour enchantingly beautiful, it is enchanters that built it.'

(6) **-t** in *t*-aorists, see iii (1).

ii. (1) The above are strictly stem-forming suffixes, with no personal ending, added to the pres. stem. The 1st sg. has *-as* affected to *-eis*; the 2nd sg. has the same with added *-t*; the pl. has a similar suffix, which takes three forms, to which the personal endings *-am*, *-awch*, *-ant* are added. The forms of the suffix are Ml. W. *-ass-*, *-yss-* and *-ss-*, Mn. W. *-as-*, *-s-*.

(2) **-ass-** and **-yss-** are not sharply distinguished: thus *dywedassam* R.M. 44 = *dywedyssam* W.M. 61 'we mentioned', *collassam* R.M. 52 = *collyssam* W.M. 72 'we have lost', *cilỳassant*, *torrassant* R.M. 36 = *cỳlyssant*, *torryssant* W.M. 52 'they retreated, they broke'. Both forms occur throughout the Ml. period, *-ass-* encroaching in later MSS. as the examples show. Later *-yss-* disappeared, and in Late Mn. W. *-as-* alone is used.

(3) **-s(s)-** is used after *-l-* and *-r-* and after the diphthongs *-aw-*, *-yw-*, *-eu-*: *gwelsom* W.M. 50, R.M. 35 'we saw', *cymersant* W.M. 169 (= *cymerassant* R.M. 235) 'they took', *adcorssant* B.B. 46 'they returned', *ymadawssam* H.M. ii 292, IL.A. 148 'we left', *clywssont* W.M. 33 'they heard', *dechreussant* do. 41, 72 'they began', beside *dechreuỳssant* 44. In Mn. W. it is regularly found in *gwelsom*, and always after *-aw-* as *gwrandawsom*; sometimes in other cases, as *talsom*, *cymersom*. In the dialects the *-s-* form became general.

(4) Beside the usual *-am*, *-awch*, *-ant* in Ml. W., *-om* and *-ont* are often found, and are specially frequent in the W.M.; *-och* is very rare: *doethoch* W.M. 161 (= *doethawch* R.M. 228) 'ye came'. In Mn. lit. W. *-om*, *-och*, *-ant* are the usual endings. In the spoken lang. mostly *-on*, *-och*, *on'*.

(5) In the old poetry there are traces of the 3rd sg. ending *-id*, as in the pres. § 173 vi (1), as *delỳessit Ieuan . . . vab Duw . . . yn dwfyr echwyδ* R.P. 1184 'John held the Son of God in the water of baptism' (the context shows that it is not impers. plup.), *prinessit* (read *prynessit*) ib.; also *-yd*, as *keressyt* R.P. 1168, *pregethyssit* (*/kyt*) B.T. 54.

iii. (1) A 3rd sg. ending *-t* added to the pres. stem is found in some verbs, as *cant* B.A. 1, W.M. 120, R.M. 196 'sang' (not *cânt* as wrongly assumed by some recent copyists), *gwant* R.M. 81, W.M. 111 'pierced'; **-er-t-* regularly becomes *-yrth* § 65 iii (2), hence *diffirth*, *kymirth* B.B. 40

'saved, took', with *a*-affection *differth* R.B.B. 213, *kymerth* W.M. 9, see § 181 vii (1).

(2) These 3rd sg. aor. forms had come to be regarded in Kelt. as aor. stems, and other persons were formed from them, § 181 vii (1); thus *keint* B.T. 33 'I sang', *keintum* W. 18*a* 'I sang', *ceuntost* B.B. 21 'thou hast sung'; *gweint* M.A. i 194*a* 'I charged' (in battle).

iv. (1) The impersonal, like the 3rd sg., has various endings. Verbs which take *-as, -es, -is, -ŵys* in the 3rd sg. have *-ad, -ed, -id, -ŵyd* respectively in the impersonal.

(2) **-ad** in *caffat* R.M. 141 'was had', *cahat* W.M. 40, R.M. 27 'was had', contracted *cat* R.B.B. 396, Mn. W. *cad* D.G. 189, etc. 'was had', see § 188 i (6), and in *gwelat* W.M. 51, R.M. 36 'were (was) seen'. In the old poetry it is seen in other verbs, as *artuad* (*t* ≡ *δ*) B.B. 23 'was blackened' *se-suinad* ib. 'was conjured (?)' (redupl. perf. ?)

(3) **-ed**, after *-o-, -oe-* : *anvonet* W.M. 84 'were sent', *collet* do. 472 'was lost', *dodet* do. 32 'was put', *r̥oδet* do. 33 'was given' Mn. W. *rhodded* F.N. 28, *poened* C.C. 11, *hoelied* P 49/54*b*, etc.

It is also found in *ganet* W.M. 28, Mn. W. *ganed* 'was born'; and in Early Mn. W. *gweled* D.E. IL 163/119 'was seen' for Ml. *gwelat*, like *gweles* for *gwelas* i (3); Ml. W. *r̥ived* M.A. i 373, *llaδed* do. 220.

(4) **-id**, after *-a-, -uw-* : *y delit . . . ac y carcharwyt* R.B.B. 338 'was caught and imprisoned', *edewit* W.M. 58 'were left', *eδewit* R.M. 162 'was promised'. Only the context, as seen in the first example, shows that this is not the imperf., which ends in *-id* in all verbs. In Mn. W. *-id* aor. gave place to *-wyd* to avoid the ambiguity : *dal̥iwyd* 'was caught', *gada(w)wyd* 'was left'.

(5) **-wyd**, as in *magwyt* W.M. 33 'was reared', *gollyngwyt, r̥yδhawyt* do. 25 'was released, was set free', *cyweirwyt* do. 26 'was prepared', *treulwyt* ib. 'was spent', *gommeδwyt* ib. 'was refused', etc., etc. This is the usual ending in Mn. W., and has superseded the others except in a few forms like *ganed* 'was born', *rhoed* 'was put', etc.—Reduced to **-wt** § 78 i (2), whence dial. *cawd* § 188 i (6).

(6) The **-t-* of this suffix came without an intervening vowel after some roots ending in *-d-*, early enough to give W. *-s* for the group *-dt-* § 87 ii. Thus *llas* W.M. 89 'was killed', also in Early Mn. W. and later, beside *llaδwyt* H.D. P 67/277 R.; *klas* D.E. J 17/478 R. 'was buried', usually *claδwyt* W.M. 89; *gwŷs* D.G. 236 'is known'.

Ef a'm **llas** *i a'm nasiwn*
Yr awr y **llas** *yr iarll hwn.*—G.Gl., C. i 193.

'I was slain and my nation the hour that this earl was slain.'

(7) Some verbs take **-pwyd**, which is generally added to the perf. or aor. stem; thus *aethpwyt* W.M. 59 'there was a going', *deuthpwyt* do. 141 or *doethpwyt* do. 96 'there was a coming', *gwnaethpwyt* do. 32 'was done'. In these three verbs the form persisted and is the standard Mn. form, as used e. g. in the Bible; but in Recent W., dial. and quasi-dial. forms *aed, dewwyd* (dial. *dowd*), *gwnaed* are also found.

Other examples are *ducpwyt* W.M. 28 'were brought' (perf. st. *dug-*

§ 194 iii), *gorucpwyt* W.M. 452 'was done', *clywspwyt* R.B.B. 178 'was heard', *dechreuspwyt* S.G. 291, *canpwyt* § 182 iv (4).

It is added to the present stem in *dalpwyt* R.B.B. 388 'was caught', *kynnicpwyt* do. 398 'was offered', *gatpwyt* do. 399 'was left', *dywetpwyt* W.M. 52 beside *dywespwyt* do. 189 'was said'.

v. (1) The pluperfect is formed by adding the personal endings of the imperfect to the aorist stem.

The impers. *-it* and 3rd pl. *-ynt* affect *-aw-* in the penult, thus *adewssynt* R.B.B. 180 'they had left', *edewssit* R.M. 288 'had been left'. But *-ass-* usually remains unaffected: *buassynt* W.M. 89 (beside *buessynt* IL.A. 19) 'they had been', *anvonassit* R.B.B. 306 'had been sent', *mynnassit* R.M. 13 = *mynyssit* W.M. 20 'had been desired', *collassynt* R.M. 42 = *collyssynt* W.M. 60. D.G. 279 has *dygesynt* (if *weles* before it is the correct reading; if *welas*, it would be *dygasynt*) for *tebygesynt*; the plup. of this verb is often syncopated, *tygasŵn* etc. D. 134.

(2) Some verbs have a plup. formed by adding *oeδwn, oeδut* etc. to the aor. stem: *cawssoeδwn* etc. § 188 i (7), *ŕoessoeδ* § 186 iii, as well as *athoed* etc. § 193 vi (5).

(3) An impers. of the plup. formed by adding *-adoeδ, -ydoeδ* to the pres. stem occurs in some verbs: *ganadoeδ* § 197 'had been born', *aδawadoeδ* G.C. 122 'had been promised', *managadoeδ* M.A. ii 103 'had been mentioned', *mayadoet, defnytadoet* (*t* ≡ δ) do. i 254.

§ **176**. Pres. and Impf. Subj.—i. (1) The subj. stem is formed by a suffix *-h-* which is added to the pres. ind. stem and hardens a media to a tenuis; thus *nottwyf* W.M. 479 : *nodaf* ib. 'I specify'. After vowels and sonants the *-h-* disappears because it follows the accent § 48 ii, but it is often written in Early Ml. W. as *gwnaho* B.T. 16, *gunelhont* B.B. 60.

In Early Mn. W. the tenuis generally remained, and survived later in a few expressions as *gato* in *na ato Duw* 'God forbid' : *gadaf* 'I permit'. But from the 16th cent. the ind. stem has mostly been used, and the media restored, as in *Dyn a* **godo** *Duw'n geidwad* S.T. G.R. [375] 'A man whom God raises as a saviour'.

(2) Some verbs have special subj. stems, as *el-* : *af* 'I go', etc. § 193 vii; *b-* : *wyf* 'I am' § 189; Early Ml. W. *duch, gwares* § 183 iii (1).

ii. The ending of the 3rd sg. pres. is **-o** : *talo* W.M. 9 (: *talaf* 'I pay'), *adnappo* do. 36 (*adwaen* § 191), *dycco* do. 465 (: *dygaf* 'I bear'). This is a simplification of **-oe**, which survives in *creddoe* (*dd* ≡ *tt* < *dh*) B.B. 53 (: *credaf* 'I believe'), see § 78 i (1). The form **-ŵy** is a variant of *-oe* § 183 ii (1), and the former not uncommonly occurs in Early Ml. W., as *gwelhvy* B.B. 74 'may see', *achupvy* do. 75 (: *achubaf* 'I seize'), *nottvy* do. 76 (: *nodaf* 'I specify'), *guledichuy* do. 59 'may rule', *canhwi* do. 48 'may sing'.

iii. (1) The 1st sg. ends in **-ŵyf** : *cattwyf* W.M. 125 for **catwŵyf* (: *cadwaf* 'I keep'), *ymgaffwyf a* ib. 'I may meet', etc. This is the usual form in Ml. and Mn. W. The occurrence of **-of** is compara-

tively rare : *gwiscof* W.M. 97 (= *gwisgwyf* R.M. 71), *cysgof* H.M. ii 137, *gofynnof* do. 260. This is probably a re-formation from the 3rd sg.

(2) The 3rd pl. ending is **-ont**; rarely in Ml. W. **-wynt**, as in *elwynt* B.A. 2, 3 (: *af* 'I go'), and **-oent**, as *pan venoent* A.L. i 22 'when they desire'. All are prob. formed from the 3rd sg.

(3) The 1st and 2nd pl. end in **-om**, **-och** : *diwyccom*, *digonhom* B.B. 30, *crettoch* R.M. 131.

(4) The impers. ends in **-er**; but there are examples of a form in **-wyr** : *rothwyr* B.T. 1 for the usual *roder* 'may be given'.

iv. The 2nd sg. ending is **-ych** : *roδych* W.M. 4 'thou givest' (mayest give), *gwypych* do. 14 'thou knowest', *gellych* do. 151 (: *gallaf* 'I can'). In Late W. a dialectal form *-ech* sometimes occurs, § 16 iv (2) (β), as *lletteuech* Ruth i 16, *gweddïech* Matt. vi 6, *poenech* Marc v 7. In the present dialects the subj. is seldom used except in the 3rd sg. and pl.; and some recent writers have used *-ot* for the 2nd sg. Even *-ost* has been written; in Wms.'s verse *Marchog, Iesu* the last line *Tyrd am hynny maes o law* 849 appears in recent hymnbooks as *Pan y byddost ti gerllaw.—gellyt* ZE. 512 is a misreading of *gellych* R.M. 220.

v. The impf. subj. is formed by adding the personal endings of the impf. to the subj. stem; thus (subj.) *bei dywettut ti* . . . (ind.) *minheu a δywedwn* W.M. 118–9 'if thou wouldst say . . . I would say'. In Late W., owing to the levelling of the subj. with the ind. stem, the distinction between the moods is not preserved in the impf., except in *af, gwnaf, dof, wyf,* which have special subj. stems; see i (2) above.

§ **177.** Pres. Impv.—i. (1) The 2nd sg. is the bare stem of the pres. ind. It differs from the 3rd sg. pres. ind. in never having its vowel affected; thus *deil* 'he holds', *dal* 'hold!' *tau* 'is silent', *taw* 'be silent!' *pair* Zech. x 1 'causes', *pâr* Ps. xxv 4 'cause!'

(2) Verbs which have *-a* in the 3rd sg. pres. ind. take it also in the 2nd sg. impv.: *kerδa* W.M. 83, R.M. 60, *llunnya* W.M. 25, R.M. 16, etc., see § 173 v.

ii. (1) The 3rd sg. ends in **-ed**: *kymeret* W.M. 30, R.M. 19 'let her take', *aet un* W.M. 13, R.M. 9 'let one go', *gadawed, dychweled* Es. lv 7.

(2) A 3rd sg. in **-id** added to the subj. stem is also met with : *elhid* B.B. 101 (: *af* 'I go'), *rothid* do. 93 'may he give', *gwrthleδit Duw* LL.A. 26 'may God ward off', *Trowyr* (≡ *try-wyr*), **getid** *Duw'r ieuaf* G.Gl. M 146/185 'three men, God spare the youngest', **gettid** *Mair* D.N. G. 154, **Telid** *Duw iddynt* M.K. [viii] 'let God repay them'.

iii. The 3rd pl. ending is **-ent** : *diskynnent* W.M. 22 'let them descend', *katwent* A.L. i 138 'let them keep', *traethent* LL.A. 159 'let them speak', *deuent* (rh. with *stent*) L.G.C. 66 'let them come'. This is obviously formed from the 3rd sg. in *-ed* (since orig. *-ent* would have become *-ynt*). There is also a 3rd pl. *bint* LL.A. 81 'let them be' formed from *bid*. In the Bible a 3rd pl. in *-ant* is used : *gwybyddant* Ps. lix 13 'let them know', *dychwelant* do. 14 'let them return'. This is a late re-formation following the analogy of the 1st and 2nd pl. which are taken over from the pres. ind. In spite of the use of

this form in the Bible, the older form persisted in the late period: *Angylion* doent . . . Rhoent *eu coronau* Wms. 320 'Let angels come, let them put their crowns.'

iv. The 1st and 2nd pl. have taken the forms of the pres. ind.; but an earlier 1st pl. in -em occurs rarely, § 184 ii (1).

Origins of the Welsh Verb.

The Aryan Verb.

§ 178. i. In order to trace the development of the Welsh verb, some account, though it be in the briefest outline, must be given of the Ar. verbal system. For a fuller, but still concise and most instructive description, see Meillet, Intr.[2] pp. 165–219.

ii. Stem form.—Two kinds of stem may be distinguished. Thematic forms were those ending in the thematic vowel *-e-* : *-o-*; it was *-o-* in the 1st sg. and 1st and 3rd pl., and *-e-* in the 2nd and 3rd sg. and 2nd pl. Athematic forms were those ending in a consonant or long vowel.

iii. Personal endings.—(1) The Ar. verb had personal endings for each of the three persons of the sg., dual and pl. These were either primary or secondary; and the primary endings differed to some extent for thematic and athematic stems. There were special endings for the perfect.

In the following list I omit the dual; and as the thematic vowel cannot be separated from the ending in some primary forms, I insert the vowel before the ending throughout, separating it by a hyphen, where possible, from the personal ending proper: all the persons of thematic stems are thus put on the same level.

(2) Active voice.

Primary.—Thematic: sg. 1. *-ō*, 2. *-ēis*, 3. *-ēit*; pl. 1. *-o-mesi*, *-o-mosi*, *-o-mĕs*, *-o-mŏs*, 2. *-e-the*, 3. *-o-nti*.

Athematic: sg. 1. *-mi*, 2. *-si*, 3. *-ti*; pl. 1. *-mesi*, *-mosi*, *-mĕs*, *-mŏs*, 2. *-the*, 3. after a consonant *-enti*, *-n̥ti*, after a vowel *-nti*.

Secondary.—Thematic: sg. 1. *-o-m*, 2. *-e-s*, 3. *-e-t*; pl. 1. *-o-mĕ*, *-o-mŏ*, 2. *-e-te*, 3. *-o-nt*.

Athematic: sg. 1. after a vowel *-m*, after a cons. *-m̥*, 2. *-s*, 3. *-t*; pl. 1. *-mĕ*, *-mŏ*, 2. *-te*, 3. after cons. *-ent*, *-n̥t*, after vow. *-nt*.

(3) Middle voice (medio-passive); 1st and 2nd pl. omitted.

Primary.—Thematic: sg. 1. *-o-mai*, *-ōi*, 2. *-e-sai*, 3. *-e-tai*, pl. 3. *-o-ntai*.

Athematic: sg. 1. *-mai*, 2. *-sai*, 3. *-tai*, pl. 3. *-ntai*.

Secondary.—Thematic: sg. 2. *-es-o*, 3. *-e-to*, pl. 3. *-o-nto*. Athematic: sg. 2. *-so*, *-thēs*, 3. *-to*, pl. 3. *-nto*.

(4) Perfect. The following endings only need be mentioned. Active: sg. 1. *-a*, 3. *-e*.

(5) The characteristic of the primary endings is final *-i*. The difference in the sg. between primary thematic and athematic forms may have arisen by phonetic change in the parent language; thus we should expect themat. sg. 2. *-esi*, but (though Skr. has *bhár-asi*) the Ar. form seems to have been *-ēis*; possibly by metath. and compensatory lengthening, but this is quite uncertain.

iv. Mood and Tense Stems.—(1) The present stem was rarely the simple root. In most cases it was either the reduplicated root, the root with thematic vowel, the root with stem-forming suffix, or the root with the infix *-n-* or *-ne-*.

The present stem with primary endings formed the pres. ind.; as **dí-dō-mi* (Gk. δίδωμι) 'I give', √*dō-*; **bhér-o-nti* (Gk. Dor. φέροντι) 'they bear', √*bher-*.

The present stem with secondary endings, and with the augment before it, formed a past, as **é bher-o-m* (Gk. ἔφερον) 'I bore'. This augmented past is called imperfect, because it is imperfect in meaning in Gk. In Skr. it is merely a past.

(2) The stem of the *s*-aorist was formed with *-s-* (athematic); of the future with *-e-* or *-se-* (thematic); of the optative with *-i̯ē-* etc.; these formations are noticed below.

(3) The simple root with or without the thematic vowel formed aorist stems as follows, all the endings being secondary: firstly, R-grade of √ + them. vowel, as **é liqᵘ̯-o-m* (> Gk. ἔλιπον), √*leiqᵘ̯-*; this may be called the thematic aorist;—secondly, F-grade of √ (at least in sg.), athematic, as **é bheid-m̥* (> Skr. *ábhedam*), √*bheid-* 'split'; this is called the root-aorist.

v. The Augment was a separable accented preverb denoting past time. It was lost entirely except in Gk., Armenian and Indo-Iranian.

The augment is always followed by forms with secondary endings. These forms were also used without the augment; they are then called injunctive; thus Skr. Ved. *bhárat* 'bore', Gk. Hom. φέρε 'bore' < Ar. **bhere-t* beside impf. *ábharat*, ἔφερε < **é bhere-t*. Injunctive forms are either past or pres. in meaning; the augment makes them definitely past.

The Welsh Verb.

§ **179.** Pres. Ind.—i. In Ar. the verb was unaccented when it followed a preverb such as a negative particle, or a preposition later compounded with it. This was undoubtedly the rule in Kelt. (despite deviations in Ir.), as it was in Italic. In the pres. ind. in Kelt. in the 3rd sg. the accented verb had the primary ending, that is, the regular present ending, but the unaccented verb had the secondary suffix, that is, the injunctive form. Thus the W. proverb *Trenghit golut, ny threingk molut* § 173 vi (1) represents Kelt. **traŋkī́-ti u̯ò...*, *né ttraŋkī-t mò...* It has been suggested that this reflects the original use of the Ar. primary and secondary endings; and it

certainly accords with the fact that the augment, an accented preverb, is always followed by forms with secondary endings.

ii. The Ar. athematic stems, excepting those of a few common verbs, ended mostly in the long vowels *-ā-*, *-ē-*, *-ō-*. As medial *-ō-* became *-ā-*, and *-ē-* became *-ī-* in Kelt., these characteristics were reduced to two, *-ā-* and *-ī-*. The vowel had F-grade in the sg., R-grade in the pl., as in Gk. ἵστημι < **sí-sthā-mi*, pl. 2. ἵστατε < **sí-sthə-the*. The Kelt. forms of the 1st sg. pres. were therefore **-ā-mi*, **-ī-mi*. As the form was mostly unaccented, and unaccented *-ā-* > Brit. *-a-* § 74, the prevailing Brit. forms were **-a-me*, **-ī-me*. These give the W. *-af*, *-if*, the latter comparatively rare, § 173 ii, and now obsolete. Examples: (1) Ar. **dí-dō-mi* 'I give' > Kelt. **(p)ró (di-)dā-mi* > Brit. **ró-da-me* > W. *rhoδaf* 'I give';—(2) Ar. **dhí-dhē-mi* 'I put' > Kelt. **(p)ró (di-)dī-mi* > Brit. **rô-dī-me*, which would give W. **rhoδif* 'I put'. But the latter ending was rare, and was supplanted by *-af*, the result being, in this case, that two verbs became one: *rhoδaf* 'I give, I put'. The reduplicating syllable was probably lost by haplology. Only the vowel of the syllable dropped in *dodaf* 'I give, I put' < **dó-tāme* or **dó-tīme* < **dó d(i)-dōmi* or **dó dh(i)-dhēmi* : Gk. δίδωμι or τίθημι. Usually *dodaf* is 'I put'; for *dod* 'give' see Ps. lxxii 1, Gr.O. 87.

iii. (1) The accented forms of the 3rd sg. **-á́-ti*, **-í́-ti* give the W. strong forms *-awd*, *-id*. These are used at the head of the sentence, like accented verbs in Skr. The introduction of *-h-* before the ending in Ml. W., where not etymological as in *trenghit* (*ngh* < *nk*), is analogical, and partly artificial. The second form tended to oust the first in this case, as seen in O.W. *prinit* 'buys' for **prinaut* < Brit. **prinā́-ti* : Ir. *cren(a)id*; see § 201 i (4). The *-id* form with the initial of the affixed pron. *fo*, thus **-id-f*, gave **-it-ff* and then *-iff*, the dial. ending, by loss of the *t* as in the 2nd pl., see vii. The West Gwyn. *-ith* has recent *th* for *ff*.

Ml. W. *-yd* in *ëyt*, § 173 vi (1), is from **-etī* < **-e-tai* the middle 3rd sg. ending : Gk. φέρεται; see § 193 x (1).

(2) But the usual form of the 3rd sg. in W. is the stem without or with vowel affection; this comes from the unaccented injunctive form; thus *câr* loves < Brit. **kara-t*; *rhydd* 'puts' < Brit. **rô-dī-t*. The latter, being more distinctive, spread; thus *rhydd* 'gives' instead of **rhodd* < **rô-da-t*.

iv. (1) The Ar. thematic endings **-ō*, **-ēis*, **-ēit* would become **-ū*, **-īs*, **-īt* in Kelt.; and these in W. would all drop after affecting the vowel. The 1st and 2nd sg. so formed were lost because they were not distinctive; but prob. the 3rd sg. added to the number of affected stems forming the W. 3rd sg.

(2) The thematic injunctive ending *-et* of unaccented verbs dropped without affecting the vowel; thus Ar. inj. **bher-e-t* 'bears' gives Kelt. **kóm beret* > W. *cymer* 'takes', and Kelt. **áti beret* > W. *adfer* 'restores', etc. It is found not only in compound, but in simple verbs, as *cêl* 'conceals' < **kelet*, *rhed* 'runs' < **retet*, etc., because

the unaccented was, as in the case of athematic stems, the commoner form; e.g. **ni** *chēl grudd gystudd calon* prov. 'the cheek does not hide the sorrow of the heart'.

(3) There is no **-ed*, since the them. prim. ending was *-ēit*, not **-eti* § 179 iii (5). The strong form of the above verbs is taken over from the *-ī-* conjugation; as *rhedid car gan anwaered* prov. 'a car will run down hill'. (So Ir. *berid* for **beri*, with anal. *-d*.)

v. The W. 3rd pl. *-ant* is from Kelt. *-anti* < Ar. **-ə-nti* which was common to the *-ā-* and *-ī-* conjugations; see ii above. There is no trace of the thematic **-o-nti*, because *-ont* came to be associated with other tenses. The O.W. *-int*, Ml. W. *-ynt*, may represent the athem. **-enti* or the middle **-ontai*, more probably the latter; *-(h)awnt* is certainly formed after *-(h)awt*.

vi. The 2nd sg. *-yδ* (which is the oldest form of the ending *-y*, later *-i*) seems to come from accented forms of iteratives in *-éi̯e*, or denominatives and deverbatives in *'-i̯e-* the commonest stem-suffix in the Ar. languages. In Kelt. from **karo-s* 'dear' the *i̯e*-denom. would be **karé-i̯ū*, **karé-i̯ī̆s*, **karé-i̯ī̆t*; all these would give W. *keryδ*. But the 1st and 3rd sg. had more distinctive endings, and *-yδ* survived in the 2nd only, though there are traces of it in the 3rd, see § 173 vi (3). The latter occur in relative sentences, where the verb was prob. accented, as in Skr. The accented 2nd sg. is frequently used, and answered by accented *na* and the unacc. 1st sg.

vii. The 1st and 2nd pl. in W. are re-formations, and it is useless to attempt to derive them from Kelt. forms. The Kelt. 2nd pl. was, them. **-e-te*, athem. **-a-te*. The former would give W. **-ed* (Ml. Bret. *-et*); to this was added the initial of the affixed pron. *chwi*, thus **caret-chʷ* > **carewch* by loss of *t*, cf. iii (1); at this stage a 1st pl. **caren* was formed on the analogy of the 2nd pl., with the initial of the aff. pron. *ni* 'we'; this form is attested in O.W. *iben*, and survives to this day in West Gwyn. in *caran* beside *carwn* 'we love' (Gwyn. *-an* = *-en*). As the 2nd pl. clashed with the impf. it was re-formed with the vowels of the 2nd sg. thus **cerywch* > *cerwch* 'ye love'; subsequently the vowel of this ending intruded into the 1st pl., giving *carwn* 'we love'. A statement in the 2nd pers. is always answered in the 1st, hence the influence of the forms on one another in the less used pl.

viii. (1) In Pr. Ar. an ending **-r-* formed impersonals. It survived only in Indo-Iranian and Italo-Keltic. In Skr. it takes the form *-uḥ* (before a vowel *-ur*) in the active, and *-re*, *-ire* in the middle; *-uḥ* represents **-ṛ* or **-ṛs*, Meillet Intr.[2] 203. These endings in Skr. form the 3rd pl.; this is natural enough when one considers that there is only a shade of distinction in meaning between the impers. *dywedir* 'on dit' and the 3rd pl. *dywedant* 'they say'.

(2) In Italo-Kelt. it was used in two ways; first, it might be added to the tense-stem, as Umbrian subj. *ferar* 'on portera', pres. ind. *ier* 'on va', Oscan subj. *sakrafír* (with *últiumam* for object) 'cysegrer'. Secondly it was added to the 3rd sg. or pl. middle, and then extended

to other persons in deponent verbs in Ir., and deponent or passive in Lat., as Lat. *itur*, Osc. *vincter* 'vincitur', Umbr. *emantur* 'emantur'. On the impersonal use of the Lat. passive see Ernout MSL. xv 273–333.

(3) In Kelt. the ending may be taken to have been **-re* (also **-ro* ?). The Brit. shorter forms of the *-ā-*, *-ī-*, and thematic conjugations in the pres. were **-ā́-re*, **-ī́-re* and **-e-re* respectively. These give the W. pres. impers. *-awr*, *-ir* and *-er*. The second survives to this day, see ix (2), and is in common colloquial use. The first was used in Early Ml. W., and the third occurs also, but was obsolescent owing to its clashing with the subj. form. The *-h-* sometimes seen before *-awr* and *-er* is an intrusion from the subj.

(4) Longer forms, with **-re* added to the 3rd sg. middle secondary endings would be **-ā́-to-re*, **-ī́-to-re* and **-e-to-re*. These give the W. *-ator* or *-otor*, *-itor* and *-etor*. The dental should be *-d-*, which occurs in *dygedawr* B.T. 75; the *-t-* is partly due to the intrusion of subj. *-h-*, partly a mistranscription of O.W. *-t-*, as these forms were obsolete at the dates of our MSS.—Since the above was written an O.W. example has come to light in *cephitor* CP., with one *-t-* as in *retec* ib., Ml. W. *redec*.

ix. (1) The reason why the Welsh pres. has always had a fut. meaning is that it contains beside the pres. the Ar. *-e-* future, generally called subjunctive. This tense is formed by adding the thematic vowel *e/o* to the pres. stem. In the case of thematic stems the effect was to lengthen the thematic vowel throughout. In the sg. this would make no difference (Gk. subj. *φέρω*, ind. *φέρω*; the subj. *φέρῃς* is a re-formation; orig. **bhérēis* would give **φέρεις* as in the ind.). In long-vowel stems the added thematic vowel simply converted them to thematic stems, as Gk. subj. *διδῶ* beside ind. *δίδωμι*; this introduces no new element. The 3rd pl. fut. **-ōnti* (Gk. Dor. *φέρωντι*) would have its vowel shortened § 74 iv, and so would not differ from the pres.

(2) In the impers. the fut. form for thematic stems would be **-ē-re* > Kelt. **-ī-re*, beside the pres. **-e-re*. All thematic stems therefore would have a fut. in *-ir* beside the pres. in *-er*. This shows why *-ir* became the prevailing pres.-fut. form.

(3) In consonantal athematic verbs the distinction between pres. and fut. is much clearer; thus the pres. stem **es-* 'be' has fut. stem **ese-*; the former gives the Ar. pres. **és-mi*, **és-(s)i*, **és-ti* (> Skr. *ásmi*, *ási*, *ásti*); the latter gives the Ar. fut. 1. **és-ō* (> Lat. *ero*), 2. **és-ēis*, 3. **és-ēit*, injunctive **es-et* (> Skr. *asat*, Lat. *erit*).

The W. pres. is a mixture of pres. and fut. forms. The Kelt. fut. **ésū*, **ésīs*, **ésīt* would give **oe* for the three persons; of this a trace survives in *oe-f* B.B. 50 'I am'. The pres. sg. 2. **ês-e* (< Ar. **ési*) and 3. inj. **eset* would give **wy*, whence sg. 1. *wy-f*, 2. *wy-t*, 3. **wy* metath. to *yw* § 78 iv; in *pi-eu* 'whose is?' it is weakened to *-eu*, § 78 iii, § 192. The Ar. 3rd sg. pres. **ésti* survives in W. *ys*, which has become impersonal. The W. 3rd pl. *ynt* (for **hynt*) comes from Ar. 3rd pl. pres. **s-enti* (**s-* is V-grade of √*es-*). The W. 1st pl. *ym* (Ir. *ammi*)

implies a Kelt. ***ésmesi*, a confusion of pres. **smesi* and fut. **ésomesi*. The W. 2nd pl. *ych* is, as usual, a new form made to match.

As *byδaf* is used for the fut., *wyf* has lost its fut. meaning except in certain idioms, as *yr wyf yno yfory* 'I shall be there to-morrow'.

§ 180. The Imperfect.—i. As above intimated, § 171 ii (2), the W. impf. comes from the Ar. optative. This was formed by means of a suffix **-i̯ī̯ē-*, **-i̯ē-* with secondary endings.

ii. (1) In athematic verbs the suffix **-i̯ē-* was F-grade and accented in the sg.; the preceding vowel had R- or V-grade; thus 3rd sg. Gk. *τιθείη* < **dhi-dhe-i̯ḗt* (*ei̯* R_{1e} of *ēi̯*), Skr. *dadhyā́t* < **dhe-dh-i̯ḗt*, the Skr. preserving the original accentuation.

(2) In Kelt. the *ē* became *ī*, so that the forms would be **-a-i̯ī́t*, **-e-i̯ī́t*; these were levelled as **-i-i̯ī́t* in Brit. and this gives *-ai*, § 75 iv, v (2); thus Kelt. **kara-i̯ī́t* > W. *carai* 'would love'. This form would also result from the 1st and 2nd sg. forms **-a-i̯ḗm*, **-a-i̯ḗs*; hence the endings for those persons were selected from thematic verbs.

(3) The consonant stem **es-* 'be' gave Ar. **s-(i)i̯ḗ-t*, which gives Skr. *siyā́t* or *syā́t*, O. Lat. *siet*; in Kelt. it would be **si̯i̯ī́t*. Coming generally after a preverb, or after its complement, it was unaccented; and **'si̯ī́t* gives regularly W. (*h*)*oeδ* 'would be, was' § 75 iv (2); the *h*- is seen in *yttoeδ* < **yd-hoeδ* < **íta si̯i̯ī́t* 'there would be' § 219 ii. The whole tense *oeδwn* etc. was built from the 3rd sg.

iii. (1) In thematic verbs the suffix *-i̯ē-* had its V-grade *-i̯-*, which formed a diphthong with the thematic vowel, which was always *-o-*; thus the optative of **bhérō* 'I bear' was sg. 1. **bhéroi̯-m* > Skr. *bháreyam* (for **bharayam*). In Kelt. it would be **béroi̯-m* > Brit. **béroi-an(n)* > W. **cy-merwy̯-n* > *cymerwn*. The only possible explanation of *-wn* is that it is for **-wy̯n*, see § 78 i (2); on **oi* > *wy* § 75 ii (2); on the retention of *-n* § 113 i (1).

(2) The W. 2nd sg. *-ud* comes regularly from the 2nd sg. middle **-oi-thēs*. The ending **-thēs* (: Skr. *-thāḥ*) is represented in the *-the-r* of Ir. deponents; and *-ud* spread from deponent to all verbs in W. because it was distinctive.

iv. (1) In athematic verbs, in the middle voice where the ending was syllabic, the suff. became R-grade **-i̯ə-*; this coming before the accent remains as *-i̯a-*; thus in the deponent verb *gwnn* 'I know' the 3rd sg. impf. is *gwyδi̯ad* for **gwδi̯ad* regularly representing the 3rd sg. opt. mid. **u̯id-i̯ə-tó*.

(2) In long-vowel stems the reduced stem-ending and suffix would thus be **ə-i̯ə*; by § 63 vii (5) this should give **i̯ə* > *-ī-*, which is the usual form (though other reductions are possible), as in Skr. *da-dī-tá* < **de-dī-tó*, √*dō-*. Thus the 3rd sg. opt. mid. of Kelt. **karā-mi* would be **kar-ī-tó*, which gives regularly W. *cerid*, the impers. of the imperf. ind. This middle was undoubtedly a passive in Kelt., and was assimilated in its use to the impers. pres. in *-r* after the *-r* form for this tense, namely **-ir*, had gone out of use owing to its clashing with the pres.

(3) The 3rd sg. mid. of thematic stems ended in **-oito*. We should therefore expect *-ud* beside *-id* for the impers. in W. A trace of this actually occurs in *ac y haruetud* etc. B.B. 20, which should be **ac yth arwe*δ*ud* etc. 'and thou wert borne', etc., where the scribe mistook the impers. for the 2nd sg., which makes no sense if it is active, and we can hardly assume the 2nd sg. to have retained a passive sense.

v. (1) In the 1st and 2nd pl. of athematic stems the Ar. form was **-i̯ə-* : **-i-*. We can probably assume for Kelt. **kár(a)-i̯ə-me*; the *m* was doubled on the analogy of the aor.; and post-tonic **i̯a* > *i̯e* > *e* in W., § 65 vi (1); hence W. *carem*. Similarly 2nd pl. **caret* + *chw-* > *karewch, carech*.

(2) The 3rd pl. ending was **-i̯ént* (for **-i̯ént*). The form **-a-i̯ént* gives W. *-i* § 75 v (1); as *tri ugeint canhwr a sevi* B.T. 55 '6000 men stood'; hence the rare "3rd sg." *-i*. The 3rd pl. *-ynt* seems to be a middle form < **-ento* < **-i̯ə-nto* (or **-into* < **-ī-nto*), which spread because it had the 3rd pl. sign *-nt*.

vi. (1) The impf. subj. is the optative of the *s*-aorist, cf. Lat. *vīderīmus* < **u̯eid-is-ī-m-*. Thus Kelt. **kara-si̯i̯ít* > Ml. W. *karhei*.

(2) The plup. is an optative formed from the new Kelt. *ss*-aorist. Thus Brit. **karassi̯i̯ít* > *carassai*.

The plup. is held to be a Brit. innovation. Strachan's examples of the impf. subj. being replaced by the plup. in later texts, quoted in B.B. 157, prove nothing as to the antiquity of the plup.; its existence in Bret. shows that it goes back at least to Brit., so that the evidence of Ml. texts is irrelevant. We also find the plup. in early texts where we should expect to find the impf. subj. as *ri-uelssud* B.B. 20. The fact is that the two aorists were not very sharply distinguished.

§ 181. The Aorist.—i. The Welsh aorist comes from a Keltic reformation of the *-s-* aorist. The orig. Ar. formation seems to have been (1) L-grade of √ + *-s-* (in Kelt. R-grade in the pl.), or (2) F-grade of √ + *-is-*. The endings are secondary.

ii. (1) With long-vowel stems the suffix is *-s-*; thus Skr. *á-prā-sam* < **é plē-s-m̥, √pelē-* 'fill', Gk. *ἐφίλη-σ-α* (intervocalic *-σ-* restored from cons. stems *-ψα*, etc.). Thus Kelt. **kárā-s-m̥* 'I loved'. Bearing in mind that *st* > *ss* and that *sm* > *mm* the whole Kelt. tense may be restored thus: sg. 1. **kárāsm̥*, 2. **kárāss*, 3. **kárāss*, pl. 1. **kárammo*, 2. **kárasse*, 3. **kárasn̥t*.

(2) This tense was wholly reconstituted in Kelt., with stem sg. **kárāss-*, pl. **kárass-*. The 1st and 2nd sg. were made anew with thematic endings; thus 1. **kárāssū*, 2. **kárāssīs* (inj. *-es*). The 1st pl. became **kárassammo* instead of **kárammo*; then followed 2. **kárassate* instead of **kárasse*. Unaccented *ā* was shortened in Brit. and Ir. and these formations gave regularly Ir. sg. 1. *ro-charus* (2. *ro-charais*), pl. 1. *ro-charsam*, 2. *ro-charsaid*, and W. sg. 1. *kereis*, 2. *kereis* + *t*, pl. 1. *karassam*, 2. **karassat* + *chw-* > *karassawch*. The ending of the 3rd pl. was made primary; thus **kárassanti* > Ir. *carsait*, W. *karassant*. As a variant the thematic vowel was brought into the

pl. also ; thus Brit. **kárass-o-mmos, *kárass-o-nti* giving W. *karassom, karassont*; from these followed *carasoch.*

iii. To the 3rd sg. two things happened. (1) It remained unchanged; thus **kárās* > W. **kar*, which was extended to *karawδ* to distinguish it from the pres.; for *-awδ* see § 182 iii. The Ir. *ro-char* implies **karass* with short *a* from the pl.

(2) It was re-formed with the thematic vowel, following the 1st and 2nd sg.; thus **kárāsset*; or with *-a-* from the pl. as **kárāssat.* Either of these would give W. **karas* (*caf-as* § 175 i (2)). The first gives Ir. *carais.*

iv. The treatment of *-ī-* stems was precisely similar. The stem-ending in the sg. was **-īss-*; this survives in the W. 3rd sg. *peris.* In the 1st and 2nd sg. it was replaced by *-eis* of *-ā-* stems; but in Gwyn. dial. *-is* survives in these persons also. In the pl. the stem-ending was *-ass-*, as for *-ā-* stems, the *-a-* representing *ə*, the R-grade of the *-ē-* from which the *-ī-* is derived.

v. (1) Consonant stems formed the aorist with **-is-*, cf. Lat. *vid-is-tis*, which developed similarly, and gives W. *-yss-* in *eisteδyssant*, etc. In the 3rd sg. it appears in W. as *-es* from **-iss-at.* In the 1st and 2nd sg. it was replaced by *-eis.*

(2) The **-iss-* suffix seems to have intruded into the thematic conjugation; thus Brit. **kóm bere-iss-at* > W. *kymerwys, kymerws.*

vi. The impersonal forms *-ad, -id, -ed, -wyd* seem to have been formed on the analogy of the impf. impersonal, with the vowels of the 3rd sg. aor.

vii. (1) The root-aorist, § 178 iv (3), was treated similarly in Kelt. Thus for the root **qan-* 'sing' the orig. Kelt. root-aor. would be sg. 1. **kan-m̥*, 2. **kan-s*, 3. **kan-t.* The 3rd sg. became the stem, and the new tense formed from it was sg. 1. **kantū*, 2. **kantīs*, 3. **kantet* or **kantat.* These forms gave W. sg. 1. *keint*, 2. **keint*, 3. *kant.* To the 1st and 2nd sg. the perfect endings *-um, -ost*, § 182 iv (1), were added, § 175 iii (2).—*gwant* 'wounded' from *gwanaf* < **gwonaf*: Ir. *gonim*, √*gᵘhen-*, is probably formed on the analogy of *cant.* The root **bher-* has this aor., which survives only in the 3rd sg. in W.; thus W. *kymyrth* < **kóm bertet* or *kymerth* < **kóm bertat*, § 175 iii (1).

(2) Other examples that survived are from roots ending in gutturals: *dyrreith* B.T. 54 'returned' < **do-(p)ro-rek-t-et*, √*reĝ-* : W. *dyre* 'come!' § 193 x (8);—*maeth* B.T. 74 l. 1 'nursed' < **makt-* < **māk-t-*, √*māk-* : *magaf* 'I nourish'. The root **u̯ereg-* 'work' had sg. 1. **u̯rek-t-ū*, 3. **u̯rek-t-et* giving W. *gwrith, gwreith*; the former occurs in *ef gwrith* B.T. 26 (? 3rd sg.); the latter seems to occur in *gwnaeth* [read *gw(r)eith*] *gwynnyeith* **gwreith** *e law* B.A. 2 lit. 'work of vengeance wrought his hand'; but this verb (*gwnaf*) being in the pres. conjugated like *af*, this tense was assimilated to the perf. of *af*, and became sg. 1. *gwneuthum*, 3. *gwnaeth.* The quotation shows that scribes changed old *gwreith* to *gwnaeth*, the wrong *gwreith*, viz. the noun, being changed here. In Bret. the old form survived: Ml. Bret. sg. 3. *grez.*

§ 182. The Perfect.—i. In Pr. Ar. the vowel-grade of the root was F° in the 1st sg., and L° in the 3rd sg., as Skr. *cakára* 'I made' <**qeqora, cakára* 'he made' <**qeqōre*.—Ml. W. *kigleu* 'I have heard, he has heard', Ir. *ro-chūala, ro-chūalae*. The W. form implies the 1st sg. *kṷ̄-klou̯-a* : Skr. *śu-śráva*; for the long *ū* of the reduplicator cf. Skr. *tū-tava, √teu̯-* 'be strong'. See § 194 v (4).

ii. (1) The following old perfects are 3rd sg. only, and show L°-grade of the root: *√u̯ereg-* 'work' gave **u̯e-u̯rōge* > Brit. **u̯o-u̯rā́ge* > Ml. W. *guoreu, goreu* 'did' (*u̯* lost by dissim., *āg* > *eu* § 71 iii); —*√ret-* 'run' gives *gwa-red-af* 'I succour'; perf. sg. 3. **re-rōt-e* > Brit. **u̯o-(re)rā́te* > Ml. W. *gwarawt* 'succoured';—*√u̯et/d-* 'say' gives *dy-wed-af* 'I say'; perf. sg. 3. Brit. **do-u̯ā́t-e* or **dó-u̯at-e* > Ml. W. *dywawt* or *dywat, dywot* 'said' (unacc. *ā* shortened § 74; *wa* : *wo* § 34 iv).

(2) *√deuk-* had R-grade **duk-* in the Brit. pres., giving W. *dyg-af* (: Lat. *dūco* < O. Lat. *douco*, F°-grade); perf. sg. 1. **du-douk-a* > W. **dy-δuc*, 3. **du-dōuke* > W. *dy-δuc* B.T. 4, 52. The tense was re-formed with the perf. endings *-um, -ost* iv (1), § 194 iii (2).—The verb *amygaf* 'I defend' has similarly a 3rd sg. perf. *amuc* § 194 iv (2).

iii. In verbs like *eisteδaf* 'I sit', *gorweδaf* 'I lie', *arweδaf* 'I carry', *go(r)δiweδaf* 'I overtake', etc., the form of the above perf. is seen in *goδiwawδ* W.M. 42 'overtook'; this being re-formed as *gorδiweδawδ* R.M. 29 (so *eisteδawδ* W.M. 188, etc.), the *-awδ* seemed to be a 3rd sg. past ending; and was added to suffixless aorists like **kar* § 181 iii (1) giving *karawδ*, Mn. W. *carodd* 'loved'.

iv. (1) Deponent verbs in Brit. had periphrastic perfects formed like those of Lat. deponents. Thus *√aĝ-* : perf. sg. 1. **aktos esmi* > **aktoimmi* > *aethum, euthum*; 2. **aktos (e)si* > **aktossi* > **aethos* + *t* = *aethost*; 3. **aktos 'st* > **aktosst* > *aeth* 'went'. From these forms 1st and 2nd sg. endings *-um, -ost* were deduced, and added to other formations, such as the root-aor. *keint* and the perf. *duc*. This perf. itself was completed in the pl. by the addition of the aor. endings *-am, -awch, -ant*.

(2) The Ml. plup. is sg. 3. *athoeδ* for **aethoeδ*, which represents **akto(s) si̯i̯t*. The diphthong *ae* was simplified prob. by dissim. with the diphthong *oe*. The second perf. *athwyf* etc. seems to be a new creation formed on the analogy of the plup.

(3) The impers. *llas* 'was slain' is an example of this formation. It is not a root-aor. as it has R-grade of *√qolād-*. It is probably a perf. passive; thus **slad-tos (e)st* > **slass-osst* > *llas* 'was slain'. This passive has a pl. *llesseint* B.B. 63 'were slain' which seems to be re-formed like impfs. in *-ynt* § 174 iii (2), for **llessynt* < **slassī senti*; *lleδessynt* B.A. 9 'were slain' seems to be another re-formate.

(4) The impers. of the above perf. is formed by adding the impers. **bi̯wyt* of the verb 'to be' to the stem; thus *aeth-pwyt*, etc. This was extended to root-aorists, as **kant-pwyt* > *kanpwyt*, perfects, as *duc-pwyt*, and presents; § 175 iii (7). The form **bwyt* does not occur elsewhere; prob. the whole formation is new.

§ 183. Pres. Subjunct.—i. The pres. subj. represents the Ar. fut. with suffix *-se-* (fut. in *-e-* of *-s-* aor.), which gives Italic subj. also : Lat. *faxit*. The W. forms are chiefly those of the *-ā-* conjugation. The accent in the sg. seems to have been on the *ā*.—In the B.B. it seems sometimes to be a mere fut., e.g. *vvnahont* 61 ll. 14–15.

ii. (1) Stem **karā-se-* gives sg. 1. **karā́sō* > **karā́sū* > **karā́i̯ū* > W. **karwy*; *-f* was added to distinguish it from the 3rd sg.; the 3rd sg. **karā́-sīt* > *karwy*, and the unacc. injunct. **karaset*, the usual form > **karoe* > *karo*, § 75 i (2), (3), § 78 i (1); pl. 1. **kara-so-mos*, with *m* doubled after the aorist pattern, gave *kar-hom*; pl. 3. **kara-sonti* gave *kar-hont*.

(2) Impers. **kara-se-re* > *kar-her* § 75 i (2). The form *ŕothwyr* § 176 iii (4) is most probably made from the 3rd sg. *ŕothwy*.

(3) According to the above the *-h-* belongs to the pl. and impers. only; in the sg., therefore, it is an intrusion. In Ml. Bret. it is not usual in the sg. but occurs regularly in the pl.

iii. (1) In consonant stems the *-s-* came immediately after the cons.; few examples survive because the conjugation had become vocalic in the indic.—*√u̯ereg-* 'work'; pres. ind. **u̯rag-at* > W. *gu̯na* 'does', subj. **u̯rek-se-t* > *gunech* L.L. 120 'may do', *ny ofyn ỳ neb a wnech* B.T. 64 'he asks no one what he may do';—*√deuk-*: pres. ind. **duk-at* > W. *dwg* 'brings', subj. **deuk-se-t* > *duch* B.B. 40, later *duwch* B.T. 28;—*√ret-*: subj. **u̯o-ret-se-t* > *gwares* § 194 ii. The vowel of the root is seen to be F-grade in this tense.

(2) Corresponding to the 3rd sg. *gwnech* the 2nd sg. **u̯rek-sīs* would give **gwnych*; this being re-formed as **gwne-ych* and *gwnel-ych*, the latter form would naturally spread to *el-ych* and *del-ych*; and as these are three of the commonest verbs in the language, the ending *-ych* might spread from them to all verbs, as being the only distinctive form of the 2nd sg. pres. subj.

§ 184. The Imperative.—i. The 2nd sg. has always represented the bare pres. stem. Thus W. *câr* 'love thou' < Kelt. **karā*; W. *kymer* 'take' < **kóm bere* < Ar. **bhere* : Gk. *φέρε*.

ii. (1) For the other persons the optative seems to have been once in use: *ystyrỳem* B.T. 33 'let us consider'. The 3rd sg. forms are difficult. In Ir. the endings are *-at*, *-et*; the lost vowel cannot be the *-ō* of Lat. *-tō*, or the *-u* of Skr. *-tu* (Thurneysen Gr. 351); it must be *-o* or *-a*. The forms are the same in Ir. for active and deponent verbs; this suggests that the ending was the middle secondary **-to*. In Ir. also the forms are the same as those of the impf.; the mid. forms of the 3rd sg. opt. **-i̯ə-to*, **-ī-to* (W. *gwyδiad*, *cerid*) would give *-ed*, *-id* if in the former the accent were shifted to the stem. The 3rd pl. may have been **-ynt* (Corn. *-yns* beside *-ens*), the form in the impf.; but it was re-formed with the vowel of *-ed*, rarely of *-id* as in *bint* § 189 ii (5).

(2) The 1st and 2nd pl. took the forms of the pres. ind. early; and in the late period the 3rd followed.

Contracted Forms.

§ 185. i. (1) Verbs whose stems end in *-o-* or *-a-* (mostly from Brit. *-og-* or *-od-* and *-ag-*) have many contracted forms, more especially in the Mn. language. The following tables show all the possible contractions; the accent is marked in each case, and the accented vowels which are long in the present pronunciation are so marked, all others being short. Forms that are never contracted are distinguished by a hyphen, as *parhḗ-ais*. Any other form may occur uncontracted; thus *trṓ-af* as well as *trōf* occurs in Mn. W.

Exx. *trṓf* for *trṓ-af* 'I turn' (*paratṓf* for *paratṓ-af* 'I prepare'); *parhā́f* for *parhā́-af* 'I continue' (*glanhā́f* for *glanhā́-af* 'I clean').

Indicative Mood.

Present Tense.

sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
1. *trṓf*	1. *trówn*	1. *parhā́f*	1. *parháwn*
2. *trói*	2. *trówch*	2. *parhéi*	2. *parhéwch*
3. *trȳ́*	3. *trṓnt*	3. *pára, péry*	3. *parhā́nt*
(3. *paratṓ-a*)		(3. *glanhā́*)	
Impers. *tróir*		Impers. *parhéir*	

Imperfect Tense.

1. *trówn*	1. *trṓem*	1. *parháwn*	1. *parhā́em*
2. *trṓut*	2. *trṓech*	2. *parhā́ut*	2. *parhā́ech*
3. *trṓi*	3. *trṓent*	3. *parhā́i*	3. *pārhā́ent*
Impers. *tróid*		Impers. *parhéid*	

Aorist Tense.

1. *tróis*	1. *tróesom*	1. *parhḗ-ais*	1. *parhásom*
2. *tróist*	2. *tróesoch*	2. *parhḗ-aist*	2. *parhásoch*
3. *trṓes, trṓdd*	3. *tróesant, -ont*	3. *parhā́-odd*	3. *parhásant, -ont*
Impers. *trṓ-wyd, trṓed*		Impers. *parhā́-wyd*	

Pluperfect Tense.

1. *tróeswn*, etc.	1. *parháswn*, etc.

Subjunctive Mood.

Present Tense.

sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
1. *trṓ-wyf*	1. *trṓm*	1. *parhā́-wyf*	1. *parhā́-om*
2. *trṓech*	2. *trṓch*	2. *parhḗ-ych*	2. *parhā́-och*
3. *trṓ*	3. *trṓnt*	3. *parhā́-o*	3. *parhā́-ont*
Impers. *trṓ-er*		Impers. *parhā́-er*	

Imperative Mood.

Present Tense.

1.	1. *trówn*	1.	1. *parháwn*
2. *trṓ*	2. *trówch*	2. *pára*	2. *parhéwch*
(2. *paratṓ-a*)		(2. *glanhā́*)	
3. *trṓed*	3. *trṓent*	3. *parhā́ed*	3. *parhā́ent*
Impers. *trṓ-er*		Impers. *parhā́-er*	

Verbal Nouns.

trói (*paratói*), *pára*, *parháu* (*glanháu*)

Verbal Adjectives.

tro-édig, *tro-ádwy*, *trṓ*

(2) It is doubtful whether *-er* occurs contracted; the 3rd sg. impv. in *-ed* is mostly uncontracted.

(3) The contracted forms *-ṓi*, *-ā́i* of the 3rd sg. impf. are often pronounced and written *-oe*, *-ae*, see § 52 iii (3).

(4) The aor. stem *-oes-* is generally misspelt *-ois-* in Recent W.; thus *troesom* Es. liii 6, *paratoesant* 1 Bren. xviii 26 (so in 1620) appear as *troisom* and *parottoisant*! in recent bibles.

(5) On the 3rd sg. pres. *para*, *pery* see § 173 v (1).

ii. Stems ending in *w*-diphthongs have contracted forms when the endings *-wn* or *-wch* follow; thus *táwn* for *táw-wn* 'let us be silent', *téwch* for *téw-wch* 'be ye silent'; *gwrandéwch* for *gwrandéw-wch* 'listen ye'; *clýwn* for *clýw-wn* 'we hear', *clýwch* (re-formed *clýwch*) for *clýw-wch* 'ye hear' or 'hear ye'.

iii. Other vowels and diphthongs are not contracted; e. g. *gweddī́-ir* 'there will be prayer', *cáe-ent* (*cáy-ent*) 'let them shut', *béi-id* 'fault was found', *dilḗ-er* 'may be deleted', *cynorthwy-ynt* 'they assisted'. But for *-ā́-odd* in the 3rd sg. aor.

we sometimes find *-ádd* in the Late Mn. period, e. g. *cashádd* E.P. 222 for *casháodd*, *gwellhádd* C.C. 338; cf. *cádd* § 188 i (6).

§ 186. i. The full form **rhoddaf** 'I give, put', v.n. *rhoddi*, survives throughout as a literary form in Mn. W.; but in the living language the -ð- had already disappeared in the Ml. period, and the verb is also conjugated like *trŏ-af*, *trŏf*, in Ml. and Mn. W.; as *roet* (1 syll.) R.P. 1217 'was given', *roy* A.L. i 6 'to give'; see § 110 iv (2) and § 33 iii (1). In the 3rd sg. pres. ind. *rhydd* the -ð survives in the spoken lang. (and is sometimes wrongly transferred to *try*); but *rhy* is used commonly in lit. W. as *Duw a* **ry** *gwymp i'r drwg ŵr* H.A. F. 10 'God will give the evil man a fall'. For *rhy* however, the compound *dý-ry* is often found; and *dý-ro* for the 2nd sg. pres. impv. *rho*; by assim. of *y*, *dyro* became *doro* W.M. 53, 478, which is the form used in Gwynedd. The bards use forms with and without -ð- indifferently:

Rhoddi *gwin yn rhwydd a gaid*,
Rhannu a **rhoi** *i weiniaid*.—D.I.D., G. 179.

'There was a generous giving away of wine, a distributing and giving to the weak.'

ii. In the subj. mood, we have *ŕo-ho* A.L. i 6, contracted to *ŕo* W.M. 23; and **ŕoð-ho* giving *rhoddo* (*ŕoto*, *-t-* ≡ *-ð-*, B.B. 29), or *rhotho* by the comparatively rare change of *ðh* to *th* (≡ *þ*) § 111 iii (2).

A **ro** *gam i wraig o Iâl*,
Fo ry Duw rai a'i dïal.—L. Môn, A 31059/78.

'Whoever deals injustice to a woman of Yale, God will provide those who will avenge her.'

Maer Rhuthun im a'i **rhotho**.—T.A., A 14976/169.

'May the Mayor of Ruthin give it [the bow] to me.'

iii. Beside the aor. 1st and 2nd sg. *ŕoðeis*, *ŕoðeist* (*ŕoteist*, *-t-* ≡ *-ð-*, B.B. 20), a perfect was formed for these persons by adding *-um*, *-ost* to the aor. stem *ŕoes-*; see § 182 iv (1); thus *ŕoessum* W.M. 63, IL.A. 124 'I have given'. There is also a plup. 3rd sg. *ŕoessoeð*, 3rd pl. *ŕoessoeðynt*; this survived in Early Mn. W. but seems to be used as a perf.:

Llaw Rys nid llai a **roesoeδ**.—H.D., P 99/482.

'The hand of Rhys has given no less.' Other Late Ml. forms are *roδassoeδ*, *rossoeδ*, Cymmrodor ix 77. Gwent *rysoeddyd* H.G. 30.

iv. On the origin of *rhoddaf*, see § 179 ii.

§ 187. i. **arhoaf** W.M. 17 'I wait', contr. *arhŏ́f*, is conjugated like *tro-af*, *trŏ́f*, except that the v.n. is *arhos* W.M. 17, Mn. W. *aros*; thus Mn. W. ind. pres. sg. 1. *arhŏ́f*, 2. *arhói*, 3. *éry*; pl. 1. *arhówn*, 2. *arhówch*, 3. *arhŏ́nt*; impv. sg. 2. *áro* 'stay!' Ml. W. *arho* W.M. 17, *aro* do. 125; etc.

Â gwaew hir gwae a'i **héry**.—I.H.S. 26.

'Woe to him who awaits him with a long spear.'

Neidia goruwch hen adwy
I'r maes, ac nac **aro** *mwy*.—D.G. 30.

'Jump over an old gap into the field, and stay no longer.'

Nid **arhŏ́n'** *hwy draean hyn*.—I.F., M. 148/721.

'They will not remain one third of this [time].'

ii. The above conjugation persisted well into the Late Mn. period, e.g. *arhoent* B.CW. 23, *arhowch* do. 102; but in the late 15th cent. a new formation sprang up in which the v.n. *aros* is substituted for the stem *aro-*, giving *arhosaf*, etc. The earliest examples I have noted are in I.F.

Od ymddengys Rhys **arhosaf**.—I.F., M 148/301.

'If Rhys appears, I will stay.' So **Arhoswch** *farn, rhoesoch fedd* I.F. P 83/33, *pan* **arhoser** do. P 100/79.

iii. The only possible original of the *-s* of *aros* is either *-d-t-* or *-s-t-* (the v.n. suffix being **-tu-*). The latter would imply *-os-* for the orig. stem; but where *-s-* came between vowels in Brit., the vowel before it was either lost, or contracted with the following vowel in Brit. itself, so that we could not have *arho-af*. We must therefore assume that *-δ-* has disappeared in this word as in *rho-af* (the *δ* of *rhoδaf* being more or less artificial); hence *arho-af* for **ar-hoδ-af* < **ari-sod-*, √*sed-* 'sit'; and *aros* < **ari-soss-* < **$p_e$ri-sod-tu-* 'sit before'; § 63 ii, § 110 iv (2).

§ 188. i. (1) **caffaf** 'I shall get' has stem *kaff-*, *kah-* or *ka-* in Ml. W., and *ca-* in Mn. W. with *-ff-* in 3rd sg. pres. ind. and in subj.; and is conjugated regularly, except in the aor. The forms that occur are as follows.

(2) Indic. pres. : Ml. W. *kaffaf* W.M. 459, *cahaf* H.M. ii 126, *caf* W.M. 3 ; *keffy* W.M. 3, 23, 80, etc. (spelt *kyffy* 3, 460), *kehy* R.M. 120, *key* do. 293, 57, 118 ; *ceif* W.M. 25, 43 ≡ *ceiff* R.M. 16, 30 ; *caffwn* W.M. 34, *cawn* do. 84, R.M. 61 ; *ceffwch* R.M. 19, *cewch* W.M. 29 ; *caffant* W.M. 183 ; *keffir* W.M. 83, R.M. 60, *keir* W.M. 85, *keffitor* A 14869/56, O.W. *cephitor* CP.

Mn. W. *cáf* ; *cêi*, *cái* ; *céiff*, *cáiff* ; *cáwn* ; *cewch* ; *cânt* ; *cêir*, *cáir*, § 81 iii (1).

(3) The impf. in Ml. W. has *kaff-* or *ka-* in the indic. : *cawn* W.M. 394, R.M. 251, *caffut* W.M. 396, R.M. 253 ; subj. : *pei caffwn* W.M. 18, R.M. 12. In Mn. W. *cáwn*, *cáut*, *cái*, etc., and sometimes *caffwn* etc. in the subj.

(4) The pres. subj. seems to have *kaff-* chiefly : *caffwyf* W.M. 454 (twice) ; *keffych* do. 480 (4 times) ; *kafont*, *kafbent* (*f* ≡ *ff*) B.CH. 4, etc. ; but *caho* LL.A. 150, *caont* do. 48. Mn. W. has *caff-* only.

(5) Impv.—The vb. implies an absolutely passive 'getting' or 'catching' (as 'catching' a cold), and so has never been used in the impv. except in the 3rd pers. (or impers.), in which case the command is not addressed to the subject, and its carrying out is independent of his will. The forms are Mn. W. 3rd sg. *caffed*, *caed*, 3rd pl. *caffent*, *caent* ; impers. *caffer*.

(6) Aorist.—The Ml. W. forms (all of very frequent occurrence except the 2nd pl.) are, sg. 1. *keveis*, 2. *keveist*, 3. *kavas* ; pl. 1. *kawssom*, *-am*, (2. *kawssawch*), 3. *kawssant*, *-ont* ; impers. *kaffat*, *kahat*. (The apparent contraction *a geis* R.M. 253 is almost certainly a scribal error for *a ge(ve)is*, cf. W.M. 395.) The Mn. W. forms are sg. 1. *cefais*, 2. *cefaist*, 3. *cafas* § 175 i (2), later *cafodd* ; pl. 1. *cawsom*, 2. *cawsoch*, 3. *cawsant*. In the 14th cent. the following contracted forms are found, sg. 1. *ces* D.G. 124, G.Gr. D.G. 254 ; sg. 3. *cas* D.G. 294 ; impers. *a gat* R.P. 1299, *cad* D.G. 189, 409, 429, 430. Later are found *cês* ; *cêst* ; *cás* and *cádd* D. 130, *cadd* M.K. [61] ; impers. *cafad* B.Br. F. 6, *cád* ; *cáed* (prob. orig. a false spelling of *cád*) ; *cafwyd* (*cáwd* C.C. 271, a dial. form used in late verse § 175 iv (5)).

(7) Pluperf.—The forms are Ml. *kawsswn*, etc., Mn. *cawswn*, etc., conjugated regularly. In Ml. W. is also found a plup. formed with *-oeδ* : sg. 1. *kawssoeδwn* S.G. 278 ; sg. 2. *cawssoeδut* do. 247 ; sg. 3. *kawssoeδ* do. 303, *cawssoeδei* H.M. ii 170, *cawssoeδ-ijat* S.G. 30, *-at* H.M. ii 224 ; pl. 3. *kawssoeδynt* S.G. 11. It is seen that the forms are found in Late Ml. MSS. They are also used occasionally by Early Mn. bards, e.g. *cawsoedd* L.G.C. 18.

(8) Verbal Noun.—Ml. W. *caffael* W.M. 12, *kaffel* R.M. 8, 141, *cael* W.M. 13, R.M. 8 (once, *caffu* B.B. 53). Mn. W. *caffael*, *caffel*, *cáel*.

There is no **cavael* ; the form *cafael* W.M. 60 ≡ *kaffael* R.M. 43. Nettlau's *cauael* does not exist ; the word is *gauael* (≡ *gavael*) R.M. 7, see below.

ii. (1) **gafaelaf** 'I take hold' is conjugated regularly in Ml. and Mn. W. with the v.n. *gavael* as stem.

(2) The Ml. W. inflected forms are mostly those of the compound *ym-afaelaf*; e.g. 3rd sg. pres. ind. *ymeveil* W.M. 70, 71; 3rd sg. aor. *ymavaelawδ* R.M. 50.

(3) The verbal noun is *gavael* W.M. 11, R.M. 7, *ymavael* R.M. 142, *ymavel* ib.; Mn. W *gafael, gafel, ymafael, ymafel.*

(4) Other forms of the verb occur in Late Mn. W.: *ymaflaf*, 3rd sg. pres. ind. *ymeifl*, v.n. *ymaflyd*; and *ymaelaf*, v.n. *ymaelyd*; and reformations from the form *gafel* of the v.n. occur dialectally, as *gafelaf* etc.

iii. **dyrchafaf** 'I raise, lift up' is conjugated regularly. It is also written *drychafaf.* The form *derchafaf* occurs in MSS. which use *e* for *y*; as M.A. ii 316. The v.n. is *dyrchavael* W.M. 39 or *dyrchavel* R.M. 271; in Late Mn. W. this is superseded by *dyrchafu*; v. adj. *dyrchafedig* 'exalted'.

The 3rd sg. pres. ind. is Ml. W. *dyrcheif* H.M. ii 274 or *drycheif* R.B.B. 144, Mn. W. *drychaif* G. 138, there printed *dyrchaif* the usual form. There is also in Ml. W. *dyrchevid* B.B. 82 'raises'. The 2nd sg. impv. is *dyrchaf* S.G. 23, L.G.C. 144, becoming *dyrcha* Ps. iv 6 by the loss of *-f* § 110 iii (5). From this a 3rd sg. pres. ind. *dyrcha* came into use in Late Mn. W., e.g. Ps. xxvii 6, Gr.O. 88; which some recent writers have improved to *dyrch*, with v.n. *dyrchu*!

¶ A list of the forms of the above three verbs occurring in R.M. and part of H.M. ii is given by Max Nettlau in Cymmrodor ix 111 ff., but is inaccurate in some details, e.g. i (8) above.

iv. The facts in i show that the stem of *caffaf* is *caff-* or *cah-*. The form *cav-* occurs in the aor. sg. only, and must have been deduced from the pl. at the stage between *cawsant* and **caffsant* from the orig. *caff-*. In Bret. *kaf-* (≡ *kaff-*) remains in forms ordinarily unvoiced, and *kav-* is extended to others; but forms like *kef* (= W. *ceiff*), beside *kav*, survive to bear witness to the original stem *kaf-* in Bret. also.

caffael and *gavael* seem to contain the doublet **qap-* : **ghabh-* § 101 iii (2). The v.n. *gavael* has its exact equivalent in Ir. (*ath-*) *gabāil* from **gab-ag-li-* formed with suff. *-li-* from a compound of **ghabh-* and **aĝ-* § 203 i (4). The vb. in Ir. is *gabim*, and the W. *gafaelaf* prob. replaces an old **gaf-af* equivalent to the Ir. (Dialectal *gafaf* is no doubt new.)

The W. stem *caff-* or *cah-* represents **qap-s-*, § 96 iv (3); hence *caffaf* from the fut. **qapsō*, with the usual reconstruction which gives e.g. *ad-feraf* from **bherō*. The pres. *caffaf, caf* is always fut. in meaning; and recent writers have used a fictitious 3rd sg. *ca* 'gets' because *caiff* means 'will get'. (The pres. sense can only be expressed periphrastically: *yr wyf yn cael* 'I am getting'.) The v.n. *caffael, cael* is perhaps formed on the analogy of *gafael.*

It may be objected that *dyrchafaf* 'I raise, lift up' shows stem **cav-*. But there is no reason whatever for the supposition that this

verb has anything to do with the others. The prefix *dyr-* must represent **do-(p)ro-* § 156 i (13), which cannot give *-ch-* from *k-* or *g-*. The root seems to be **sqabh-* 'fix, hang' : Skr. *skabhnáti* 'fixes, supports', O.Bulg. *skoba* 'fibula, clasp', Lith. *kabù* 'I hang'. **sqabh-* gives *-chaf-* regularly, § 96 iii (4). The v.n. *dyrchafael* may be a similar formation to *gavael*, or, as is more likely, formed like *gadael* and *gallael* on its analogy, § 203 i (2).

Irregular Verbs.

The Verb 'To Be'.

§ 189. i. The following table shows the Ml. W. forms of the verb 'to be'. Nearly all are used in Mn. W., so that it is unnecessary to repeat them for that period. Forms that became obsolete in Mn. W. are marked †; where the Mn. form or spelling differs it is given in ( ).

Indicative Mood.

Present Tense.

sg.	pl.
1. *wyf, ydwyf, yttwyf*	1. *ym, ydym, yttym*
2. *wyt, ydwyt, yttwyt*	2. *ywch, ydywch* (*ych, ydych*)
3. *yw, ydiw, yttiw* (late *ydyw*), *y mae, mae, oes* †*yssit* 'there is', †*ossit* 'if there is', *-s* in *os* 'if it is'	3. *ynt, ydynt, yttynt* *y maent, maent* †*yssydynt*

Relatival form: *yssyð* (*y sydd*), *syð*, *yssy* (*y sy*), *sy*.
Impersonal: *ys, ydys, yttys*.
Conjunctive: *y mae* or *mae* (late *mai*), †*panyw*, (dial. *taw*).

Consuetudinal Present and Future.

1. *byðaf*, †*byðif*	1. *byðwn*
2. *byðy* (*byddi*)	2. *byðwch*
3. *byð*	3. *byðant*
Cons. *bit* (*bid*)	†*byðhawnt*, †*bint*
Fut. †*bi*, †*byðhawt*, †*biawt*	

Impers. (*byddys, byddir*)

Imperfect.

sg.	pl.
1. *oeδwn*, † *yttoeδwn*	1. *oeδem*
2. *oeδut* (*-ud*, *-it*)	2. *oeδewch* (*oeddech*)
3. *oeδ*, *yttoeδ* (*ydoedd*)	3. *oeδynt*, † *yttoeδynt*

Impers. *oeδit* (*oeddid*)

Consuetudinal Imperfect.

Sg. 1. *byδwn*, etc. regular.

Perfect.

1. *buum*, *bum* (*bûm*)	1. *buam*, *-om*
2. *buost*	2. *buawch* (*buoch*)
3. *bu*	3. *buant*, *buont*

Impers. *buwyt* (*-wyd*)

Pluperfect.

Sg. 1. *buasswn* (*buaswn*, *baswn*), etc. regular; pl. 3. *buyssynt*, beside *buassynt*, *-essynt* § 175 iv (1). Also sg. 3. † *buei*, etc.

Subjunctive Mood.

Present Tense.

sg.	pl.
1. *bwyf*, *byδwyf*	1. *bom* (*bŏm*), *byδom*
2. *bych*, *byδych*	2. *boch*, *byδoch*
3. *bo*, *byδo*, *bytho*	3. *bont* (*bŏnt*), *byδont*, *bythont*, *boent*, † *bwynt*

Imperfect Tense.

1. *bewn* (*bawn*), *byδwn*	1. *beym* (*baem*), *byδem*
2. *beut* (*baud*, *-it*), *byδut* (*-ud*, *-it*)	2. (*baech*, *byddech*)
3. *bei* (*bai*), *byδei* (*-ai*), *pei* (*pe*)	3. *beynt* (*baent*), *byδent*

Impers. *byδit* (*-id*), *bythit* (*-id*)

IMPERATIVE MOOD.

Present.

sg.	pl.
1.	1. *byδwn*
2. *byδ*	2. *byδwch*
3. *bit* (*bid*), *boet* (*-d*), *poet* (*-d*) (*bydded*)	3. *byδent*, *bint*

VERBAL NOUN.

bot (*bod*)

¶ For a list of Ml. forms, with references, by Dr. J. G. Evans, see BB. 109 ff.

ii. NOTES.—(1) Pres. ind.—Forms with *ytt-* (*yt-*) appear in poetry in Mn. W. but are comparatively rare.

Trist fu'r glêr tros dy fawr glwyf,
Trist êto trosot **ýtwyf**.—G.Gl., M 146/161.

'Sad have been the minstrels for thy sore sickness, sad still am I.'

The 3rd sg. *ydiw* was so written up to the 16th cent.; and rhymes with words in *-iw*, as *friw*/*ýdiw* D.G. 35, cf. 119, 144, 193, etc., and G. 186, 193, 203, 206, 235, 247, also with *yw* (≡ *iw*); see § 77 v. The Late Mn. *ydyw* is an etymological spelling, and is read *ýdiw*, except by a few affected persons. The N.W. dial. form is *ýdi* (and, in answering questions only, *ýdi*, a curious attempt to sound *y* with the tongue in the *d* position). S.W. dial., in questions and answers, *ódi*.

ydys is sounded *ýdys*; on *ys* see § 82 ii (1). In Mn. W. *yd-* and the rare *yt-* come only before monosyllabic forms, and always take the accent. †*yssydynt* W.M. 457 is formed from *yssit* § 162 vi (1).

The Late Mn. spelling *mai* of the conj. form seems to come from *mai ê* § 219 vi (1); elsewhere the pronunciation is *mae* ≡ *may* or *ma'*; the form *mai* owes its adoption to the popular notion that a conjunction 'that' must differ from a verb 'is'. The word means, not 'that', but 'that it is'; as *gwn mae Dafydd a'i gwnaeth* 'I know that it is D. who made it'.

(2) The consuetudinal pres. is in use in that sense in the spoken lang. (in N.W.), but the fut. is a commoner use. The form *bit* (*bid*) is mostly impv., see (5); but it is sometimes indic. even in Mn. W., owing doubtless to the survival of proverbs such as *bid anwadal ehud* 'the fool is changeable'; thus

Bid *gwaeth gwybodau a gair*
Beirdd gwedi bardd y gadair.—Gu.O., M 146/450 (m. D.E.)

'The sciences and renown of bards are worse after the [death of] the bard of the chair.' Cf. *bid sicr* 'it is certain, to be sure, of course'.

The forms †*bi* B.T. 12, †*byδhawt* W.M. 456, etc. are fut. only.

(3) In the impf. the consuet. ind. *byδwn* is distinguished from the subj. *bewn* (*bawn*); the latter is never ind., but the former is used in the subj., as *pei byδut*, etc. IL.A. 67; also *bythit* W.M. 104, cf. (4).

The form *pei* for **pei y*, before a vowel *pei yt*, 'were it that' is used in the sense of 'if' with the impf. subj. or plup. With the 3rd pers. infixed pron. *'s*, it is *bei ys* W.M. 424, later *pei ass* W.M. 17. In Mn. W., the forms are *pe*, *ped*, *pe's*; also with *b-* : *be* G. 128, 238, etc.

As the subj. stem seems to have been *b-* or *p-* the orig. form of sg. 1. 2. should be *bwn*, **but* like 3. *bei*; so in the pl. The phrase *pei yt vwn*, occurring as *bei et-vwn* W.M. 71, was contracted early to *pettwn* 'if I were', 2. *pettut*, 3. *pettei*; pl. 1. *pettem*, etc. Thus **bettut** *kynn decket ac Absalon* IL.A. 67 'if thou wert as fair as A.'; *pettei* do. 68; Mn. W. *pettwn* B.CW. 10 'if I were', *petynt* 'if they were'. But *pei byδei* IL.A. 67–8, *be bai* H.D. P 99/494, etc., are also used.

Traces occur of an old plup. with stem *bu-* : sg. 3. *buei* R.P. 1045, *bwyat* (read *bu-ẏat*) do. 1038, pl. 3. *bɔ́yn* (read *bu-yn*) ib., *buyint* B.B. 96.

(4) Beside the pres. subj. proper *bwyf*, the form *byδwyf* with ind. stem is used; also *bytho* T.A. C. i 342, *bythont* W.M. 47, with *byδ* + *h-*, a new subj. stem.—The impers. *boer* M.A. i 20 is doubtful; the context suggests sg. 3. *bo*. But E.P. PS. xciv 13 uses *boer*.—3rd pl. *bwynt* B.T. 5; *boent* A.L. i 106, L.G.C. 240.

(5) As stated above (2), *bit* (*bid*) is usually impv. : **Bit** *ẏ waet ef arnam ni* S.G. 25, IL.A. 83 'His blood be upon us'; *na* **vit** *ofyn arnawch* R.M. 147 'let there be no fear on you' i.e. fear not; *bit* W.M. 22, R.M. 14 'let there be'. The form *bint* IL.A. 81 'let them be' is formed from *bid*; it is rare in Mn. W., L.G.C. 240.

iii. (1) For the origin of *w͡yf*, *w͡yt*, *yw*, *ym*, *ych*, *ynt*, see § 179 ix (3). *yd-* is the affirmative particle § 219 ii; *yttynt* < **yd hynt*; from this *ytt-* spread to other persons.

(2) *y mae*, *mae* occurs at the beginning of a positive statement, or positive rel. clause; it seems to have meant originally 'there is' or rel. 'where is', since *mae* at the beginning of a question means 'where is?' Thus *mae ymma Matholwch* W.M. 39 'there is here M.', *y lle ymae Abel* IL.A. 118 '[in] the place where Abel is', *mae y mab?* W.M. 29 'where is the boy?' The *m-* of *mae* is never mutated; this points to **mm* (Corn. *-mm-*) < **sm*. The *y m-* is prob. *ym-* (often so written in Ml. W.) representing the locative in *-smi* of the **e-* demonstrative (nom. sg. **es* § 159 iv (1)), as in Umbr. loc. *esme* 'in hoc' < **esmi*, Av. *ahmi*. Thus **esmi est*, 'here is, there is' pronounced **ésmii̯est* > **ymoeδ* § 75 iv (2), whence by loss of *-δ* and the change of *oe* to *ae* after a labial § 78 i (1) and ii (2) we have *ymae*. The rel. form similarly from **i̯osmi est*. The interrogative form *mae* 'where is?' appears to be a new development in W., with the *y-* dropped because it seemed to be affirmative; it prob. comes from indirect questions in which *mae* is rel., as *manac imi mae Arthur* W.M. 123 'tell me where Arthur is'. Corn. has *pyma?* as if from **qᵘosmi est?* The pl. *y maent* (≡ *ymáɥnt*) must be a new formation from *y mae*.—

The Bret. form is *ema, ma,* Corn. *yma, ymma, ma,* pl. *ymons*; the last form confirms the assumption of *oe* by preserving the *o*.

(3) *oes* occurs after *nyt* (*nid*), *nat* (*nad*), the interr. part. *a*, and *od* 'if', in each case when the subject is indefinite. *nyt oes* represents **nitaisti* < **n' ita esti* 'there is not'. The positive **esti ita* 'there is' > **estīta* > *yssit*. Similarly *ossit* 'if there is' < **ā 'stīta* § 222 v (1). In Ml. W. *yssit* is only a survival, having been generally replaced by *y mae*. As *nid oes* means literally 'there is not', it is natural that its subject should be indefinite. But early examples of a definite subject occur: *cinnit hoys ir loc guac hinnuith in pag. reg.* CP. 'though there is not that empty place in the regular page'; *nat oes hi* W.M. 470 'that there is not [such a one as] she'; in R.M. 113 this becomes *nat ydiw y vorwyn* 'that the maid is not'.

(4) *yssyδ, syδ*, etc. < **estíi̯o* < **estí i̯o* § 162 vi (1). *ys* < **esti* § 179 ix (3)—*panyw* 'that it is' § 222 x (2).

(5) *oeδ* see § 75 iv (2), § 180 ii (3), *yttoeδ* § 180 ii (3), q.v.

iv. (1) From *√bheu̯ā-* 'be' there was an iterative derivative **bh(u̯)ii̯ō* which gives Ir. *bīuu* 'I am wont to be', Lat. *fio*. The three persons of the sg. **bhu̯íi̯ō, *bhuíi̯ēis, *bhuíi̯ēit* would all give W. *byδ*, which was afterwards inflected *byδaf, byδy, byδ* by analogy. In Kelt., Ital., Germ., there are also athematic forms of this verb; thus there were sg. 2. **bhu̯ī-si* > Lat. *fīs*, 3. **bhu̯ī-ti* > Lat. *fit*, W. *bid*. [Lat. *fio* takes its long *ī* from these.] The Early Ml. W. fut. *bi* is a future of this form, representing **bhu̯ī-sēit* (or **bhu̯ī-ēit*?). The forms *byδhawt, biawt* are of course formed by adding *-(h)awt* to *byδ, bi*.

(2) The opt. of **bh(u̯)ii̯ō*, sg. 1. **bh(u̯)íi̯oi-m̥* might give *byδwn*, but prob. the whole tense is a later formation from *byδ*.

(3) The perf. *bu-um*, etc. is obviously formed from the 3rd sg. by the addition of the perf. endings *-um*, etc. § 182 iv (1). The 3rd sg. *bu*, Ir. *bōi, bāi* represent Kelt. **(be-)bāu̯e* < Ar. **bhe-bhōu̯e* : Av. *bavāva*; § 76 iii (5).

(4) The pres. subj. *bwy(f)* represents the *-se-* fut. of *√bheu̯ā-*; thus **bh(u̯)ā-sō* > *bwy* etc. § 183 ii.

The impf. subj. sg. 3. *bei* < **bii̯ēt* < **baiēt* < **bh(u̯)ə-si̯ēt*. From *bei* was deduced *bwn* as in *bei et-wn* ii (3); but later *bewn*, as if *bei* were **be-ei*; in Mn. W. when *bei* had become *bai*, the 1st sg. became *bawn*; and in the late period *bai* itself came on the analogy of this to be treated as *bâi* and sometimes written *bae*, see § 185 i (3).

The initial *p-* is for **b-h-* with *-h-* from pl. forms; see § 183 ii (3).

(5) The impv. sg. 2. *byδ* is from **bh(u̯)íi̯e* the crude stem of **bh(u̯)ii̯ō*. The 3rd sg. *bid* is from **bh(u̯)ītó* the 3rd sg. opt. mid. of stem **bhu̯ā-*; see § 184 ii (1) and § 180 iv (2). The 3rd sg. *boed* or *poed* is a re-formation from the subj. stem. The pl. forms are obvious re-formations.

(6) The v.n. *bod* implies Brit. **butā*, which (as there is *both* in Ir. also) may be a Kelt. formation beside **bhu-t-is* which gives Ir. *buith* : Gk. φύσις. Like other v.n.'s *bod* has been made mas.; but in compounds it remains f., as *ha-fod, eistedd-fod, preswyl-fod*.

Compounds of the Verb 'To Be'.

§ 190. i. (1) The verbs of the v.n.'s **cánfod** 'to perceive', **dárfod** 'to waste away; to happen'; **górfod** 'to overcome'; **hánfod** 'to be from; to come', are conjugated with the *b*-forms of the verb 'to be'; as *canfýddaf*, etc. In Ml. W. *canfod* appears generally with the pref. *ar-*.

Pres. (fut.) ind.: sg. 1. *gorvyδaf* C.M. 61, 70;—2. *henbyδy* W.M. 97; —3. *dervyδ* C.M. 43, *gorvit* (≡ *gorvyδ*) B.B. 52; *dy-δerbi* R.P. 578, *dy-worpi* do. 585;—impers. *gorvyδir* W.M. 82, R.B.B. 152, C.M. 13.

Impf. ind. sg. 1. *gorvyδwn* W.M. 131;—3. *hanbyδei* W.M. 141.

Perf.: sg. 1. Mn. *canfûm* § 191 ii (5);—3. *kanvu* R.P. 1143, *arganvu* C.M. 50, S.G. 7, *darvu* C.M. 59, *gorvu* W.M. 89;—pl. 1. *darfuam* B.B. 105;—3. *darvuan* B.B. 6;—impers. *arganvuwyt* W.M. 49, *darvuwyt* R.P. 1296.—Plup.: pl. 3. *gorvuassynt* C.M. 68.

Pres. subj.: sg. 1. *hanbwyf* M.A. i 301*b*;—2. *hanpych gwell* R.M. 87, W.M. 185, S.G. 1, *hanbych well* P 16/44, Mn. W. *henffych well* 'may you come well!' i.e. welcome! (*gwell* not orig. cpv. § 148 i (4));—3. *darffo* S.G. 17, C.M. 42, 59, *gorpo* B.B. 17, *hanffo* IL.A. 131, C.M. 33; —pl. 3. *gorffont* R.B.B. 222;—impers. *gorvyδer* C.M. 13, *gorffer* do. 22.

Impf. subj.: sg. 3. *darffei* C.M. 68, 29, *gorffei* R.M. 163, *hanphei* C.M. 55, *hampei* do. 58.

Impv.: sg. 3. *derffit* R.P. 1044, R.M. 155; *dervhid* B.B. 91.

V.n. *arganvot* W.M. 54, *darvot* C.M. 32, *gorvot* W.M. 56, *hanvot* do. 460; —v. adj. *darvodedic* IL.A. 86, Mn. W. *darfodedig* 'perishable'.

(2) In *darfod* two verbs have prob. merged: (a) *darfod* 'to waste away, to perish' < *dar-*: Gk. *φθείρω* § 98 i (4);—(b) *darfod* 'to happen' < **do-ári-* § 156 i (13). The latter is used in the 3rd sg. only, see § 196, as *Beth a δarvu uδunt wy?* IL.A. 7 'What happened to them?'; often as a so-called "auxiliary"; as *pei na δarffei ỳ'r dwst gyvodi* C.M. 68 'if the dust had not risen'; *deryw* in Ml. W. is generally thus used. In Mn. W. it is replaced by *darfu*; but the pres. had a past force from the sense of 'afore-(time)' in the prefix. The v.n. *darfod* introduces noun-clauses corresponding to direct statements with *deryw*, as Ml. W. *wrth ry-δarvot iδaw ỳ roδi* S.G. 32 'since he had given it'.

Examples: (a) *derfydd* F. 27 'will perish', *darfu* D.G. (§ 160 i (1)) 'is spent', *darfyδant* Job iv 9 'they perish', *ni ddarfu* 1 Bren. xvii 16 'wasted not', *darvuan* B.B. 6 'they perished';—(b) *darffo* 1 Cor. xv 54, *darfu'm* (for *darfu ym*) Gr.O. 98 'it happened to me', i.e. I did; *y darffai* D. 112; *a vynno Duw derffit* R.M. 155 lit. 'what God will let it come to pass'.

(3) *canfod*, *gorfod* and *hanfod* contain respectively the prefixes *cannh-* § 156 i (7), *gor-* do. i (17), and *han-* do. ii (3).

gorfod is chiefly used in the 3rd sg. in Mn. W., as *gorfu i* or *gorfu ar* 'was obliged' § 196 vii. For the verb the v.n. is often used, as *gorfod iddo* for *gorfu iddo*, cf. *a heδiw yn gorvot arnam . . . ymwahanu* C.M. 50 'and to-day we must part'.

ii. (1) In addition to the above forms Ml. W. has a pres. and impf. formed with *-wyf* and *-oeδwn*. These survived in Early Mn. W. Before *-yw*, *-ym*, *-ywch*, *-ynt*, *-a-* is affected to *-e-*; the *-e-* often intrudes into forms with *-wyf*, *-wyt*, and vice versa *-a-* often occurs before *-yw*, etc. Thus:

Indic. pres. : sg. 1. *hanwyf* W.M. 3, *henwyf* R.M. 2, *cannwyf* D.G. 200;—2. *hanwyt* W.M. 3, 191, *henwyt* R.M. 2;—3. *cennyw* R.P. 1433, D.G. 205, *deryw*, *derw* W.M. 99, *henyw* S.G. 13, *hanyw* L.G.C. 9;—pl. 1. *henym* IL.A. 164;—3. *henynt* IL.A. 169.

Mil ar benn bryn a'i **cennyw**.—G.Gl., P 75/159.

'A thousand behold it [the mansion] on the top of the hill.'

Na sonier am a **dderyw**.—I.G. 289.

'Let there be no mention of what has happened.'

Mawrserch Ifor a'm **goryw**;
Mwy na serch ar ordderch yw.—D.G. 3.

'The great love of Ivor overcomes me; it passeth the love of woman.'

Impf. : sg. 3. *canhoeδ* W.M. 64, R.M. 46 'could see', *daroeδ* S.G. 25 'happened', *hanoeδ* do. 41;—pl. 3. *hanhoeδynt* S.G. 15, R.P. 1047.

Ymddiried im a **ddaroedd**.—G.Gl., M 146/168.

'He trusted in me.' (Elliptical, for *a δaroeδ iδo* 'happened to him', i.e. he did.)

O'r hen arglwyddi'r **hanoedd**.—L.G.C. 2.

'She was descended from the lords of old.'

O'r hen wŷdd yr **hanoeddych**.—I.H.S., IL 133/212.

'You are descended from the old stock.'

(2) Beside *hanwyf* etc., Ml. W. has *handwyf*, *handwyd*, *handid*, *handym*, *handoetud*, *handoet* (*t* ≡ δ) all in M.A. i 358, *handid* B.B. 33, 107, *handoeδ* R.P. 1432, *handoet* W. 1*a*.

These seem to be formed from an extension of the prefix, such as **sani-ti*, cf. *hefyd* § 220 ii (8), giving before a vowel *hand-* § 113 i (2); by analogy **hand-fid* > *hand-id*, cf. § 110 iii (3); *handyryt* M.A. i 358 makes the line too long.—*ny handei* W.M. 183, R.M. 85

makes no sense; a better reading seems to be *ny hanδenei* P 16/43 (W.M. p. 92) 'he could not rest' (*hanδen*, by dissim. > Mn. W. *hamδen* 'leisure', *hamδenol* 'leisurely, slowly'; *han-* 'without' + *den*, √ *dhen-*: Skr. *dadhan-ti* 'causes to run').

iii. The verb **cyfarfyddaf** *á* 'I meet' is conjugated like the above verbs (v.n. *kyvarvot* W.M. 58, 125, perf. sg. 3. *kyvarvu* do. 170, plup. sg. 3. *cyfarvuassei* ib.), except that the old forms were obsolete in Late Ml. W. But D.B. has *kyveryw a mi* R.P. 1385 'has met me, happened to me'; and *ry-gyveryw a* occurs in W.M. 42, changed to *ry-gynneryw a* in R.M. 29, as if it were a compound of *deryw*, the form *cyveryw* being apparently unknown, and the *u* (≡*v*) mistaken for *n*.

iv. In the dialects *darfyddaf* and *cyfarfyddaf*, the most commonly used of these verbs, are mostly conjugated as if they were regular verbs; and such barbarisms as *darfyddodd, cyfarfyddais, canfyddais* occur in recent writings. The impf. *hanoedd* seems to have survived the other obsolete forms; this was mistaken for an aor. *hanodd*, from which was inferred an imaginary v.n. *hanu*, common in recent biographies.

§ **191.** i. (1) The verbs **gwnn** (*gwn*) 'I know', v.n. *gwybot* (*gwybod*), and **adwaen** 'I am acquainted with', v.n. *adnabot* (*adnabod*), are conjugated as follows in Ml. (and Mn.) W.

Indicative Mood.

Present Tense.

sg.	pl.
1 *gwnn* (*gwn*)	1. *gwδam, -om* (*gwyddom*)
2. *gwδost* (*gwyddost*)	2. *gwδawch, -och* (*gwyddoch*)
3. *gwyr* (*gŵyr*)	3. *gwδant* (*gwyddant*)

Impers. *gwys* (*gwŷs, gwyδys*)

1. *adwaen, adwen, atwen* (*adwaen, adwen*)	1. *adwaenam, adwaenwn* (*adwaenom, adwaenwn*)
2. *atwaenost* (*adwaenost, adweini*)	2. *adwaenawch, atweynwch* (*adwaenoch, adwaenwch*)
3. *adwaen, adwen, atwen* (*adwaen, edwyn*)	3. *atwaenant* (*adwaenant*)

Impers. (*adwaenir, adweinir*)

Future Tense.

sg.	pl.
1. *gwybyδaf* (*gwybyddaf*)	1. *gwybyδwn* (*gwybyddwn*)
2. *gwybyδy* (*gwybyddi*)	2. *gwybyδwch* (*gwybyddwch*)
3. *gwybyδ* (*gwybydd*)	3. *gwybyδant* (*gwybyddant*)

Impers. *gwybyδir* (*gwybyddir*)

1. *adnabyδaf* (*adnabyddaf*)	1. *adnabyδwn* (*adnabyddwn*)
2. *adnabyδy* (*adnabyddi*)	2. (*adnabyddwch*)
3. *adnebyδ, ednebyδ* (*adnebydd*)	3. *adnabyδant* (*adnabyddant*)

Impers. *adnabyδir* (*adnabyddir*)

Imperfect Tense.

1. *gwyδwn, gwyδẏwn* (*gwyddwn*)	1. *gwyδem, gwyδẏem* (*gwyddem*)
2. *gwyδut, gwyδẏut* (*gwyddud, gwyddit*)	2. *gwyδewch* (*gwyddech*)
3. *gwydẏat, gwyδat, gwyδẏei* (*gwyddiad, gwyddai*)	3. *gwyδynt* (*gwyddynt, -ent*)

Impers. *gwyδit* (*gwyddid*)

1. *atwaenwn* (*adwaenwn*)	1. *adwaenem* (*adwaenem*)
2. *atwaenut* (*adwaenud, -it*)	2. (*adwaenech*)
3. *atwaenat* (*adwáeniad, adwaenai*)	3. *atwaenynt* (*adwaenynt, -ent*)

Impers. *etweinit* (*adwaenid, adweinid*)

Perfect Tense.

sg. 1. *gwybuum* (*gwybűm*)
adnabuum (*adnabűm*) } etc. like *canfűm*

Impers. *gwybuwyt, adnabuwyt* (*gwybűwyd, adnabűwyd*)

Pluperfect Tense.

sg. 1. *gwybuasswn* (*gwybuaswn*)
adnabuasswn (*adnabuaswn*) } etc.

Subjunctive Mood.

Present Tense.

sg. 1. *gwypwyf* (*gwypwyf, gwybýddwyf*)
adnapwyf (*adnápwyf, adnabýddwyf*) } etc.

sg. 3. *gwypwy, gwypo, adnapo* (*gwypo, gwybýddo, adnápo, adnabýddo*)

Imperfect Tense.

sg. 1. *gwypwn, gwybyδwn* (*gwýpwn, gwybýddwn*)
adnapwn, adnabyδwn (*adnápwn, adnabýddwn*) } etc.

Imperative Mood.

Present Tense.

sg.	pl.
	1. *gwybyδwn* (*gwybyddwn*)
2. *gwybyδ* (*gwybyδ*)	2. *gwybyδwch* (*gwybyddwch*)
3. *gwypet, gwybyδet* (*gwyped, gwybydded*)	3. *gwypent, gwybyddent* (*gwypent, gwybyddent, -ant*)

Impers. *gwyper, gwybyδer* (*gwyper, gwybydder*)

	1. *adnabyδwn* (*adnabyddwn*)
2. *ednebyδ, adnebyδ* (*adnebydd*)	2. *adnebyδwch* (*adnabyddwch*)
3. (*adnabydded*)	3. (*adnabyδent, -ant*)

(2) The verb **cydnabyddaf** 'I recognize', v.n. *cydnabod*, has pres. ind. *cydnabyddaf*, impf. ind. *cydnabyddwn*, and the rest of the verb like *adwaen*.

ii. (1) In the pres. indic. the endings of the 2nd sg. and the pl. are seen to be those of the perf. and aor. In the dialects the 3rd pl. has *-on* beside *-an*.

But *adwaen* has also the pres. endings; thus beside *adwaenam* LL.A. 164 'we know' we find *adwaenwn* W.M. 25 'we know'; so *atweynwch* C.M. 12; Mn. W. *adweini* Es. lv 5 'thou knowest'.

(2) Both the 1st and 3rd sg. pres. ind. were *adwaen* or *adwen*; the Mn. W. 3rd sg. *edwyn* is a new formation from *adwen* (on the analogy of *etyb* 'answers' § 173 iv (1)). Examples: 1st sg. *adwaen* B.B. 102, *atwaen* S.G. 72, *atwen* W.M. 390; 3rd sg. *attwen* H.M. ii 235, **Atwen** *mab ae llocha, ac nyt* **atwen** *ae kar* R.B. 964 'a child knows who fondles him, but does not know who loves him'; *pawb* **adwaen** *pwy* I.G. G. 79 'everybody knows who'.

Yr ydwyf, hyd yr **adwen**,
Yn dwyn haint ni'm gad yn hên.—D.G. 443.

'I am, as far as I know, suffering from a disease that will not spare me to old age.'

A'r un sud, er nas **edwyn**,
Y mesur Duw amser dŷn.—B.Br., F. 15.

'And in the same manner, though he knows it not, does God measure man's life.'

(3) The 3rd sg. impf. ind. has the ending *-yat*, *-at*, Mn. W. *-ai̯ad*. he ending *-ei* is rare in Ml. W. : *gwyδŷei* B.A. 6, R.P. 1264. The *-ŷ-* (≡ *i̯*) in *gwyδŷwn* etc. doubtless spread from *-yat*; it did not come into general use. In Mn. W. *-ai̯ad* survived in poetry, but *gwyddai*, *adwaenai* became the usual forms. See *gwyδŷat* W.M. 183, R.M. 85, S.G. 11, *atwaenat* S.G. 72, W.M. 150.

Yr oedd i rai a **wyddiad**
Obaith dyn o fab i'th dad.—T.A., A 14694/117.

'There was, to those who knew, hope of a man in a son of thy father.' See *adwaeniad* D.G. 430, T.A. G. 234.

(4) On the *-t-* for *-d-* before *u̯*, see § 111 v (2).

(5) Note the accentuation of *gwybûm*, *adnabûm*, in which the last syllable has a late contraction, § 41 iii. Uncontracted *gwybú-um* occurs as late as the 15th cent.; see § 33 iv. The 3rd sg. *gŵybu*, *adnábu* has no contraction, and is accented regularly.

O'r tad Hywel ap Cadell,
Nid **adnabûm** *dad neb well.*—T.A., C 84/849.

'[Sprung] from his father, H. ap C.,—I have not known a better father to any one.' Cf. *adnabûm*, so accented, B.CW. 105; so *canfûm* do. 16, 91. Ml. W. *gwybuum* W.M. 389, *adnabuum* ib.

iii. (1) *gwnn* probably comes from **u̯indó* § 66 iii (1), or middle **u̯indói*: Skr. *vindá-ti* 'finds', Ir. *ro-finnadar* 'is wont to know', √*u̯eid-* with *-n-* infix. The 3rd sg. *gŵyr* seems to be a deponent form made by adding the impers. **-re* directly to the root § 179 viii (2); thus **u̯eid-re* > **u̯eig-re* (§ 104 iv (3)) > *gŵyr*.—The 2nd sg. *gwδost* represents a periphrastic form **u̯idós'si*, verbal adj. + verb 'to be', the remnant of a tense like *euthum*, re-formed in the pl. with aor. endings § 182 iv (1). In Mn. W., and occasionally in Late Ml. W. *gwδ-* becomes *gwyδ-* on the analogy of the other tenses. The impers. *gwŷs* prob. represents a passive **u̯id-tos* (*'st*).

The tense replaces the old perf. with pres. meaning, **u̯oida* : Gk. οἶδα.

(2) The impf. 3rd sg. *gwyδiad* may be for **gwδiad* § 180 iv (1). The 2nd sg. *gwyδut* may represent a thematic **u̯eidoithēs*, in which case its *wy* is original; and the 3rd sg. may have taken *wy* from this. The *wy* is the falling diphthong : *Pob meistrolr***wŷdd** *a* **wŷdd***ud* D.G. 460.

(3) The rest of the verb comes from periphrastic tenses formed of a present participle of some such form as **u̯eidans* and the verb 'to be'.

iv. (1) *adwaen* corresponds to Ir. *ad-gēn*, which comes from **ati-gegna*, re-formed in Kelt. for **ĝeĝnōu* : Skr. *jajñâu*, Lat. *nōv-i*, √*ĝenē-*; but W. *adwaen*, which is for **adwoen* § 78 ii (1) (2), contains *-u̯o-* as pointed out by Rhys, RC. vi 22; it seems also to have the vowel of the reduplicator elided; thus *adwaen* < **ati-u̯o-kn-a* < **ati-u̯o-g'gn-a*. It may however represent **ad-wo-ein* < **ati-u̯o-gegn-a*. The 3rd sg. had **-e* for **-a* and gives the same result in W. The rest

of the tense is formed from *adwaen-* as a stem on the analogy of *gwδost* etc., or with pres. endings.

(2) The impf. ind. is a new formation from the same stem, except the 3rd sg., which may be old. The form *atwaenat* may however be for *atweinat* S.G. 36 which would represent regularly **ati-u̯o-gn-i̯a-to* < **-ĝn-i̯ə-tó* 3rd sg. opt. mid.

(3) The rest of the verb comes from periphrastic tenses formed with the prefix **ati-* only, and a verbal adj. **gnau̯os* < **ĝnə-u̯o-s* (: cf. Lat. *gnāvus* < **ĝn̯-u̯o-s*), with the verb 'to be'. This implies that *-nab-* is for *-nawb-* (cf. *clybot* § 194 v (4)); the *-aw-* is attested in O.W. *amgnaubot* ox., which must be the same formation with a different prefix. (This *-au-* cannot be from *-ā-*, which would give *-o-* in the penult.)

§ 192. i. (1) **pieu** (Mn. W. *pí-au*) 'whose is?' contains the dative of the interrogative stem **q*ui-* and *-eu* 'is', a weak form of **wy*, which elsewhere became *yw* 'is' § 179 ix (3). The forms of the verb that occur in Ml. W. are as follows; most of them are re-formations from *pieu*, the *-eu-* generally unrounded to *-ei-* before *v* or *ff*:

Pres. ind. : sg. 2. *piwyt* see ii (1) below;—3. *pieu*;—pl. 3. *piewynt* (for **pieu-ynt*) W.M. 83.

Impf. ind. : sg. 2. *pieuoetud* (*t* ≡ δ) see ii (3) below;—3rd sg. *pioeδ* W.M. 117, *pieuoeδ* R.M. 196, *piewoeδ* W.M. 121, *piweδ* do. 129, *piweδ* do. 178, *pieoeδ* do. 135;—3rd pl. *pioeδynt* S.G. 426.

Fut. : sg. 3. *pẏeuvyδ* (*ẏ* ≡ *i*) A.L. i 179 MS.B., *pieivyδ* ib. MS.D., H.M. ii 81;—pl. 1 *pieifyδwn* C.M. 42.

Perf. : 3rd sg. *pieivu* W.M. 394, R.M. 252, *pievu* W.M. 394.

Pres. subj. : 3rd sg. *pẏeÿfo* (*ẏ* ≡ *i*, *f* ≡ *ff*) A.L. i 196.

Impf. subj. : 3rd sg. *pieiffei* S.G. 299, *pieivyδei* do. 324.

(2) In Mn. W., only the 3rd sg. is used. The forms are —

Indic. pres. *píau*;—imperf. *pïoedd* L.G.C. 168, I.ILaf. c.c. 352, accented *pïóedd* by T.A., c 84/849;—fut. *pïéuvydd* L.G.C. 291;—the other tenses rarely occur.

In the dialects the pres. *píau* only is used, and other tenses are formed periphrastically by using tenses of the verb 'to be' with relatival *piau*; thus *oedd pia(u)* 'was who owns' for *pioedd* 'who owned'.

ii. (1) The verb 'to be' in *pieu* generally means 'is' in the sense of 'belongs'; but sometimes it has a complement, in which case the literal meaning of the compound is seen clearly; thus—

Hi a ovynnawδ iδaw pioeδ mab S.G. 12 'she asked him to whom he was son' (whose son he was). *Piwyt gwr di* do. 222 'to whom art man thou?' (whose man art thou?).

(2) The interrogative meaning of the compound survived in Ml. W. and Early Mn. verse; but the usual meaning is relative. Interrog. *pieu* in a question is often followed by rel. *pieu* in the answer; and this may represent the transition stage, as in the case of *pan* 'whence?' § 163 i (6).

Pieu *yniver y llongeu hynn? . . . Arglwyδ, heb wynt, mae ymma Matholwch . . . ac ef* **bieu** *y llongeu* W.M. 39 'To whom belongs this fleet of ships? Lord, said they, M. is here, and [it is] he to whom the ships belong'.

Pïau *rhent Gruffudd ap Rhys?*
Hywel **pïau** *'n nhâl Pôwys.*—T.A., J 17/217.

'To whom belongs the rent of G. ap R.? [It is] Howel to whom it belongs on the border of Powys.'

When the relative became the prevalent construction, *pwy* 'who?' was used before the verb to ask a question, thus *pwy bïau* 'who [is it] to whom belongs?' This occurs in Ml. W.; as *Pwy biewynt wy* W.M. 83 'who [is it] to whom they belong?' Cf. § 163 v.

Pwy bïau *gwaed pibau gwin?*—T.A., A 14998/29.

'Who has the blood of pipes of wine?'

(3) Relatival *pieu* sometimes introduces a dependent relative clause, as *Dodi olew ar y gwrda bieu y gaer* R.M. 174 'administering extreme unction to the goodman who owns the castle'. But it is chiefly used to form the subject-clause after an emphatic predicative noun, § 162 vii (2), as in *ef bieu y llongeu* (2) above '[it is] he who owns the ships'; *Meuryc bevyr bieuoetud* M.A. i 225*b* '[it was] bright Meuryc to whom thou [sword] didst belong'; *a minneu bieu y δwy iarllaeth* R.M. 239 'and [it is] I to whom the two earldoms belong'.

(4) As *pi-* is itself relative it is not preceded by the relative *a*, ZfCP. iv 118; see examples above. Cf. also *mi bieivu* R.M. 252, *mi bïau . . . a thithau bïau* I.G. 318, *Dafydd bieuydd* L.G.C. 291, etc. The initial of *pi-* is generally softened, as in most of the above examples, but it frequently remains unchanged, as *E koc a'r dỳsteỳn pỳeu* A.L. i 20 '[it is] the cook and

the steward to whom belong . . . '; *e gur* (≡ *y gŵr*) *pyeu* do. 82; *Hywel piau* (2) above; *Mi piau cyngor . . . mi piau nerth* Diar. viii 14 (1620). In the spoken lang. both *p-* and *b-* are heard; the former prevails in N.W.

(5) As *pieu* seemed to be a verb meaning 'owns' though without a subjective rel., it is sometimes found so used with an accusative rel., as *castell Kaer Vyrδin yr hwn a bie(u) y brenhin* R.B.B. 297 'the castle of Carmarthen which the king owns'; *y castell fry a pieu Belial* B.CW. 10; more rarely with subjective rel., *ni ae pieifyδwn* C.M. 42. Still rarer are re-formations like *ti biy* C.M. 14.

iii. *pi-* cannot come from $*q^{u}\bar{u}(i)$ < $*q^{u}\bar{o}i$ the dat. of $*q^{u}o$-, since q^{u} became *k* in Kelt. before *u*; it is probable therefore that *pi-* comes from $*q^{u}\bar{\imath}$ < $*q^{u}i\bar{\imath}$ < $*q^{u}i\underset{\cdot}{i}ei$: Oscan *piei* dative of the stem-form $*q^{u}i$- § 163 vi.

Af, Gwnaf, Deuaf.

§ **193.** i. **af** 'I go' and **gwnaf** 'I make, do' are conjugated alike in Mn. W. except in the impv.; **deuaf** 'I come' is analogous, but has different and varying vowels in its stems. In the earlier periods each of the verbs has forms peculiar to itself. In the following tables Mn. W. forms are given in brackets, marked as in § 185.

ii. **af** 'I go'.

INDICATIVE MOOD.

Present.

sg.	pl.
1. *af* (*ǎf*)	1. *awn* (*áwn*)
2. *ey* (*éi*, *ái*)	2. *ewch* (*éwch*)
3. *a*, *e-yt* (*á*)	3. *ant* (*ánt*)
Impers. *eir* (*éir*, *áir*)	

Imperfect.

1. *awn* (*áwn*)	1. *aem* (*áem*)
2. *aut* (*áut*)	2. (*áech*)
3. *aei*, *aey*, *ai* (*ái*, *ae*)	3. *eynt* (*áent*)
Impers. *eit* (*éid*, *áid*)	

Perfect.

sg.	pl.
1. *euthum* (*éuthum*)	1. *aetham* (*áethom, -am*)
2. *aethost* (*áethost*)	2. *aethawch* (*áethoch*)
3. *aeth* (*áeth*)	3. *aethant, -ont* (*áethant, -ont*)

Impers. *aethpwyt* (*áethpwyd*)

Second Perfect.

1. *athwyf, aðwyf, ethwyf, eðwyf* (*éthwyf*)	1. *ethym*
2. *athwyt, aðwyt* (*éddwyd*)	2.
3. *ethyw, eðyw* (*éthyw, éddyw*)	3. *ethynt, eðynt*

Pluperfect.

1. *athoeðwn* (*áethwn*)	1. (*áethem*)
2. (*áethud, -it*)	2. (*áethech*)
3. *athoeð, aðoeð* (*áethai*)	3. *athoeðynt* (*áethynt, -ent*)

Subjunctive Mood.

Present.

1. *el(h)wyf* (*élwyf*)	1. *el(h)om* (*élom*)
2. *el(h)ych* (*élych*)	2. *el(h)och* (*éloch*)
3. *el* (*él, élo*) *aho*	3. *el(h)ont, el(h)wynt* (*élont*) *ahont*

Impers. *el(h)er* (*éler*)

Imperfect.

1. *el(h)wn* (*élwn*)	1. (*élem*)
2. *el(h)ut* (*élud, -it*)	2. (*élech*)
3. *el(h)ei* (*élai*)	3. *el(h)ynt* (*élynt, -ent*)

Impers. (*élid*)

Imperative Mood.

Present.

	1. *awn* (*áwn*)
2. *dos* (*dŏs*)	2. *ewch* (*éwch*)
3. *aet, elhid* (*áed, éled*)	3. *aent* (*áent, ánt*)

Verbal Noun.

mynet (*mýned, mynd*) 'to go'

iii. **gwnaf** 'I make, do'.

Indicative Mood.

Present.

sg. 1. *gwnaf* (*gwnáf*), etc. like *af* (*áf*); exc. strong 3rd sg. *gwneyð*.

Imperfect.

sg. 1. *gwnawn* (*gwnáwn*), etc. like *awn* (*áwn*); pl. 2. *gwnaewch* (*gwnáech*).

Perfect.

A. sg. 1. *gwneuthum* (*gwnéuthum*), etc. like *euthum* (*éuthum*).

B. sg.	pl.
1. *gorugum*	1. *gorugam*
2. *gorugost*	2. *gorugawch*
3. *goruc, goreu*	3. *gorugant*

Impers. *gorucpwyt*

Second Perfect.

sg. 1. (*gwnéddwyf*), 2. (*gwnéddwyt*), 3. *gwneðyw* (*gwnéddyw*)

Pluperfect.

sg.	pl.
1. *gwnathoeðwn* (*gwnáethwn*)	1. (*gwnáethem*)
2. *gwnathoeðut* (*gwnáethud, -it*)	2. (*gwnáethech*)
3. *gwnaethoeð, gwnathoeð, gwnaðoeð* (*gwnáethai*)	3. *gwnathoeðynt* (*gwnáethynt, -ent*)

Impers. *gwnathoeðit* (*gwnáethid*)

Subjunctive Mood.

Present.

sg. 1. *gwnel(h)wyf* (*gwnélwyf*) etc. like *el(h)wyf* (*élwyf*) throughout; also sg. 3. *gunech, gwnech*.

Imperfect.

sg. 1. *gwnel(h)wn* (*gwnélwn*), etc. like *el(h)wn* (*élwn*).

Imperative Mood.

Present.

sg.	pl.
	1. *gwnawn* (*gwnáwn*)
2. *gwna* (*gwná*)	2. *gwnewch* (*gwnéwch*)
3. *gwnaet* (*gwnáed*)	3. *gwnaent* (*gwnáent*, *-ánt*)

Impers. *gwnel(h)er* (*gwnéler*)

Verbal Noun.

gwneithur, *gwneuthur* (*gwnéuthur*)

Verbal Adjectives.

gwneithurỳedic (*gwneuthurédig*, *gwneuthurádwy*)

iv. deuaf 'I come'.

Indicative Mood.

Present or First Future.

sg.	pl.
1. *deuaf*, *doaf* (*déuaf*, *dǒf*)	1. *deuwn*, *down* (*déuwn*, *dówn*)
2. *deuy*, *dewy*, *doy* (*déui*, *dói*)	2. *deuwch*, *dowch* (*déuwch*, *dówch*)
3. *daw* (*daw* § 52 iii (1)), *dyðaw*, *do*, *dyðo*	3. *deuant*, *doant* (*déuant*, *dǒnt*), *dyðeuant*

Impers. *dyðeuhawr* (*déuir*, *dóir*)

Second Future.

sg. 1. *dybyðaf*; 3. *dyvyð*, *dybyð*, *dybyðhawt*, *dyvi*, *dybi*, *dypi*, *deubyð*, *deubi*, *deupi*; pl. 3. *dybyðant*.

Imperfect.

sg.	pl.
1. *deuwn*, *down* (*déuwn*, *dówn*)	1. (*déuem*, *dǒem*)
2. *deuut*, *dout* (*déuut*, *dǒut*, *-it*)	2. (*déuech*, *dǒech*)
3. *deuei*, *doei*, *doey*, *doi* (*déuai*, *dói*)	3. *deuynt*, *doynt* (*déuynt*, *dǒent*, *déuent*)

Impers. *deuit* (*déuid*, *dóid*)

Perfect.

A.	sg.	pl.
1.	*deuthum, doethum* (*déuthum*)	1. *doetham* (*déuthom*)
2.	*deuthost, doethost* (*déuthost*)	2. *doethawch, -och* (*déuthoch*)
3.	*deuth, doeth* (*dǎeth, dŏeth*)	3. *deuthant, doethant, doethont* (*déuthant, -ont*)

Impers. *deuthpwyt, doethpwyt* (*déuthpwyd*)

B.		
2.	*dyvuost*	2.
3.	*dyvu, dybu, deubu*	3. *dyvuant, dybuant*

Second Perfect.

1. *dothwyf, doδwyf*	1. *doδym*
2. *dothwyt, doδwyt*	2. *doδywch, doethywch*
3. *doethyw, dothyw, doδyw, deδyw* (*doddyw, deddyw*)	3. *doδynt*

Pluperfect.

1. *dathoeδwn* (*déuthwn*)	1. (*déuthem*)
2. (*déuthud, -it*)	2. (*déuthech*)
3. *doethoeδ, dothoeδ, dathoeδ* (*déuthai*)	3. *doethoeδynt, dothoeδynt* (*déuthynt, -ent*)

Subjunctive Mood.

Present.

sg. 1. *del(h)wyf* (*délwyf*), etc. like the *el-* forms of *el(h)wyf* (*élwyf*) throughout; also sg. 1. *dybwyf*; 3. *dyvo, dyffo, dyppo, deupo, dyδeuho*; pl. 3. *dyffont, deuhont.*

Imperfect.

sg. 1. *del(h)wn* (*délwn*), etc. like *el(h)wn* (*élwn*); also sg. 3. *dybei, dyfei dyffei.*

Imperative Mood.

Present.

sg. 2. *dyret, dabre* (*dýfydd, dýred, dýrd, týred, týrd, dábre, dýre,* dial. *dére*); 3. *deuet, doet* (*déued, dŏed, déled*); pl. 1. *down* (*déuwn, dówn*); 2. *dowch, dewch* (*déuwch, dówch, déwch*); 3. *deuent, doent* (*déuent, dŏent*).

Verbal Noun.

dyvot (*dyfod, dywod, dywad*).

v. Pres. and Impf. Ind.—(1) The contracted forms *ei, eir, eid, gwnei, gwneir, gwneid* are now written and pron. with *ei* (≡ *əi*); but formerly *ai* was used as in uncontracted forms; § 81 iii (1); as *Bwrdeisiaid a* **wnaid** *yn waeth* G.Gl. P 100/174. The 3rd sg. impf. *aei, gwnaei* are already contracted in Ml. W., as *ai* W.M. 117, 252, 451, *gwnai* 54, 250, 389, *gunai* B.B. 56; similarly *doei* had become *doi* W.M. 7. See § 52 iii (3).

(2) For *a* Dr. M. used dial. *aiff* (now *eiff*) § 179 iii (1); this is condemned by D. 86. Some late writers have used *gwnaiff* also; but the lit. *gwna* prevails. The old strong form of *af* is *ë-yt* § 173 vi (1); of *gwnaf* is *gwnë-yδ* do. (3).

(3) The stems *deu-, do-* are both used throughout the pres. and impf. except in the 3rd sg. pres.; thus *doaf, doy* R.M. 76, W.M. 55, *deuaf, deuy* S.G. 15. In Mn. W. *doaf* is contracted to *dŏf* D.G. 355, L.G.C. 206, 468; this is the usual spoken form, though *doa*(*f*) persists in Dyf. dial. The 3rd sg. is *daw*; also *do* B.T. 38, *dyδau* B.B. 32 (*-u* ≡ *w*), *dyδaw* R.P. 1055, l. 16, *dyδo* ib. l. 23.—O.W. *gurthdo* gl. obstitit.

(4) The second future of *deuaf* is a survival, chiefly used in poetry: sg. 1. *dybyδaf* B.T. 19; sg. 3. *diwit* (≡ *dyvyδ*) B.B. 51, *dybit* (≡ *dybyδ*) do. 55, *dyfyδ* B.T. 10, *dybyδ* R.P. 1190, *dyδybyδ* B.T. 42, *dybyδhawt* R.P. 1437, *dyvi* B.T. 72, *dybi* B.B. 60, *dypi* W.M. 478, *deubyδ* B.T. 17, *deubi* B.T. 3, *deupi* B.B. 61; pl. 3. *dybyδant* B.T. 26.

vi. Perf. and Plup.—(1) In late Mn. W. *euthum, gwneuthum, deuthum,* are often misspelt *aethum, gwnaethum, daethum.* In the dialects the 1st and 2nd sg. perf. are mostly replaced by new aorists *ēs, gwnēs, dŏis* on the analogy of *cēs* and *rhois*, also *eis* and *gwneis* ("balbutientium puerorum mera sunt barbaries" D. 117).

(2) In Ml. W. the perf. stem of *deuaf* is *deuth-* or *doeth-*; and the 3rd sg. is *deuth* or *doeth.* Ml. W. *daeth* is doubtful; *y* | *daeth* B.B. 3 is prob. *yd aeth*, cf. 97 marg. In the Early Mn. bards the form attested by the rhyme is *doeth* D.G. 259 (misprinted *daeth*), 287, as there is no rhyme to *dauth* the regular Mn. equivalent of Ml. *deuth.* Late Mn. W. *daeth* may be *dauth* H.G. 21 misspelt, as *daethant* is a misspelling of *deuthant.* The N.W. dial. form is *dŏth*, 3rd pl. *deuthon'* or *doethon'*. In S.W. *dăth* is also heard.—Impers. § 175 iv (7).

Dan i ddant erioed ni **ddoeth**
Ar i enau air annoeth.—D.N., M 136/123.

'Under his tooth there never came on his lips an unwise word.'.

(3) The second perf. of *af* and *deuaf* is of frequent occurrence in Ml. W. poetry, as *athwyf, ethyw* H.O.G. M.A. i 275, *athwyd, ethynt* P.M. do. 289, *aδwyf* C. do. 216, *etiw* (*t* ≡ *δ*) do. do. 220; *dothuif* B.B. 79, *dotyw* (*t* ≡ *δ*) M. W. 1*a*, *dotynt* (≡ *doδynt*) do. do. 3*a*, *ethint* B.B. 33. It is also met with fairly often in Ml. prose: *eδyw* W.M. 456,

ethyw R.M. 104, *dothwyf* W.M. 459, *doðwyf* do. 20, *doðyw* do. 457, *doðywch*, *doðym* do. 475, *ethynt* R.B.B. 205, but tends in later MSS. to be replaced by the first perf.; thus *dothwyf* W.M. 459 appears as *deuthum* in R.M. 105; *doðyw* W.M. 473 as *doeth* in R.M. 105. D.G. and his contemporaries continued its use in poetry; afterwards it became obsolete: *deddyw* D.G. 4, *ethyw* (misspelt *eithiw*, *euthyw*) I.G. 312;

Lliw dydd a ddaw[a] *lle* **doddyw**; [a] Misprinted *y daw*.
Llewych haul ar y lluwch yw.—D.G. 321.

'Daylight comes where she has come; she is sunshine on the snow-drift.' It was at this period, when the form was already an artificial survival, that it first appears for *gwnaf*: *gwneddwyf* D.G. 115, *gwneddwyd* do. 102, *gwneddyw* do. 429, *gwneðyw* I.C. R.P. 1286. These imitations were shortlived.

(4) Both the first perf. in *-th-um* and the second perf. in *-wyf* are probably original for *af* only. The older perfects of the other verbs are:

gwnaf: sg. 1. *gorugum* W.M. 226–9; sg. 2. *gorugost* R.M. 192; pl. 1. *gorugam*, 3. *gorugant* W.M. 227, 226; sg. 3. *goruc* of extremely frequent occurrence, *goreu* surviving in poetry, B.B. 43, M. w. 2*a*, E.S. M.A. i 349*a*, *guoreu* B.A. 35, 38; impers. *gorucpwyt* W.M. 452 (= *gwnaethpwyt* R.M. 100), W.M. 454, R.M. 101.

deuaf: sg. 2. *dyuuost* W.M. 458 (= *doethost* R.M. 104); sg. 3. *dyuu* W.M. 457 (= *doeth* R.M. 104), *dybu* M. w. 1*b*, 2*a*; pl. 3. *dybuant* B.T. 6, R.P. 1405, G.B. do. 1192.

(5) In Ml. W. the plup. of all three verbs was formed by means of *-oeðwn*; as *doethoeð* LL.A. 17 'had come', *athoeð* W.M. 13, *aðoeð* do. 15 'had gone', *gwnaethoeð* do. 30, *gwnathoeð* do. 440, *gwnathoeðwn* S.G. 198, *gwnathoeðut* do. 274; *dothoeð* R.M. 200, *dathoeð* do. 197. These forms are rare in Mn. W.: *rhy-wnaethoeð* D.G. 509. The Mn. plup. is a new formation made, as in regular verbs, by adding impf. endings to the perf. stem: *gwnaethwn* Ezec. xxxi 9, *daethwn* Matt. xxv 27, *aethai* Luc viii 2, etc. D. also gives *elswn* etc.; this formation is used for *gwnaf* in the Bible: *gwnelswn* 1 Chron. xxiii 5, *gwnelsei* 2 Chron. xxi 6.

vii. Subjunct.—(1) The subjunct. stems are *el-*, *gwnel-* and *del-*; as *elwyf* W.M. 457, *delwyf* R.M. 131, *elych*, *delych* do. 237, *gwnelych* W.M. 456, *delhich* B.B. 84, *gwneloch* W.M. 475, *elont* R.M. 34, *elwynt* B.A. 2; *elhut* B.B. 56, *delhei* do. 96; *elher* do. 33.

The peculiarity of the pres. subj. with these stems is that the 3rd sg. lacks the usual ending *-o* (or *-wy*); thus *a phan* **el** *ef* . . . *yny* **el** *ef* W.M. 22 'and when he goes . . . until he goes', *val nat* **el** *neb* do. 49 'so that no one may go', *Y kyn a* **el**, *hwnnw a orðir* R.B. 1063 'the chisel that will go, that [is the one] that is hammered', *Guledic* . . . *a'n* **gunel** *in ſit* (*i* ≡ *y*, *t* ≡ *ð*) B.B. 40 'may the Lord make us free', *y dit y* **del** *paup* do. 41 'the day when each will come'. So in Mn. W.; thus, expressing a wish: **Dêl** *i'th fryd dalu i'th frawd* D.G. 34 'may it come to thy mind to repay thy brother', cf. 341;

I henaint yr **êl** *honno* L.G.C. 10 'may she go [live] to old age', cf. 476; **Dêl** *amorth yn dâl imi* Gr.O. 59 'may misfortune come as retribution to me'; in a dependent clause:

Pan **ddêl** *y Pasg a'r glasgoed,*
Bun a ddaw beunydd i oed.—D.G. 199.

'When Easter comes, and the green trees, [my] lady will come daily to the tryst.' Sometimes in Late W. the ending is added; as *gwnelo* § 162 i, *doed a ddelo* beside *doed a ddêl* 'come what may come'.

(2) Other forms of the subjunctive occur as follows in Ml. W.:

af: pres. sg. 3. *aho* R.M. 140; pl. 3. *ahont* B.T. 17.

gwnaf: pres. sg. 3. *gunaho* B.B. 70, *gwnaho* B.T. 10, ll. 13, 27, *gunech, gwnech* § 183 iii (1); pl. 3. *gvvnahont* B.B. 61, *gwnahon* B.T. 34.

deuaf: pres. sg. 1. *dybwyf* R.P. 1183; sg. 3. *dybo* ib., *dyvo* do. 584, *dyffo* B.T. 10, *dyppo* B.B. 90, *deupo* B.A. 6, *dyδeuho, deδeuho* B.T. 29; pl. 3. *dyffont* M.A. i 136, *diffont* B.B. 59, 60, *deuhont* B.T. 3; imperfect sg. 3. *dyfei* B.T. 3, *dyffei* do. 13, B.A. 2, *dybei* B.T. 6.

viii. Impv.—(1) *dos* 'go!' e.g. *dos y'r llys* W.M. 14 'go to the court'. This is the usual meaning; but the original meaning was doubtless, like that of the Corn. and Bret. forms, 'come'. This is preserved in some parts of Powys to this day; and is sometimes met with in Ml. W.; e.g. *dos yma* R.M. 176, S.G. 221 'come here'.

(2) Ml. W. *dyret* W.M. 21, R.M. 173, LL.A. 99, etc.; *dabre* B.B. 102, W.M. 17, R.B.B. 125, etc.—Mn. W. *dyfydd* D.G. 41, *dyred* do. 107, *dabre* (misprinted *debre*) D.G. 31, 134, 515, *tyred, dyre* I.G. 215, *Gwna ddydd a* **dyrd**, *Gwenddydd dec* W.LL. 83 'make an appointment and come, fair Gwenddydd', **Tyrd** *i'r bwlch, taro di'r bêl* I.T. LL 133/213 'come to the breach, strike thou the ball', § 44 vi, **Dere** *â'r cafodydd hyfryd* Wms. 273 'come with [i.e. bring] the gladsome showers'.

(3) Sg. 3.: *aet* W.M. 13, 35, *elhid* B.B. 101, *gwnaet* R.M. 261, *gvnaed* W.M. 406, *deuet* W.M. 186, *deuhet* R.M. 88, *doet* W.M. 122.

(4) Pl. 2.: *dowch* W.B. vi R., W.M. 407, 447, R.M. 261, 292, *dewch* LL.A. 126.

ix. Verbal noun.—(1) On *myned, mynd*, see § 44 vi.

(2) The Ml. and Mn. v.n. of *gwnaf* is *gwneuthur*. D. 121 also gives *gwneuthud*, but this is rarely met with. It is printed in D.G. 107, but is not attested by the cynghanedd. In the dialects a new form *gwneud* arose; this is in common use in the late period; the earliest example I have noted is in RH.B.S. 1. (In D.G. 409 *gwneud* makes a short line, and should be *gwneuthur*; for *it wr wneyd marnad arall* C. i 200 read *vwrw'n y dŵr farwnad arall* P 77/158; so wherever *gwneud* is attributed to an old author.) V.a. *gwneithuryedic* G.C. 114.

(3) The only v.n. of *deuaf* is *dyfod*; but the *f* became *w* § 26 v, and *wo* interchanges with *wa* § 34 iv, hence *dywot* LL.A. 80, *dywod* T.A. A 14976/101, *dywad* D.G. 306, spelt *dowad* C.C. 369 (see § 33

iii), beside the original *dyfod*. The form *dywad* became *dẃad* in the dialects, and this is the spoken form both in N. and S.W. But in part of Dyfed a form *dŏd* developed (apparently from **dowod* < *dywod*); this was used by Wms., and has since been in common use, chiefly in verse in free metres.

The noun *dovot* W.M. 33 'a find' is a different word, being for *do-ovot* A.L. i. 94 (also *dohovet* [read *-ot*] ib.) < **dy-u̯o-vot*.

(4) All the forms given in dictionaries, containing the tense stems of these verbs, such as *äu, athu, elu, eddu* 'to go', *dawed, dawad, delyd, doddi* 'to come', *gwnelyd* 'to do', are spurious. Silvan Evans misquotes D.G. 306 *dywad* as an example of *dawad*, s.v.; but admits that the others do "not occur in the infinitive"! see s.v. *delyd*.

x. Origin of the forms. (1) *af* < **aǯaf*: Ir. *agaim* 'I drive' √*aĝ-* : Lat. *ago*, Gk. ἄγω, Skr. *ájati* 'drives'. The verb had middle flexion in Brit., cf. *ë-yt* 'goes' < **aĝ-e-tai* ('drives himself, goes') § 179 iii (1). Hence the perf. *euthum* < **aktos esmi* § 182 iv (1), and the plup. *athoeð* ib. (2). For the voicing of *th* to ð in *eðyw, aðoeð* see § 108 iv (2). Stokes's reference of *eðwyd* 'ivisti' to √*ped-* Fick⁴ ii 28 (still quoted, e.g. by Walde² s.v. *pēs*) is made in ignorance of the facts.—On *dos* see (7); on *mynet* § 100 iv.

(2) The subj. stem *el-* comes from the synonymous root **elā-* : Gk. ἐλάω 'I drive'; in the pres. ind. the stem was **ell-*, prob. for **el-n-*, Thurneysen Gr. 314, as in Ir. *ad-ella* 'transit', *di-ella* 'deviat'; in W. **ell-af* was driven out by *af*, but the subj. *elwyf* remained. W. *delwyf* is probably, like *gwnelwyf* an analogical formation. The reason why the 3rd sg. has no *-o* may be that these forms superseded an old 3rd sg. middle **elhyt* and 3rd sg. *gwnech* which had no *-o*. The view that *gwnêl* is a re-formation is borne out by the actual survival of *gwnēch*.

(3) The stem of *gu̯naf* is **u̯rag-*, √*u̯ereg-* 'work' § 100 i (2). In the pres. and impf. ind., therefore, the flexion was exactly the same as for *af*, stem **ag-*; this led to its being assimilated to *af* in other tenses. The old root-aor. sg. 1. *gwrith*, 3. *gwreith* became *gwneuthum, gwnaeth* like the perf. of *af*, § 181 vii (2).—The old perf. of √*u̯ereg-* is preserved in the 3rd sg. in Ml. W. *guoreu, goreu* § 182 ii (1), Ml. Bret. *guereu, gueure, guerue*.—It does not seem possible to derive *goruc* from the same root; this occurs as sg. 1. 3. in Corn. *gwrûk* (*grûg* etc.); it probably represents a synonymous form associated with *goreu* on account of accidental similarity; possibly < **u̯er-oik-*, √*peik-* : Skr. *piśáti* 'carves, adorns, forms, prepares', *péśaḥ* 'form' (: Lat. *pingo*, with *-k̂/ĝ-* altern.); cf. *Duu an goruc* B.B. 39 'God made us'.

(4) The v.n. *gwneuthur* is for *gwneithur* G.C. 112, 128, W.M. pp. 93, 94 (P 16), B.CH. 62 (cf. *anghyfreith wneuthur* R.P. 1296, i.e. *wneithur*) § 77 viii. The original v.n. was **gwreith* < **u̯rek-tu-*; by the loss of *-r-* after the initial this became *gweith, gwaith* 'work'. The form **gwreith* occurs, written *guereit*, in *enuir ith elwir od guur guereit* B.A. 37, which appears elsewhere as *enwir yt elwir oth gywir weithret*

do. 34, l. 4, though the rhyming word is *kywÿeith*; but *weithret* is also a genuine variant rh. with *kiwet* ib. l. 9. Possibly the *-r-* was first lost in the compound **gwreithret* by dissim. The *-ur* added to **gwreith* 'work' may have come from the synonymous *llafur* < Lat. *labōrem*. The form **gwreithur* might easily have become *gwneithur* by dissim. § 102 iii (2), as it was dissimilated to *gwruthyl* in Corn. The *-n-* might spread from this to the verb; but as *gu̯n-* is slightly easier than *gu̯r-* the change may have taken place in the vb. itself owing to its frequent occurrence. The old v.n. *gweith* with lost *-r-* came to be dissociated from the vb., and *gwneuthur* remained the only v.n. Ultimately from *gwaith* 'work' a new denom. *gweithiaf* 'I work' was formed, with *gweithio* 'to work' as v.n.—*gweith* 'battle' < **u̯iktā* (: Ir. *fichim* 'I fight', Lat. *vinco*) is a different word.

(5) *deuaf* is a compound of the verb 'to be', as seen in the v.n. *dy-fod*. The prefix is **do-* which appears regularly as *dy-* before a cons.—The pres. is future in meaning, and comes from the fut. **esō*; thus **dó esō* > **deu*, which was made into *deu-af* § 75 ii (2), so the 2nd sg.; the 3rd sg. **do eset* gave *daw* or *do* see ib. The pres. *deuaf* would be in O.W. **doüam*; under the influence of 3rd sg. *do* this became **do-am* > Ml. W. *doaf*; thus *deu-* and *do-* became the stems of the pres. and impf.; and *deu-* was even substituted for *dy-* in some other tenses as *deu-bi* for *dy-bi*, v (4). [Later the 3rd sg. *daw* was made a stem in S.W. dialects, and *dawaf*, *dawai*, etc. occur in late MSS.]

(6) Other tenses contain the *b-* forms of the vb. 'to be'; the fut. *dyvyδ*, *dyvi*, pres. subj. *dyvo*, *dyffo* are regular; the perf. might be either *dyvu* < **do-(be-)bāu̯e* or *dybu* < **do-b'bāue*; from the latter the *-b-* spread to other tenses. The perf. *dyvu* or *dybu* was supplanted, see vi (4), by a new perf. formed in imitation of *aeth* but with the vowels of the pres. stems *deu-*, *do-*; thus *deuth*, *doeth*; and by a new second perf. similarly modelled on *eδyw*, which like *eδyw* itself became obsolete in Ml. W.

(7) The impv. of *deuaf* was *dos*, which was transferred to *af*, see viii (1). The Corn. forms are *dus*, *dues*, *des*, the Bret. is *deuz*. It is clearly impossible to equate these forms either with one another or with *dos*. What has taken place is that the vowel of other forms, especially the 2nd pl., has been substituted for the original vowel; thus W. *dos* after *do-wch*, Corn. *dues* after *duech*, *des* after *de-uch*, Bret. *deuz* after *deu-it* 'come ye'; a late example is W. dial. (to a child) *dows yma* 'come here' after *dowch*. This leaves Corn. *dus* as the unaltered form; *dus* < **doistūd* < **do estōd* : Lat. *estōd*, *estō*, Gk. ἔστω.

(8) The loss of *dos* to *deuaf* was supplied by the impv. of verbs meaning 'come' from √*reĝ-* : Ir. *do-rega* 'he will come'; thus *dabre* < **dabbirigā* < **do-ambi-reĝ-ā*; *dy-re* < **do-rigā* < **do-reg-ā*. The forms with *-d* are generally referred to √*ret-* 'run'; but it would be more satisfactory if they could be connected with the above. Ir. *tair* 'come' < **to-reg* shows **reg-* athematic; to athematic stems a 2nd

sg. impv. *-*dhi* might be added (: Gk -$\theta\iota$); thus **do-reg-di* > **do-red-di* > *dyred*. It is true that -*dhi* was added to R-grade of root; but there are exceptions, as in the case of -*tōd* (Lat. *estō* for **s-tōd*).

dyre also occurs as 3rd sg. pres. ind., R.P. 1036, l. 28.

Verbs with old Perfects.

§ 194. i. (1) **dywedaf** 'I say' has 3rd sg. pres. ind. Ml. W. *dyweit* IL.A. 21, Early Mn. W. *dywaid*. In Late Mn. W. this form is replaced by *dywed*, which is not so much a re-formate from the other persons as a dial. pron. of *dywaid*, § 6 iii. (In Gwyn. the dial. form is *dyfyd* re-formed with the regular affection as in *gweryd* : *gwaredaf*.)

The 3rd sg. *dyweit* seems to contain the affected form of the R-grade *$\underset{\frown}{u}$at- (*$\underset{\frown}{u}_e$t-) of the root § 201 i (3); cf. *beirv* B.B. 101 : *berwaf*.

(2) The aor. is *dywedeis* W.M. 10, *dywedeist* do. 63, *dywedassam*, etc., which is regular, except that for the 3rd sg. the perf. is used : Ml. W. *dywawt* R.M. 5, 6, *dywat* do. 23, *dywot* W.M. 6, 7; Early Mn. W. *dywawd* R.G.E. D. 141, *dywad*, *dywod*, *dyfod*. For these in Late Mn. W. a new formation *dywedodd* is used; but in Gwyn. dial. *dywad*, *dẅad* may still be heard (Rhys, RC. vi 17).

Ni **ddyfod** *ond yn ddifalch;*
Ni bu na gorwag na balch.—D.N., M 136/123.

'He spoke only modestly : he was neither vain nor proud.'

The impers. is the perf. *dywespwyt* R.M. 90, R.B.B. 10, *dywetpwyt* S.G. 17, Mn. W. *dywetpwyd* Matt. i 22 (1620). But the aor. *dywedwyd* is more usual in Mn. W., and also occurs in Ml. W. : *dywedwyt* IL.A. 115.

(3) The 2nd sg. impv. is, of course, *dywet* W.M. 121; Mn. W. *dywed*. But in Early Mn. verse we sometimes find *dywaid*, D.G. 355, G.Gr. do. 247, owing to the influence of the irregular 3rd sg. pres. ind.

(4) The v.n. is Early Ml. W. *dywedwyd* > Ml. W. *dywedut* § 78 iv (2), written in Mn. W. *dywedyd*.

In the dialects S.W. *gwĕud* (the vb. also *gwedaf*), N.W. (*dwĕud*), *dĕud*, *dŭyd*, (*ĕ* ≡ *ə*).

(5) *dywedaf* : √*$\underset{\frown}{u}$et/d- 'say' : Skr. *vádati* 'speaks', W. *gwawd* 'song', Ir. *fāith* 'poet', Gaul. (-Gk.) pl. *οὐάτεις* (whence Lat. *vātēs*, Walde, s.v.) < Kelt. **$\underset{\frown}{u}$āt-* < L° **$\underset{\frown}{u}$ōt-*. Perf. *dywawt*, etc., § 182 ii (1).—V.n. *dywedwyd* § 203 iii (4), (8).

(6) The verb, with the root-form **u̯at-*, see (1), was used without the prefix *dy-* before *na* 'that not', thus *gwadaf na* 'I say that not, I deny that'. Hence *gwadaf* came to mean 'I deny', v.n. *gwadu*, though an objective clause after it is still introduced by *na*. With neg. *di-* in Ml. W. *diwat* W.M.L. 92 'denies'.

Oes a **wad** *o sywedydd,*
Lle dêl, **nad** *hyfryd lliw dydd ?*—Gr.O. 38.

'Is there an astronomer who will deny that the light of day, where it comes, is pleasant ?'

ii. (1) **gwaredaf** 'I succour, relieve' : 3rd sg. pres. ind. O.W. *guorit* JUV. SK., Ml. W. *gweryt* R.P. 1171, l. 5, Mn. W. *gweryd* Diar. xiv 25, Gr.O. 113;—v.n. Ml. W. *guaret* W.M. 3, Mn. W. *gwared, gwaredu*. The verb is quite regular. But in O. and Early Ml. W. the 3rd sg. past is the perf. *guoraut* JUV. SK., *guaraud* B.B. 39, *gwarawt* R.P. 1159.

There is also a 3rd sg. pres. subj. *gwares* seen in *gwares Duw dy anghen* R.P. 577 'may God relieve thy want', § 183 iii (1).

(2) *gwared* < **u̯o-ret-* < **upo-* 'under' + **ret-* 'run': cf. Lat. *suc-curro* < *sub* 'under' + *curro* 'I run';—*gwarawt* § 182 ii (1).

iii. (1) **dygaf** 'I bring' : 3rd sg. pres. ind. Ml. W. *dwc* W.M. 398, Mn. W. *dwg* (≡ *dūg*);—v.n. Ml. and Mn. W. *dwyn* (≡ *dŵyn*). Old 3rd sg. pres. subj. *duch* § 183 iii (1).

(2) Perf. sg. 1. *dugum* W.M. 42; 2. *dugost* S.G. 246; 3. *duc* W.M. 42; pl. 3. *dugant* C.M. 107, S.G. 246, re-formed as *ducsant* C.M. 59, *dugassant* S.G. 16. In Mn. W. the 3rd sg. *dug* (*-ū-*) remained the standard form, though a new *dygodd* has tended to replace it in the recent period. But the other persons were re-formed as aorists in the 16th cent., though the older forms continued in use :

Dy wg yn hir y **dugum**;
O **dygais**, *di-fantais fûm.*—W.ll.

'Thy resentment have I long borne; if I have borne it, I have been no gainer.'

(3) The compound *ymddygaf* is similarly inflected : v.n., Mn. W. *ymddwyn* 'to behave', *ymddŵyn* 'to bear' § 41 i; perf. sg. 3. *ymddug* Can. iii 4, in late bibles *ymddûg* (and so pronounced).

(4) *dygaf, dug* § 182 ii (2); *dŵyn* § 203 iv (3).

iv. (1) Ml. W. **amygaf** 'I defend': 3rd sg. pres. ind. *amwc* B.T. 29; v.n. *amwyn*.

am-ŵyn seems to mean literally 'fight for', since it is followed by *â* 'with'; as *amwyn y gorfiwch hwn a mi* W.M. 122 'to fight for this goblet with me'; *amvin ae elin terwin guinet* B.B. 57 'to fight with his enemy for the border of Gwynedd'.

(2) Perf. sg. 3. *amuc* B.B. 39, B.A. 12, *neu-s amuc ae wayw* B.A. 11 'defended him with his spear'. There is also a form *amwyth* used intransitively, and therefore prob. a middle form like *aeth*; as *pan amwyth ae alon yn Llech Wen* B.T. 57 'when he contended with his foes at Ll. W.'—Plup. sg. 3. *amucsei* R.P. 1044.

(3) *am-wg* < **mbi-(p)uk-*, √*peuk-*: Lat. *pugna*, *pugil*, Gk. πύκτης, πυγμάχος, O.E. *feohtan*, E. *fight*.—The perf. *amuc* with *-uc* < **-pōuke*, like *duc* § 181 ii (2). The form *amwyth* prob. represents **amb(i)uktos 'st*; as it has the R-grade of the root, it cannot be a root-aorist. The v.n. has *-no-* suffix § 203 iv (3).—See also § 54 i (1).

The perf. has not been preserved in *gorchfygaf* 'I conquer', Ml. W. *gorchyfygaf* § 44 ii < **uper-kom-puk-*.

v. (1) **clywaf** 'I hear': 3rd sg. pres. ind. *clyw* W.M. 54; v.n. Ml. W. *clybot* W.M. 474, *clywet* G.Y.C. (anno 1282) R.P. 1417, Mn. W. *clywed*.

(2) Perf. sg. 1. *cigleu* W.M. 36, 83 = R.M. 23, 60, R.M. 129, B.T. 33; *ciglef* R.M. 130, 168, W.M. 408, 423 = R.M. 262, 274, C.M. 46, 48; sg. 3. *cigleu* W.M. 144 = R.M. 214, C.M. 50, S.G. 10, 11, etc. The rest of the tense is made up of aor. forms: sg. 2. *clyweist* W.M. 230, R.M. 168; pl. 3. *clywssont* W.M. 33, R.M. 22; impers. *clywysbwyt* H.A. 117, *clywspwyt* S.G. 246.

In Early Mn. W. the 1st sg. *ciglef* survived in poetry, see ex., and I.G. 338. But the ordinary Mn. form is *clywais* D.G. 81. Similarly the 3rd sg. *cigleu* is replaced by *clywodd* Luc xiv 15; thus the tense became a regular aor. There is also a Late Ml. and Mn. 3rd sg. *clybu* S.G. 362, Ex. ii 15, and impers. *clybûwyd* Matt. ii 18 beside *clywŷd* Ps. lxxvii 18.

Doe ym mherigl y **ciglef**
Ynglyn aur angel o nef.—D.G. 124.

'Yesterday in danger I heard the golden *englyn* of an angel from heaven.'

(3) In Early Mn. W. a 2nd sg. impv. *degle* is found, e.g. G.Gl.

I. MSS. 315; both form and meaning seem to have been influenced by *dyre* (dial. *dere*) 'come!'

Degle'*n nes, dwg i liw nyf*
Ddeg annerch oddi gennyf.—D.G. 218.

'Lend nearer ear! bring to [her of] the colour of snow ten greetings from me.'

(4) *clywaf*, see § 76 v (2).—*cigleu* § 182 i; the form *ciglef* is the result of adding 1st sg. *-f* to *cigleu* (*euf* > *ef*); it tends in late MSS. to replace the latter; thus *cigleu* W.M. 144 = *ciglef* R.M. 214. The cynghanedd in the example shows that the vowel of the reduplicator is *i* (as it is generally written), and not *y*; hence we must assume original **ĥū-*. The 1st sg. was most used, and prob. gives the form *cigleu.*—*clybot* is probably for **clyw-bot*, cf. *adnabot* § 191 iv (3).

vi. **goδiweδaf** 'I overtake': v.n. *goδiwes* § 203 iii (7) so in Mn. W., sometimes re-formed in Late W. as *goddiweddyd*.—Perf. sg. 3. *goδiwawδ*, see § 182 iii.

Verbs with **t**-*Aorists.*

§ **195.** i. (1) **canaf** 'I sing': 3rd sg. pres. ind. *can* B.B. 13 ≡ Mn. W. *cán*; v.n. *canu*.—Aor. sg. 1. *keint, keintum*, 2. *ceuntost*, 3. *cant* § 175 iii, § 181 vii (1), impers. *canpwyt* § 182 iv (4); there are no corresponding forms in the pl. The *t*-aor. was already superseded in Late Ml. W.; thus sg. 3. *canawδ* H.L.A. 117, Mn. W. *canodd*; but *cant* survived in the phrase *X. a'i cant* '[it was] X. who sang it', ascribing a poem to its author, and is often mis-written *cánt* by late copyists § 175 iii (1).

(2) **gwanaf** 'I wound' is similar. Aor. sg. 1. *gweint*, 3. *gwant* § 175 iii; Mn. W. *gwenais*, *gwanodd*.

ii. (1) **cymeraf** 'I take', **differaf** 'I protect': 3rd sg. pres. ind. *cymer*, *differ*; v.n. *kymryt* W.M. 8, 9, *diffryt* R.M. 132, 141.—Aor. sg. 3. *kymerth*, *differth*, *kemirth* (≡*kymyrth*) A.L. i 126, *diffyrth* R.M. 139, § 175 iii (1). Beside these, forms in *-ŵys*, *-ws* occur in Ml. W., as *kemerrws* § 175 i (5), *differwys* G.B. R.P. 1191. But *cymerth* survives in biblical W., e.g. Act. xvi 33, beside the usual Late Mn. W. *cymerodd* C.C. 318, Matt. xiii 31.

(2) The v.n. *cymryt*, Mn. W. *cymryd* C.C. 335, *cam-gymryd* M.K. [137], has been re-formed as *cymeryd*; but the prevailing form in the spoken lang. is *cýmryd* Ceiriog O.H. 110 (or *cým'yd*). The translators of the bible adopted *cymmeryd*, evidently thinking that it was more

correct than the traditional form.—On the other hand, the verb is sometimes found re-formed after the v.n.; thus *kymreist* R.G. 1128, *cymrodd* D.G. 356, *cymrais* E.P. PS. CXIX 111.

(3) *cymeraf* < **kom-bher-* § 90;—*differaf* < **dē-ĕks-per-*, √*per-* 'bring': Skr. *pí-par-ti* 'brings across, delivers, protects';—*cymryt* < **kom-bhr̥-tu-* § 203 iii (8).—*cymerth, cymyrth* § 181 vii (1).

iii. Early Ml. W. *dyrreith* 'came, returned'; *maeth* 'nursed'; *gwreith* 'did'; § 181 vii (2).

Defective Verbs.

§ **196.** The following verbs are used in the 3rd sg. only.

i. (1) Ml. W. **dawr, tawr** 'matters', impf. *dorei, torei*, fut. *dorbi*; also with *di-* : *diðawr, diðorei*, v.n. *diðarbot*. (The *-ð-* is inferred from Early Mn. cynghanedd, as *deuddyn/diddawr* D.G. 37.) The verb is chiefly used with a negative particle and dative infixed pron.; thus *ny'm dawr* R.P. 1240 'I do not care', literally 'it matters not to me'. It is generally stated to be impersonal; but this is an error, for the subject—that which 'matters'—is often expressed, and when not expressed is understood, like the implied subject of any other verb. Thus, *Ny'm tawr i vynet* W.M. 437 'I do not mind going'; *i* is the affixed pron. supplementing *'m*, and the subject of *tawr* is *vynet*, thus 'going matters not to me'; so, *Ny'm dorei syrthyaw . . . nef* R.P. 1208, lit. 'the falling of the sky would not matter to me'; *odit a'm diðawr* R.P. 1029 '[there is] scarcely anything that interests me'.

Pathawr (for *pa 'th ðawr*) W.M. 430 'what does [that] matter to thee?' *Ny'm torei kyny byðwn* W.M. 172 'I should not mind if I were not'. *Nyt mawr y'm dawr* B.T. 65 'it is not much that it matters to me'; *ni'm dorbi* B.B. 60, 62 'it will not matter to me'. Without the dat. infixed pron.: *ny ðiðawr, ny ðawr cwt vo* R.P. 1055 'it matters not, it matters not where he may be'.

(2) In Late Ml. W. the subject and remoter object came to be confused in the 3rd sg.; thus *nys dawr* 'it matters not to him' came to be regarded as, literally, 'he does not mind it', *-s* 'to him' being taken for 'it'. Thus the verb seemed to mean 'to mind, to care'; as *am y korff nys diðorei ef* S.G. 64 'about the body he did not care'; *heb ðiðarbot py beth a ðamweinei iðaw* R.B.B. 225 'without caring what happened to him'.

In Late Ml. and Early Mn. W. this new verb 'to care' came

to be inflected for all the persons; as *ny δiδorynt* R.B.B. 216 'they cared not', *ni ddoraf* D.G. 529 'I do not care', *ni ddorwn i* do. 296, *ni ddawr hi, ni ddorwn* do. 174. In spite of this perversion the phrase *ni'm dawr* persisted, e.g. D.G. 138, G.Gr. D.G. 248, Gr.O. 57; also *o'm dawr* 'if I care', D.G. 246, G.Gr. ib.

(3) The interchange of *t-* and *d-* suggests the prefix **to-* : **do-*; the fut. *dorbi* and the v.n. show that the verb is a compound of the verb 'to be', the first element originally ending in a consonant, as in *adnabod, gwybod.* Hence we may infer *dawr* < **dāros'st* < **dó-(p)aros est*; **paros* : Gk. πάρος, Skr. *puráḥ*, all from Ar. **$p_e$ros* 'before'; for the development of the meaning cf. Skr. *purás kar-* 'place in front, make the chief thing, regard, prefer', with the verb 'to be' instead of 'to make' we should have 'to be in front, to be important, to matter'. The impf. *dorei* must therefore have been made from the pres. *dawr.*

The reason for *dar-* in the v.n. is a different accentuation : **do-áros-* > *dar-* § 156 i (13). The form *darbod* survives as a v.n. without a verb, meaning 'to provide', whence *darbodus* 'provident'. This may have been a separate word from the outset, with **$p_e$ros* meaning 'before' in point of time; '*to be before-hand' > 'to provide for the future'. The verb *darparaf* 'I prepare' seems to have the same prefix compounded with **par-* : *peri* 'to cause' < **q^{u}_{e}r-*, √*q^{u}er-* 'make' influenced by Lat. *paro* (*parātus* > W. *parod* 'ready').

From *diδawr* were formed the abstract noun *diδordep* M.A. ii 346 and the adj. *diddorol* only occurring in Late Mn. W. and generally misspelt *dyddorol* 'interesting'.

ii. (1) Ml. W. **dichawn**, *digawn* 'can', Mn. W. *dichon*, is rarely used except in this form, which is 3rd sg. pres. ind.

ny δichawn ef eu gwnneuthur IL.A. 33 'which He cannot do', cf. 34, 35; *llawer damwein a δigawn bot* W.M. 28, R.M. 18 'many an accident may happen'.—*Chwi yn falch a ddichon fod* T.A. A 9817/184 'you who may be proud'. *Ni ddichon neb wasanaethu dau arglwydd* Matt. vi 24. *Llawer a ddichon taer-weddi y cyfiawn* Iago v 16.

A subjunct. 3rd sg. occurs in *kyn ny* **δigonho** *y gerδ hon* W.M. 488 'though he does not know this craft'. In G.C. 138 we find *nas* **dichonaf** *vi ac nas* **dichonwn** *pei* 'that I cannot [do] it, and could not if . . .'

The form *dichyn* M.K. [ix.] is an artificial re-formation which was in fashion for a time, and then disappeared.

(2) *dichon, dichawn* < **dīʒ'ʒawn* < Brit. **dī-gegāne*; *digawn* < Brit. **dī-g'gāne*; < Ar. perf. sg. 3. **ĝeĝōne* : Gk. γέγωνα 'I make known'; for meaning cf. Eng. *can* : √*ĝenē-* 'know'.—W. *gogoni̯ant* 'glory' orig. '*fame' < **u̯o-g'gān-*.

(3) A stem of the same form (usually with *-g-*) is inflected throughout in O. and Ml. W. in the sense of 'cause to be, do, make', v.n. *digoni* M.A. i 359.

Ind. pres. sg. 2. *digonit* B.B. 19 (≡ *digonyδ*); aor. sg. 1. *digoneis* M.A. i 271*a*, sg. 2., 3. *dicones* JUV. SK., 3. *digones* B.T. 40, *dichones* M.A. i 273*a*, impers. *digonet* W.M. 477; plup. sg. 3. *digonsei* B.T. 24; subj. pres. sg. 1. *dichonwyf* M.A. i 271*a*.

(4) This seems to come from √*genē-* 'cause to be, give birth to', of which the pf. was sg. 1. **ĝeĝona*, 3. **ĝeĝōne* : Skr. 1. *jajāna*, 3. *jajāna*, Gk. 1. γέγονα. Whether the two roots are originally the same has not been decided. If the original meaning was something like 'to be efficient', it might have become 1. 'to produce, give birth to', 2. 'be master of, understand'.

(5) Ml. W. *digawn*, Mn. W. *digon* 'enough' may have originated in phrases such as *digawn hynny* 'that will do' understood as 'that [is] enough'; cf. *digawn a δodet yman* R.M. 14. From *digon* 'enough' a new verb was made in Mn. W., *digonaf*, v.n. *digoni* 'to suffice'.

iii. Ml. W. **deryw**, Mn. W. *darfu* § 190 i (2).

iv. Ml. W. **gweδa** R.P. 1286 'beseems' § 173 v (2), impf. *gweδei* W.M. 178; Mn. W. *gwedda* F. 30, impf. *gweddai* Eph. v 3, v.n. *gweddu* 1 Tim. ii 10. Followed by *i*.

Other persons are found : *gweδ-af, -wyf* IL.A. 122, *gweddynt* Gr.O. 63. *gwedda* is a denom. from *gwedd* 'appearance' < **u̯id-ā* § 63 iv.

v. Ml. W. **tykya** W.M. 14 'avails', impf. *tygẏei* ib., v.n. *tygẏaw* do. 16; Mn. W. *tyci̯a* Diar. x 2, impf. *tyci̯ai*, v.n. *tyci̯o* Matt. xxvii 24. Followed by *i*.

Ny thykỳa ỳ neb ymlit yr unbennes W.M. 14 'it avails no one to pursue the lady'; the subj. is *ymlit*; thus 'pursuing avails not'.

tycia is a denom. from *twg* : √*teu̯ā*^{x}-, see § 111 v (2); but the *-c-* in the pres. is caused by the *-h-* of *-ha*.

vi. Ml. W. **deiryt** R.P. 1197 'pertains, is related' foll. by *ỳ* 'to'; impf. *deirydei* S.G. 105. Mn. W. *deiryd* L.G.C. 272, Gr.O. 47.

A'r lludw gorff, lle daw ỳ gyt,
Ŷr lludw arall lle **deiryt**.—G.V., R.P. 1299.

'And [I commend] the body of dust, where it will all come, to the other dust where it belongs.'

The last syll. *-yt* may be the 3rd sg. mid. ending § 179 iii (1); this would explain the limitation of the vb. to the 3rd sg. In that case *deirydei* is a re-formation, and the prefix and stem are *deir-* < **do-gr-*; the root may be **ĝher-* 'hold' (: Lat. *co-hors*); thus *deiryt* from **do-ĝhretai* 'holds himself to'.

vii. **metha** *gan* 'fails', **synna** *ar* 'is astonished':

Pan **fethodd** *genni' ddyfeisio* B.C. 15 'when I failed to guess', lit. 'when guessing failed with me'; *metha gan y buan ddianc* Amos ii 14; *synnawdd arnaf* D.G. 386 'I was astonished at', *synnodd arnynt* Matt. xiii 54.

These verbs began to take the person for the subject in the Late Mn. period; as *synnodd pawb* Marc ii 12. The transition stage is seen in *synnodd arno wrth weled* Act. viii 13, where *weled* is no longer, as it should be, the subject; the next step is *synnodd ef*; then *synnais*, etc., in all persons.

Other verbs are used in a similar way in the 3rd sg., but not exclusively; *hiraethodd arno* 'he longed'; *llawenhaodd arno* 'he was rejoiced'; *lleshaodd iddo* 'profited him'; *gorfu arno* or *iddo* 'he was obliged'; *perthyn iddo* or *arno* 'belongs to him'; *digwyddodd iddo* 'it happened to him', etc. The subject is usually a v.n.: *digwyddodd iddo syrthio* 'he happened to fall'; *gorfu arno fyned* 'he was obliged to go'.

§ 197. i. The verb **genir** 'is born' is used in the impersonal only; ind. pres. (and fut.) *genir*, impf. *genid*, aor. *ganed*, also Late Mn. W. *ganwyd*, plup. Ml. *ganadoeδ*, *ganydoeδ*, *ganyssit*, Mn. *ganasid*; subj. pres. *ganer*; v.n. *geni*.

Although the forms, except in the pres., are, as in other verbs, passive in origin, they take the impers. construction, being accompanied by objective pronouns. The v.n. takes the obj. gen.: *cyn fy ngeni* 'before my birth', lit. 'before the bearing of me'.

genir, ganer, ganet LL.A. 37, *genit, geni* do. 11, *ganadoeδ* H.M. ii 263, *ganydoeδ* R.B.B. 111, *ganyssit* do. 286.

A 3rd. sg. aor. *genis* 'begat' occurs in C.M. 19, in a translation, and is prob. artificial.

ii. *genir* < Brit. **ganī-re* < **ĝ*$_e$*nē-*, √*ĝenē-* : Lat. *gigno*, Gk. *γίγνομαι*, etc. The *ganad-* in the plup. is the perf. pass. part. **ganatos* < **ĝ*$_e$*nə-to-s*; prob. *-yd-* is due to the anal. of *ydoedd*.

§ 198. i. Ml. W. **heb yr**, *heb y*, or *heb* 'says, said' is used for all persons and numbers; the *yr* or *y* is not the definite article, as it occurs not only before proper names, but before pronouns. The Mn. W. forms corresponding to the above are *ebr, ebe, eb*. In Recent W. the form *ebe* (with *-e* for Ml. *y* § 16 iv (2)) is sometimes wrongly written *ebai*, the *-e* being mistaken for a dialectal reduction of the impf. ending *-ai* § 6 iii.

Oes, arglwyδ, heb yr ynteu W.M. 386 'Yes, lord, said he'; *heb yr ef* ib. 'said he'; *heb yr wynt* do. 185 'said they'; *heb yr Arthur* do. 386 'said A.'; *heb y mi* do. 46 'said I'; *heb y pawb* do. 36 'said every-

body'; *heb y Pwyll* do. 4 'said P.'; *heb ef* do. 2 'said he'; *heb ynteu* do. 3 'said he'; *heb hi* do. 10 'said she'; *heb wynt* do. 27 'said they'; etc. Its use without an expressed subject is rare, and occurs chiefly where it repeats a statement containing the subject: *Ac yna y dywat Beuno, mi a welaf, heb* LL.A. 126 'And then Beuno said, "I see," said [he]'; *A gofyn a oruc iδaw, arglwyδ, heb* R.M. 179 'and he asked him, "lord," said [he]'; *heb ef . . . heb* R.M. 96.

Mn. W. (N.W.) *eb ni* Ps. cxxxvii 4 (1588), *eb ef* B.CW. 8 'said he', *eb yr angel* ib. 'said the angel', *ebr ef* do. 10, *ebr ynteu* do. 15, *eb ef* M.K. [11], *hebr ef* do. [20]; (S.W.) *ebe Myrddin* D.P.O. 4, *eb un* do. 97, *ebe* I.MSS. 154 ff. The N.W. dial. form *ebr*, e.g. *ebr fi* B.CW. 10, etc. is now re-formed as *ebra*.

Yn ol Siôn ni welais haul,
Eb *Seren Bowys araul.*—T.A., A 14975/107.

'Since [I have lost] Siôn I have not seen the sun, said the bright Star of Powys.'

ii. C. used *hebaf* and *hebu*, see ex.; P.M. imitating him (the two poems are addressed to father and son) wrote *ny hebwn hebod* M.A. i 294 'I would not speak without thee'.

Ti hebof nyt **hebu** *oeδ teu*;
Mi hebot ny **hebaf** *inneu.*—C., R.P. 1440.

'Thou without me—it was not thy [wont] to speak; I without thee—I will not speak either.'

The compound *atebaf* (< **ad-heb-af*) 'I answer' is inflected regularly throughout: 3rd sg. pres. ind. *etyb*, v.n. *ateb*. The rarer compounds *gwrthebaf* 'I reply', *gohebaf* 'I say' (now 'I correspond') seem also to be regular: *gohebych* B.F. R.P. 1154 (Mn. W. 3rd sg. pres. ind. *goheba*, v.n. *gohebu*).

iii. In O.W. only *hepp* M.C. (≡ *heb* § 18 i) occurs, before a consonant in each case. In Ml. W. *heb yr* and *heb* occur before vowels, and *heb y* before consonants. Assuming that the original form in W. was **hebr*, this would become either **hebṛ* or *heb* before a consonant; the former would naturally become *hebyr*, later *heby*; this seems to be the sound meant by *heb y*, the *y* being written separately because sounded *y* as in the article. Before a vowel **hebr* would remain, and is prob. represented by *heb yr* (the normal Ml. spelling would be *hebyr* ≡ *hebyr*). In S.W. *heb* and *heby* survived, becoming *eb, ebe*; in N.W. *heb* and *hebr*, becoming *eb* and *ebr*.

If the above is correct, the original **hebr* must be from a deponent form with suffix **-re* added directly to the root; thus **seqᵘ-re*, √*seqᵘ-* 'say'; cf. *gŵyr* § 191 iii (1). In the face of the compound *ateb* = Ir. *aithesc*, both from Kelt. **ati-seqᵘ-*, Strachan's statement, Intr. 97, that *heb* 'says' is of adverbial origin seems perverse. A sufficient

explanation of its being uninflected is its deponent form. In compounds it was regularized, and C.'s *hebaf* is deduced from these.

iv. The verb **amkawδ** 'answered' is a survival which occurs frequently in the W.M. Kulhwch, and nowhere else; the 3rd pl. is *amkeuδant* W.M. 486, –8, which the scribe at first wrote *amkeuδaϭt* do. 473, –7, –8, –9, mistaking *n* for *u* and writing it *ϭ*.

amk-awδ, § 96 iii (4); if the explanation there given is correct, *amkeuδant* is a re-formation, possibly at first **amkeuδynt* with affection of *aw* as in *beunydd* § 220 iv (2).

§ 199. i (1) **meddaf** 'I say' is inflected fully in the pres. and impf. ind. only: 3rd sg. pres. *medd*, impers. *meddir* 'it is said'. There is no v.n.

Exx. 1. **Meδ** *seint Awstin* R.A. 42 'St. Augustine says'; 2. **meδ** *yr ystoria* do. 129 'says the account'; 3. *Dioer, heb y kennadeu, Teg*, **meδ** *Pryderi oeδ ỽ'r gwr* . . . W.M. 88 '"By Heaven," said the messengers, "Pryderi says it would be fair for the man . . ."'; 4. *Edyrn vab Nuδ yw*, **meδ** *ef*; *nyt atwen inheu ef* R.M. 259 'He says he is Edyrn son of Nudd; but I don't know him'; 5. *Blawt*, **meδei** *y Gwyδel* W.M. 54 '"Flour," said the Irishman'; 6. *Broch*, **meδynt** *wynteu* do. 24 '"A badger," said they'.

Mn. W.: *meddaf* I.F. I.MSS. 319, Col. i 20; *meddi* Ioan viii 52; *medd* M.K. [20]; *meddant* 2 Cor. x 10.

(2) In the recent period *medd* has tended to take the place of *eb*, and has almost ousted it in the dialects. But in Ml. W. the two are distinct: *heb* is used in reporting a conversation, and is therefore of extreme frequency in tales; *meδ* is used in citing authors, as in exx. 1., 2., or in quoting an expression of opinion as in ex. 3., or an answer not necessarily true, as in exx. 4., 5., 6. Hence we may infer that *meδ* originally meant 'judges, thinks', and is the original verb corresponding to *meδwl* 'thought': Ir. *midiur* 'I judge, think', Lat. *meditor*, √*med-*, allied to √*mē-* 'measure'.—To express 'think' a new verb *meδylϊaf*, a denom. from *meδwl*, was formed, § 201 iii (6).

(3) The verb **meddaf** 'I possess' is however conjugated regularly throughout: 3rd sg. pres. ind. *medd*, 3rd sg. aor. *meddodd* W.Ll. C.Ll. 105, v.n. *meddu*.

This verb is unconnected with the above, and probably comes from √*med-* 'enjoy': Skr. *mádati* 'rejoices' (from the sense of 'refreshing' comes 'healing' in Lat. *mĕdeor*, *medicus*). W. *meddaf* is often intrans., followed by *ar*; *meddu ar* 'to rejoice in, be possessed of'. A common saying is *Mae hwn yn well i feddu arno* 'this is better to give satisfaction', lit. 'to have satisfaction on it'.

ii. (1) The verb **dlyaf** (2 syll.), **dylyaf** (3 syll.) 'I am entitled to, obliged to' is conjugated fully in Ml. W. : 3rd sg. pres. ind. *dyly*, 3rd sg. aor. *dylyawδ* LL.A. 15, v.n. *dlyu*, *dleu*, *dylyu*. But in Mn. W. the inflexion is restricted to the impf. and plup. ind. with the meaning 'I ought', more rarely 'I deserve', and the v.n. is not used.

D.G. has *dyly* 28 ; elsewhere the impf. *dylywn*, *dylyai* (misprinted *dyleuaf*, *dylai*) 35 'I deserve, she deserves'; *Ni ddylýut ddilẽ-u* (misprinted *Ond ni ddylit*) 427 'thou oughtest not to destroy'. The 3rd sg. *dylyai* became *dylâi* § 82 ii (3), also without the intrusive *y*, *dlâi*. Hence sg. 1. *dyláwn*, 2. *dylâut*. These forms may still be heard from old speakers; but in the Late Mn. period a re-formed tense *dýlwn*, etc. has come into use; and the written form is *dylwn* 2 Cor. ii 3, *dylit* Es. xlviii 17, *dylei* Ioan xix 7, *dylem*, 1 Ioan iv 11, etc. The plup. in any case would be *dylaswn* 2 Cor. xii 11, etc.—In the early 17th cent. an artificial sg. 3. *dyl* was sometimes used.

Gwirion a **ddlae** [a] *drugaredd ;* [a] MS. *ddylae*.
Gwae'r ferch a'i gyrro i'w fedd.—D.E., C 49/33.

'The virtuous deserves mercy ; woe to the woman who sends him to his grave.' On *-ae* for *-âi* see § 52 iii (3).

(2) The first *y* in *dylyaf* is intrusive, and comes from *dyly* < **dlyʒ* § 40 iii (3). Related forms are Ml. W. *dylyet*, *dlyet* 'merit; debt', Mn. W. *dyléd* D.W. 80, *dléd* T.A. A 14967/29 'debt', § 82 ii (3); the latter is the Gwyn. dial. form ; late Mn. *dýled* ; Bret. *dle* 'debt', *dleout* 'devoir', Ir. *dligim* 'I deserve', *dliged* 'law, right'; all these may represent either **dleg-* or **dlg-* in Kelt. : Goth. *dulgs* 'debt' < **dhlgh-*, O.Bulg. *dlŭgŭ* 'debt'; the underlying meaning is 'to be due, or lawful' either 'to' ('merit') or 'from' ('debt'); hence **dhlegh-* 'law'. There is nothing to prevent our referring to such a root O.E. *lagu*, E. *law*, and Latin *lēx* (*llex*, Sommer 293), if for the latter we assume *-gh/g-* § 101 iii (1).

§ 200. i. **hwde**, *hwdy* 'here! take this' and **moes** 'give me' are used in the imperative only ; in Mn. W. *hwde* has pl. *hwdỳch* ; *moes* has Ml. pl. *moesswch* R.M. 182, Mn. *moeswch* Gr.O. 58.

Hwde *vodrwy* W.M. 168, R.M. 234 'take a ring'; **hwde** *di y votrwy honn* R.M. 173 'take thou this ring'; **hwdy** *ditheu ef* C.M. 31 'do thou take it'; *hwdiwch* M.K. [78], R.CW. 38.

Moes § 154 iii (2) ex.; **moes** *vy march* W.M. 17 'give me my horse'; **moes** *imi y gorvlwch* W.M. 164 'give me the goblet'; *Melys ;* **moes** *mwy* prov. '[It is] sweet ; give me more'; **moes** *i mi dy galon* Diar. xxiii 26 ; **moes, moes** do. xxx 15 ; **moesswch** *rhyngoch air* Barn. xx 7.

ii. *hwde* is not used for 'take' generally, but is an exclamation accompanying an offer, cf. *Gwell un* **hwde** *no deu aδaw* R.B. 968 'better one "take this" than two promises'; hence possibly *hw* for **hwy* § 78 ii < **s(u̯)oi* 'for (thy) self' the reflexive **su̯e-* being used orig. for all persons. In that case *-dy* or *-de* is the ordinary affixed pron. (= B.B. *-de*, § 160 iv (3), used because *hw* was taken for a verb), or is perhaps voc.; *hwdy dî* then is **hw dydî*. The S.W. *hwre* is late, M.Ll. ii 108 (not by him, see do. 319).

moes < **moi estō(d)* § 75 ii (2) 'be it to me', i.e. 'let me have it'; cf. *est mihi* 'I have'. If so, *i mi* 'to me' after it is redundant; but its frequent omission makes this probable.

Verbal Stems.

§ **201.** i. The pres. stem of the W. verb, from which in regular verbs the aor. and subj. stems can be regularly deduced, may be called the stem of the verb. It is found by dropping the *-af* of the 1st sg. pres. ind. The ending *-af*, as we have seen, comes from Brit. **-ame* for unaccented **-āmi*, which is sometimes original, and represents Ar. **-ā-mi* or **-ō-mi*; but *-af* was often substituted for *-îf* < Brit. **-ī-me* < Ar. **-ē-mi*, and for the affection caused by Brit. **-ū* < Ar. **-ō*, the ending in thematic verbs. The W. verbal stem represents—

(1) F-grade of √, as in *cymer-af* 'I take', *ad-fer-af* 'I restore', √*bher-*: Lat. *fero*, Gk. *φέρω*. So *rhed-af* 'I run', *gwared-af* 'I succour', *eh-ed-af* 'I fly', etc.

(2) F°-grade of √, as in *gu̯an-af* 'I wound' < **gu̯on-*, Ir. *gonim*, √*gᵘhen-* : Gk. *φονάω*. So *pob-af* 'I bake', *a-gor-af* 'I open' § 99 vi, etc.

(3) R-grade of √, as in *dyg-af* 'I bring' < **duk-* § 182 ii (2); also V-grade, as in *co-sp-af* 'I punish', Ir. *co-sc-aim* < **con-sqᵘ-* ('talk with'), √*seqᵘ-* 'say'. (Though in *rho-dd-af* 'I give' the *dd* appears to be V-grade of √*dō-*, in reality *-ddaf* represents Ar. **-dō-mi* with F-grade, as in Gk. *δίδωμι*.)

(4) R-grade of √ with *n*-infix, as in *gann-af* 'I am contained' <**ghn̥d-* § 173 iv (1), √*ghed-* : E. *get*; and in *gwnn* 'I know' <**gu̯ind-*, √*gu̯eid-* § 191 iii (1).—W. *prynaf* 'I buy' < **qᵘrinā-mi*, √*qᵘreiā-* § 179 iii (1). The infix comes before the last cons. of the root, and is syllabic (*-ne-*) before a sonant; the last cons. in **qᵘreiā-* is *ə* (*ā*=*aə*), and before *ə* the syllable is *-na-* § 63 v (2), hence **qᵘrinā-*; cf. Gk. Dor. *δάμνᾱμι*, √*demā-*.

(5) R-grade of √ + *i̯*, as in *seini̯-af* 'I sound' <**stᵉn-i̯-*, √*sten-*; *sain* 'a sound' is an old v.n., cf. *darstain* 'to resound' § 156 i (13).

(6) V-grade of √ + **i̯i̯* > W. *-yδ-*, as in *b-yδ-af* § 189 iv (1); and *gweinyδ-af* R.P. 1244 'I serve', 3rd sg. *gweinyδ* do. 1238, *gweinyδa*

1254 < *ǫ̆o-gn-íi̯-, √ĝenē-, § 196 ii (4); the v.n. is *gweini* <*ǫ̆o-gnīm- § 203 vii (4), These represent Ar. iteratives and causatives in *-éi̯e-* (: *-i-* : *-ī-*).

(7) R-grade of √ + *-*isq-* > W. *-ych-*, as *llewych-af* (late corruption *llewyrchaf*) < *lug-isk-, √leuq/g-: Gk. *-ι-σκω*;—F-grade of √ + *-*sq-* > W. *-ch-*, in Ml. W. *pu-ch-af* 'I wish' < *qu̯oi-sq-, √qu̯oi-: Lith. *kvĕczù* 'I invite', O. Pruss. *quoi* 'he will', Lat. *vīs*, O. Lat. *vois* 'thou wishest', Lat. *invītus*, (*qu̯* > Lat. *v*), Gk. *κοῖται· γυναικῶν ἐπιθυμίαι* Hes. —Ar. suff. *-*sqe-*.

(8) Other Ar. stem-forms, mostly deverbatives and denominatives, such as *-d-* or *-dh-* stems, as *rhathaf*, *rhathu* § 91 ii; *-t-* stems, as *gadaf* 'I leave' < *ĝhə-t- ii (2); *-u̯-* stems, as (*gu̯r*)*andawaf* 'I listen' § 76 iii (1); stems with *-m-*, as *tyfaf* 'I grow' <* *tu-m-* : Lat. *tumeo*, √*teu̯ā*- 'increase'; etc.

ii. (1) Many verbs are denominatives formed from the v.n. as stem. Old examples are *gafaelaf* 'I take hold' from v.n. *gafael* § 188 iv; *gwasanaethaf* 'I serve' from v.n. *gwasanaeth* 'to serve'; as the latter was also an abs. noun meaning 'service', a new v.n. *gwasanaethu* was made from the verb, § 203 i (1); *ymddir(i̯)edaf* 'I trust' from v.n. *ymddir(i̯)ed*; *andawaf* from *andaw* i (8); *cadwaf* etc. § 202 v. For later examples see (3).

(2) (*a*) The verb *gadaf* 'I leave, let, permit', v.n. *gadu*, *gadael*, *gadel* has a doublet *adawaf* 'I leave, leave behind', v.n. *adaw* (in Late Ml. and Mn. W. *gadawaf*, v.n. *gadaw*, *gado*). The two verbs are conjugated regularly throughout; thus—

1. **gadaf**: 3rd sg. pres. ind. *gad*, 2nd sg. impv. *gad*, 2nd pl. do. *gedwch*, 3rd sg. pres. subj. *gato* ≡ *gatto* R.P. 1271; *na at* R.P. 1299 > *nat* do. 1216, Mn. W. *nād* 'let not', *na ato* > *nato* 'forbid'; from these we have *nadaf* 'I forbid', v.n. *nadu* C.C. 187, Card. *nadel*.

Och arglwyδ, heb y Gwalchmei, **gat** *ỽ mi vynet . . . Ae* **adu** *a wnaeth Arthur* R.M. 181 '"Alas lord," said G., "let me go." And A. let him.' *Ny* **adei** *ef hun vyth ar legat dyn* W.M. 465 'he never left sleep on eye of man.' **Ym-âd** *a* P.G.G. 22 'forego' impv.

Gwedd ewyn, cyd gweddiwyf,
Gadu *ar Dduw rannu 'r wyf.*—D.G. 17.

'[Maid of] the colour of foam, though I pray, I leave it to God to dispose.'

Ac ato'dd awn bei'm **getid**.—G.Gl. P 83/59.

'And to him would I go, if I were allowed.'

Nad *i ferch newidio f'oes.*—D.G. 295.

'Let not a woman change my life' (? read *niweidio* 'mar').

Nato *Duw* § 159 ii (2), E.P. 274 'God forbid'; *nadodd* D.G. 105 'prevented'. **Gedwch** *i blant bychain ddyfod attafi* Marc x 14.

2. **adawaf**: 3rd sg. pres. ind. *edeu*, Mn. W. *gedy*, 2nd sg. impv. *adaw*, 2nd pl. *edewch*, Mn. W. *gadewch*, 3rd sg. pres. subj. *adawo*, etc.

Adaw *ti y lle hwnn* LL.A. 105 'leave thou this place'. *Ac yn y llestyr yδ ymolcho yδ* **edeu** *ỳ modrwyeu* W.M. 475 'and in the vessel in which she washes she leaves her rings'. *hyt nat* **edewis** *ef wr byw* do. 54 'till he left no man alive'. *A el ỳ chware* **adawet** *ỳ groen* R.B. 965 'whoso goes to play let him leave his skin behind'.

gadaf is itself prob. an old denom., i (8), from **ĝhə-t-*, √*ĝhē-*: Skr. *jáhāti* 'leaves', Lat. *hē-rēs*, Gk. *χῆρος*. **adawaf** is a denom. from *adaw*, which may be an *ad*-compound of the same root with *u̯*- verbal noun suffix § 202 v (1); thus **ati-ĝhə-u̯-* > Brit. **ate-gau̯-* > *ad-aw*. Initial *g*- begins to appear in *adaw* in the 14th cent.: *gedewis* LL.A. 106.

The verb *gadaf* is in common use in the spoken lang., but recent writers seem to think that it is a corruption of *gadawaf*, and in late edns. of the Bible *gédwch* l.c. has been changed by vandals to *gadéwch*.

(*b*) **cyfodaf** 'I rise, raise', v.n. *cyfodi*, is generally reduced in Mn. W. to *codaf*, *codi* (*cyfod-* > *cywod-* > *co-wod-* > *cod-*). But in lit. W. the 3rd sg. pres. ind. *cyfyd* Matt. xvii 23, and 2nd sg. impv. *cyfod* Gen. xxxi 13, remained. In the recent period, however, a dial. form *cŵyd* (< **cŵ|yd* < *cywyd*) is sometimes used for the former, and even as impv., e.g. Ceiriog C.G. 94.

In Gwyn. the dial. forms are *cyfyd* 'rises', *cŵ'ad* 'rise!' the latter now being replaced by a new *cod* from the vb. stem.

cyf-od-af < **kom-(p)ot-*, √*pet-* 'fly': Gk. *ποτή*, *πέτομαι*, O. Pers. *ud-a-patatā* 'rises'; *cyf-od-* orig. 'rise' (of birds, bees, etc.). The √ also means 'to fall' Walde² 573, hence W. *od-i* 'to fall' (of snow), as *Ottid eiry* B.B. 89 'snow falls'; hence *ōd* 'snow'.

(3) In Mn. W., especially in the late period, some verbs have been re-formed with the v.n. as stem; thus *arhoaf* became *arhosaf* § 187 ii; *adeilaf* became *adeiladaf* § 203 iii (1); *olrhëaf* 'I trace', v.n. *olrhain* § 203 iv (1), became *olrheiniaf*; and *darllëaf* 'I read' became *darllennaf*, or *darllenaf*, formed from the dial. v.n. *darllen*, for the standard form *darllein*, *darllain*.

As there is no early evidence of *darllen* it cannot be assumed to be from *llên* < *lleen* < Lat. *legend-*. *darllennaf* instead of **darlleiniaf* may be due to the influence of *yßgrifennaf*. But in S.W. it is sounded *darllenaf* with single *-n-*, as if influenced by *llên*. In the 1620 Bible the vb. is *darllennaf* Dan. v 17, but impv. *darllain* Es. xxix 11, *darllein* Jer. xxxvi 6, v.n. *darllein* Act. viii 30.

iii. The stems of denominatives are formed in W. either without a suffix, or with the suffixes *-ych-*, *-yg-*, *-ha-*, *-ho-* or *-i̯-*; thus—

(1) Without a suffix: *bwyd-af* 'I feed', v.n. *bwyd-o*, from *bwyd* 'food'; *meddiann-af* 'I take possession', v.n. *-u*, from *meddiant* 'possession'; *pur-af* 'I purify', v.n. *-o*, from *pur* 'pure'; *arfog-af* 'I arm', v.n. *-i*, from *arfog* 'armed'.

(2) Suff. **-ych-** as in *brad-ych-af* 'I betray', v.n. *bradychu*, from *brad* 'treason'; *chwenychaf* 'I desire', v.n. *chwenychu* LL.A. 13, *whenychu* R.B.B. 89, *chwennych* D.G. 91, from *chwant* 'desire'; *tewych-af* 'I fatten', v.n. *-u*, from *tew* 'fat'; on the suff. see i (7).

The relation between this and the abstr. noun ending *-wch* § 143 iii (23) is seen in *pas* 'cough' < **q^{u}əst-* (: O.E. *hwōsta*), *pesychaf* 'I cough', *pesychu* 'to cough', *peswch* 'coughing'; the last is a suffixless v.n., and is still used as a v.n. in S.W. dialects. Ar. **-isq-* > **-q^{u}χ* > *-wch* § 96 iii (4), § 26 vi (5).

diolwch 'to thank' W.M. 11, 'thanks' do. 34, became *diolch* 'to thank' R.B.B. 134, 'thanks' do. 10, and **diolychaf* 'I thank' became *diolchaf* W.M. 104 even earlier; *diolwch* < **dē-i̯āl-isq-*: W. *i̯olaf* 'I praise', v.n., *i̯oli*, *eiri̯olaf* 'I entreat', v.n. *eiri̯awl* < **ar-i̯āl-*; Kelt. **i̯āl-* 'speak fervently' < Ar. **jāl-* 'fervent': Gk. ζῆλος, Dor. ζᾶλος 'zeal'.

(3) Suff. **-yg-**, as in *gwaethyg-af* 'I become worse', v.n. *-u*, from *gwaeth* 'worse'; *mawryg-af* 'I extol', v.n. *-u*, from *mawr* 'great'.

The suff. is prob. a variant of *-ych-* after *th*, *ll*, cf. *-wg* § 143 iii (23). The stem-form of Ml. W. *gwellygy̯aw* from *gwall* 'defect' has been influenced by the synonymous *diffygy̯aw* < Lat. *dē-fici-*.

(4) Suff. **-ha-**; the *-h-* unvoiced *-b*, *-d*, *-g*, and often *-f*, *-ð* § 111 iii. It has various uses:

(*a*) 'to seek', added to nouns, forming v.n.'s without a v.n. ending: *cardóta* 'to beg' (*cardod* 'charity'); *blóta* 'to beg meal' (*blawd* 'meal'); *cíca* 'to beg meat' (*cig* 'meat'); *ýta* 'to beg corn' (*ŷd* 'corn'); *pysgóta* 'to fish' (*pysgod* 'fish'); *cneua* 'to gather nuts' (*cnau* 'nuts'); *adára* 'to go bird-catching' (*adar* 'birds'); *cynúta* 'to gather fuel' (*cynnud* 'fuel'); *llygóta* 'to catch mice' (*llygod* 'mice'); *gwréica* 'to seek a wife' (*gwraig* 'wife'); *lloffa* 'to glean' (*llaw*(*f*) 'hand'), etc. None of these has a corresponding verb, § 204 i; but many have a nomen agentis in *-hai*, as *blótai*, *cynútai* § 143 iv (2).

These forms are proper compounds of noun stems with **sag-* < **səg-*,

√*sāg-* : Ir. *saigim* 'I seek', Goth. *sōkjan*, E. *seek*; thus **mlāto-sag-* > **blod-ha-* > *blota*. The noun suff. *-hai* < **sagi̯ō* 'seeker' § 104 ii (2).

(*b*) 'to go as, act as', in Ml. W. *marchockaaf* 'I ride', *marchockaawδ* S.G. 34, *marchocawn* do. 35; v.n. *marchogaeth* do. 1, 35. A variant of the verb is formed without a suff.: *marchogaf*, 3rd sg. pres. subj. *marchoco* A.L. i 24, imps. *marckocer* do. 264, also with v.n. *marchogayth* ib.

Brit. **markā́kos agāme* 'I go as rider', treated as one word, gave **marchoghaẓaf* > *marchocáaf*. But the v.n. was a proper compound **markā́ko-aktā* > **markā́kāktā* > *marchogaeth* 'to ride'. In Dyfed a new v.n. was formed from the vb. stem : *marchocáu*, now corrupted to *brochgáu*. (*-aaf* implies active flexion, but the vb. was orig. middle.)

(*c*) 'to become, be' with adjectives; as *gwanhā́f* 'I become weak', v.n. *gwanháu*; *cryfhā́f* 'I become strong', v.n. *cryfháu*, dial. *cryffáu*; *trugarhā́f* 'I am merciful, have mercy', v.n. *trugarháu*, from *trugar*; etc.

Brit. **u̯ánnos agāme* 'I go weak' > **u̯annos-agame* > W. *gwanháaf*. Where a vowel drops before *s*, the latter remains as *h*, cf. § 183 ii (2). It is a common usage to stereotype the nom. sg. mas. in such phrases; cf. Lat. *potis sumus*, not **potēs sumus*, and Skr. pl. 1. *dātā́smas* instead of *dātā́raḥ smas* following the sg. *dātā́smi* 'I shall give' < *dātā́ asmi* 'I am a giver.'—W. *parhā́f* 'I continue' (v.n. *parháu*, *pára*) < Brit. **paros-agame* 'I go on the same' < Lat. *par*.

(*d*) 'to make' with adjectives; *glanhā́f* 'I clean', v.n. *glanháu*; *gwastatā́f* 'I flatten, straighten', v.n. *gwastatáu*; *cadarnhā́f* 'I strengthen', v.n. *cadarnháu*.

Brit. **glanosagāme* > W. *glanháaf*. The nom. sg. mas. was used because it had been stereotyped in this form of phrase in group (*c*).

To this group should probably be referred *difétha* 'to mar, spoil' < **di-feδ-ha* 'to make unusable, unenjoyable', √*med-* 'enjoy', § 199 i (3). The verb was *difetháaf*, see *difetha-awδ* R.B.B. 394, *diffethe-eist* W.M. 29, *diffetha-er* W.M.L. 137 (old *ff* for *f* § 19 ii (2)); it is now re-formed as *diféthaf*, though the v.n. remains unchanged.

(*e*) 'to use', etc., with nouns; as *dyfrhā́f* 'I water', v.n. *dyfrháu*; *coffā́f* 'I remember', v.n. *coffáu* or *cóffa*; *bwytā́f* 'I eat', v.n. *bwyta*.

Gwyn. dial. *býta* < O.W. *bit* JUV., Ml. W. *byd* B.B. 84, variant of *bwyd* § 101 iii (2).—This group follows the analogy of (*b*) as (*d*) does that of (*c*).

¶ Similar formations abound in Ir., Thurneysen Gr. 314; but Ir.

does not help us to decide the orig. forms, as intervocalic *-s-* simply drops in Ir. The combination goes back beyond Prim. Kelt.; in Lat. it is a proper compound : *mītigāre, rēmigāre, nāvigāre,* etc.

(5) Suff. *-ho-*; in *paratoaf* 'I prepare' § 185 i; *crynhoaf* 'I compress, summarize', v.n. *crynhói.*

W. *paratóaf* < **parad-hoδ-af* < **parāto-sod-* 'set ready' < Lat. *parātus* + **sod-*, √*sed-* § 63 ii; cf. *arhóaf* § 187 iii; see also § 74 i (1).

(6) Suff. *-i̯-*; this is added to nouns, and is largely used: *taniaf* 'I fire' (*tán* 'fire'); *glaniaf* 'I land' (*glan* 'shore'); *soniaf* 'I mention' (*són* 'rumour'); *meddyliaf* 'I think' (*meddwl* 'thought'); *rhodiaf* 'I go about' (*rhawd* 'course'); etc.

This is the Ar. denominative suff. **-i̯e-*, as seen in Skr. *apas-yá-ti* 'is active' from *ápas-* 'act'; Gk. τελείω (<*τελεσ-i̯ω) from τέλεσ-; δηλόω (<*δηλο-i̯ω) < δῆλο-ς; etc., Meillet, Intr.² 183.

In old formations the *-i̯-* of course affects the preceding vowel in W.; thus *niweidiaf* 'I injure': *niwed,* Ml. W. *er-nywed* w. 48*a*, § 76 iv (4); *peidiaf,* v.n. *peidio* 'to cease, be quiet' < Brit. **pat-* < **qᵘ(i̯)ə-t-*, √*qᵘei̯ē-*; Lat. *quiēs.*

In W. the suff. is not added to adjectives. But *-ai-*, Ml. *-ei-* in the ult. may be caused by the *i̯* of the lost adjectival ending **-i̯os*; and the *i̯* is kept in the vb.; thus *disglair* 'bright' < **dē-eks-kl(i̯)ari̯ós* (: *claer* < **kliari̯ôs* § 75 vi (1)); hence W. *disgleiriaf* 'I shine', v.n. *disgleiri̯o.* From these forms it was extended to other adjectives with *-ei-* as *perffeithi̯o, perffeiδyaw* from *perffeith* < Lat. *perfectus*; and with *-i-*, as *gwiri̯o* 'to verify' from *gwir* § 35 iii (but *cywiro* from *cywir*).

The suffix is generally used in verbs borrowed from Eng.; thus *pasiaf* 'I pass', *passiodd* Can. ii 11; *peintyaw* 'to paint' (§ 16 v (2)); *ystopyawδ* S.G. 72 'stopped'. In some cases two forms are used; thus *ffaelyaw* S.G. 285 'to fail', beside *ffaelu* do. 348, the latter being the treatment of native words with *-ae-*; both forms are still in use. So *helpio* and *helpu.*

Verbal Nouns.

§ 202. i. (1) The v.n. often consists of the stem of the verb with no ending: *ateb* 'to answer', vb. *atebaf*; *edrych* 'to look', vb. *edrychaf*; *dangos* 'to show', vb. *dangosaf*; *adrodd* 'to recite', Ml. W. *adrawδ*, vb. *adroddaf*; *anfon* 'to send', vb. *anfonaf*; *bwyta* 'to eat', vb. *bwytá-af* etc.; Ml. and Early Mn. W. *ffo* § 223 i (2), Late *ffoi* 'to flee',

(2) This form implies a lost monosyllabic ending, most probably neut. *-os* as in Gk. γέν-ος, Lat. *gen-us*; thus *ateb* < **ati-seqᵘ-os*. The loc. **-es-i* of this gives the Lat. inf. *-ere*; thus O. Lat. *genere* 'gignere' = *genere* abl. of *genus*, Brugmann² II i 525. The W. v.n. may be acc., in which case it often stands, as *gallaf ateb* 'I can answer'. But it may also be nom. as *ateb a wnaf* '[it is] answer that I will do'. The word is the same as the abstr. noun *ateb* 'an answer'; and perhaps need not be assumed to come from an oblique case.

(3) The verb *trawaf* H.M. ii 252 has 3rd sg. pres. ind. *tereu* B.B. 63, and v.n. *taraw* H.M. ii 253. The vowel in the first syll. of these two forms is probably intrusive § 40 iii (3); it does not occur in the other forms of the verb in Ml. W.: *trawei* W.M. 24, R.M. 15; *trewis* W.M. 80, 90, R.M. 58, 66, C.M. 18; *trawawδ* S.G. 18, *trawssant* do. 31, *trawssei* do. 61; *trawher* W.M.L. 3, *trawhet* do. 29. The Late Mn. *tarawaf*, *tarawiad* are artificial; the natural forms are still *trawaf*, *trawiad*. If the etymology *trawaf* < **trug-āmi* (*ru* < *u̯r*) § 97 v (3) is correct, it does not admit of a vowel between the *t* and *r*.

(4) Many verbs which seem to have suffixless v.n.'s are denominatives formed from the v.n. § 201 ii (1), (3), and v (1) below.

ii. The ordinary endings used to form verbal nouns are **-u**; **-o**, Ml. **-aw**; **-i**.

-u and *-aw* represent forms of v.n.'s of verbs of the *ā* conjugation.— **-u** < *-ā-u̯-, prob. < loc. *-ā-u̯en* (or nom.-acc. *-ā-u̯n̥): Skr. dat. *dā-ván-e*, Gk. Cypr. δο-ϝεν-αι, Att. δοῦναι; (*-ā-u̯os* is also possible, with the suff. of *byw* § 204 ii (5); but this is a rarer form).— **-aw** for *-aw(f) < loc. *-ā-men* (or nom.-acc. *-ā-mn̥); see § 203 ii (4); but Ir. has also *-mu-* § 203 vii (4), and *-mā-*, beside *-mᵊn-* flexion.

-i belongs to the *ī* conjugation; the O.W. form was *-im* (≡ *-iṽ*) § 110 iii (5); hence from *-ī-men* (or *-ī-mn̥), as assumed above for *-aw*; thus *rhoddi* 'to put' < Brit. **ro-dī-men* < **pro-dhē-men*.

In Ml. and Mn. W. the use of the above endings is determined by the form of the stem, as follows:

iii. **-u** is added to stems in which the vowel of the last syllable is *a*, *ae*, *e* or *y*; as *canu*, *pallu*, *diddanu*, *tarfu*; *taeru*, *arfaethu*, *saethu*, *gwaedu*; *credu*, *trefnu*, *sennu*, *lledu*; *nyddu*, *crynu*, *prydy̨ddu*, *melysu*. Exceptions: a few stems having *a*, v (3); *gwaeddaf* 'I cry' has v.n. *gweiδi* R.M. 174, LL.A. 154; *medaf* has *medi* B.B. 45.

Ml. W. *cae-u* W.M. 24 'to shut' is contracted in Mn. W. to *cau* § 33 iv, § 52 iii (3).

iv. **-aw**, Mn. **-o** is added to (1) *i̯*-stems; thus *meδyli̯aw* W.M. 10, *tyngi̯aw* do. 16, *rhodi̯o*, *diffygi̯o*, *teithi̯o*, *gweithi̯o*, *seili̯o*, *hoeli̯o*, etc. In Ml. W. the *i̯* is often omitted, as *treulaw* W.M. 6, Mn. W. *treuli̯o*;

keissaw do. 487, Mn. W. *ceisio*, § 35 ii (1). Some *i̯*-stems have other endings, see § 203 iii (2), vi (1), (2), vii (1).

A few *i̯*-stems have suffixless v.n.'s; thus *kynnigyaf* has *kynnic* W.M. 30 'to offer'; *distrywyaf* has *distryw* R.B.B. 159, *distriw* do. 89, now *distrywio*. In Late Mn. W. *meddwl*, *sôn* have superseded *meddylio*, *sonio* as v.n.'s. In *daliaf* the *-i̯-* represents original *-g-*, and *daly*, *dala*, late *dal* represent an original suffixless **dalʒ*, see § 110 ii (2). Similarly *hely*, *hela*, *hel*, vb. *heliaf*, *heliodd* Gen. xxvii 33 'hunted'; but N.W. has beside *hĕl* 'to gather', *hel-a* 'to hunt' where *-a* may be the stem suff. *-ha* of a lost vb. **helhaaf*, seen in O.W. *in helcha* gl. in venando, *helghati* 'hunt thou'. The *-i̯-* of *bwriaf* is from *-g-* which appears as *w̯* in the v.n. *bwrw*, see ib.

As *ai* is *ei* in the penult § 81 i, and stems with *-ei-* take *-i̯-* § 201 iii (6) it is seen that denominatives from nouns and adjs. with *-ai-* must have v.n.'s in *-io*; thus *areithio*, *disgleirio*, *diffeithio*, *gwenhieithio* from *araith*, *disglair*, *diffaith*, *gweniaith*. (If these had been *araeth*, *disglaer*, etc., as now often misspelt, the v.n.'s would be, by iii above, **araethu*, **disglaeru*, etc., which are never spoken or written.) There is only one exception: *cyfieithu* (a late word) has *-u* because the vb. *cyfieithiaf* became *cyfieithaf* by dissim. of *i̯*'s; the regular *cyfieithio* also occurs, P 218/179 R.

(2) stems having *i*, *u*, *eu*, *w̯y*; as *blino*, *gwrido*, *llifo*, *rhifo*; *curo*, *dymuno*, *grymuso*; *euro*, *heulo*, *ceulo*; *bwydo*, *rhwyfo*, *arswydo*, *twyllo*.

Ml. W. *dinustyr* M.M. 32 'destroys' has v.n. *dinustraw* R.P. 1246; in Mn. W. *dinustr* became *dinistr* by § 77 ix, and the verb is re-formed with *-i̯-* suff., v.n. *dinistrio* Deut. xii 2. (The late *dinystrio* is a misspelling; the sound in the penult is not *y* but *i*.) *dinustr* < **dē-nōu̯(i)-stro-* : *niwed* § 76 iv (4), suff. as in Lat. *mōnstrum*.

Some stems ending in *-eu* have suffixless v.n.'s, as *dechreu* 'to begin', *maddeu* 'to part with, to forgive', *ameu* 'to doubt', vb. *amheuaf*. Also in Mn. W. *tramwy* Job i 7, *arlwy* D.G. 104.

On account of the early change of *w̯y* to *w̯y* after a vowel, we have *-u* for example in *tywyllu*; in these cases, therefore, the suffix is no guide to the orig. form. (*tyw̯yll* < *tyw̯yll* § 111 i (2).)

v. *-i* is added to (1) stems ending in *w̯*; thus *berwi*, *chwerwi*, *enwi*, *sylwi*, *gwelwi*. Some of these have suffixless v.n.'s, as *cadw*, *galw*, *marw*.

Two distinct formations are represented here.—1. In verbs which take *-i* the *-w̯-* either forms part of the root, as in *berwi*, √*bhereu̯-* § 63 iv, or belongs to the stem of the noun or adj. of which the verb is a denom., as *gwelwi*, from *gwelw* 'pale'.—2. In verbs which do not take *-i* the *w̯* is itself the v.n. suffix, from **-u̯en* (or **-u̯os*), see ii above, and the vb. is a denom. formed from the v.n.; thus *cadw* 'to keep' < **kat-u̯en*, √*qat-* 'hide, cover, keep' : O.H.G. *huoten* 'care for,

keep', E. *heed*, Lat. *cassis*; *galw* 'to call' < **gal-u̯en*, √*gal-* : Lat. *gallus*, E. *call*. For two of these v.n.'s, *by-w* and *mar-w*, no verbs were formed § 204 ii.

Though the classes remained distinct, a v.n. of one class was liable to pass over to the other; thus *merwi* P 12/124 R. 'to die'.—From Brit. **lānos* (< **plno-s* § 63 vii (2)) 'full', a v.n. **lān-u̯en* would give **llawnw*, from which may come *llanw* R.M. 94, *llenwi* W.M. 23, R.M. 15, *llewni* R.M. 175.—*arddelw* (now *arddel*) for *arddelwi*.

Stems ending in *-aw* are similarly divided: suffixless *adaw* § 201 ii (2), *gwrandaw* do. i (8), *taraw* i (2) above;—with *-i*, *tewi*, *distewi* only (*taraw* having gone over to the other class). D.G. uses *distawu* 165, and Mn.W. *croesawaf* has *croesawu*.

(2) stems having *oe* or *o*, whether the latter be original *o* or a mutation of *aw*; thus *oedi*, *troelli*, *oeri*, *poethi*; *llonni* from *llonn* 'merry', *cronni* from *crawn* 'hoard'; *torri*, *cyflogi*, *arfogi*.

Some stems having *o* take no suffix, as *dangos*, *anfon*, *adrodd* i (1). Ml. W. *agori* W.M. 59, 60, R.M. 42, A.L. i 498, D.G. 134, Can. v 5 is later *agoryd* M.K. [30], Dat. iii 20, or *agor* M.K. [32], B.CW. 56 (*agori* R.M. 174 with punctum delens, ? late).

(3) some stems having *a*, which is affected to *e*; as *erchi*, vb. *archaf*; *peri*, vb. *paraf*; *sengi*, vb. *sangaf*; *perchi*, vb. *parchaf*; *defni*, vb. *dafnaf*.

mynegi, Ml. W. *menegi*, and *trengi* are stems with *a*; in Ml. and Early Mn. W. the verbs are *managaf* and *trangaf*; but in Late Mn. W. the *e* of the v.n. has intruded into the vb., and *mynegaf*, *trengaf* are the usual forms.—In B.B. 8 *delli* (*ll* ≡ *l-l*) occurs for the usual *daly*, *dala* iv (1).—*defni* is also an abstr. noun 'dropping' Diar. xix 13, xxvii 15; and is often taken for a pl. of *dafn* e.g. I.MSS. 232; v.n. *defni* LL.A. 23.

§ 203. Verbal nouns are also formed by means of other suffixes, as follows:

i. (1) **-aeth** in *marchogaeth* § 201 iii (4) (*b*), and Early Ml. W. *gwasanaeth* 'to attend, serve', later *gwasanaethu*.

Ef a δely **guassanayth** *ar e vre*[*nhines*] ... *Ny δely ef eyste*, ... *namyn* **guasanayth** *oy sevyll* B.CH. 22 'He is to attend on the queen. He is not to sit but to serve standing'. In both these examples Aneurin Owen prints *guas(s)anaythu* A.L. i 54, 56. In 60 he gives *guasanaeth* correctly, with *-u* as the reading of MSS. C.D.E. In Late Ml. W. *gwassanaethu* R.M. 174 is the form used. See § 201 ii (1).

-aeth became an abstr. noun suffix § 143 iii (2). Thus a lost verb **hir-há-af* 'I long' had a v.n. *hiraeth* '*to long' which came to mean 'longing'; from this was formed the denom. *hiraethaf* 'I long' with v.n. *hiraethu* 'to long'.

(2) **-ael** or **-el**, in *gafael, gafel* § 188 ii (3), § 201 ii (1); *caffael, caffel, cael* § 188 i (8); *dyrchafael* § 188 iii; *gadael* beside *gadu* § 201 ii (2); *gallael* beside *gallu* 'to be able'. Probably *-ael* is original only in *gafael* § 188 iv.

(3) **-ach**, in *cyfeddach* 'to carouse', *prystellach, ymdesach, clindarddach, caentach* P 5/X R. These have no verbs. The ending is sometimes substituted for another: *chwiliach* 'to pry' for *chwilio* 'to seek'.

(4) The above are v.n.'s from $\surd a\hat{g}$- seen in *-ha-* stems; thus *-aeth* $<$ **-ak-tā* ($<$ *-āk-* $<$ *-o-ak-*; the *ā* would be shortened before *kt* even though accented) § 201 iii (4) (*b*), with **-tā* suffix as in *bod* 'to be' $<$ **bhu-tā*.— *-ael* : Ir. *-āil* $<$ **-aĝ-li-s*, with fem. **-li-* suff.; the suff. **-li-* forms fem. abstract nouns in Slavonic also, and Armenian has an infinitive suff. *-l*.— *-ach* $<$ **-aks-* $<$ **-aĝ-s-*, perhaps **-aĝ-sen*; cf. Gk. *φέρειν* $<$ **φερε-σεν*.

ii. (1) **-ofain**, Ml. W. **-ovein**, **-ovant** occurs beside *-aw* in *wylofain*, Ml. W. *wylovein* IL.A. 117, 154, *cwynovein* S.G. 343, *cvinowant* B.B. 46. A similar formation is *digofain* G. 132 'wrath', later usually *digofaint*, abstr. noun.

(2) **-fan(n)**, **-fa**, in *cwȳnfan*, Ml. W. *kwynvan* IL.A. 154, beside *cwynaw, cwȳno*; *griδvan* IL.A. 154, Mn. W. *griddfan* whence vb. *griddfannaf, griδva* R.M. 132; *ehedfan* Ml. W. *ehetvan*, beside *ehedeg*, vb. *ehedaf* 'I fly'.

(3) **-ain**, Ml. **-ein**, in *llefain, llevein* R.M. 132, vb. *llefaf* 'I cry'; *llemain*, late *llamu*, Ml. *llemein*, vb. *llamaf* 'I leap'; *germain* 'to cry', Ml. *germein*, no verb; *ochain*, vb. *ochaf*; *ubain, diasbedain* with no verbs. With **-t** in *dioδeifeint* IL.A. 129 'suffering', Mn. W. *dioddefaint*, only occurring as an abstract noun.

(4) *cwynaw* $<$ Brit. loc. **kein-ā́-men*, denom. from **qeino-*, § 101 ii (2); *cwynofain* from the dat. of the same stem, **kein-ā́-m$_e$nī* $<$ **-m$_e$nai* : Gk. δό-μεναι, Skr. *dā́-mane* 'to give'.— *-ovant* represents another case, prob. loc. **-ā́-m$_e$ni*; *-ant* $<$ *-ann* $<$ **-$_e$n-*, § 62 i (2).— *-fan(n), -fa* represents the same case as the last, but with a different accent; thus *griddfan* 'to groan' $<$ **grī́do-m$_e$ni*, $\surd ghreiā^x$- : O.E. *grānian*, E. *groan*; *cwynfan* is similar, or formed by analogy.—*llef* 'cry' $<$ Brit. **lemen* $<$ **lep-men*, $<$ **lep-* : Skr. *lápati* 'chatters, murmurs, laments'; *llefain* is the dative **lemanī* $<$ **lep-m$_e$nai*; *llefaf* is a denom. from *llef*. Similarly *garm* § 95 ii (3), *germain* $<$ **ĝar-sm$_e$nai*; no verb was formed for this;—*llam* : *llemain*, vb. *llamaf* denom. From these *-ain* was deduced and added to the intjs. *ub* and *och* and to the noun *dïaspad* (*diasbad*) 'cry'; vb. *ochy* IL.A. 154 'groanest', *ochu* G. 196.

iii. (1) **-ad**, Ml. **-at**, in *adeilad* 'to build', Ml. *adeilat* R.M. 93, R.B.B. 56, 58, 59, IL.A. 123, verb *adeilaf*; Ml. W. *gwylat* W.M. 74, R.M. 53 'to watch', *gwylŷat* S.G. 2, vb. *gwylaf* W.M. 74, R.M. 53, also with *ŷ*; *chwibanat* C.M. 48 'to whistle', vb. *chwibanaf*; *dyhëad* B.CW. 124 'to gasp' beside *dyhéu*, vb. *dyhëaf*.

In Late Mn. W. *adeilaf* has been replaced by a denom. of the v.n.: *adeiladaf*, from which comes a new v.n. *adeiladu*. The orig. meaning was 'to form a wattle'; the absence of *i̯* after *l* points to *eil* coming from **egl-* § 35 ii (3); hence *adeilaf* < **ati-eglāmi* < **-peglo-* by dissim. for **pleg-lo-*, √*plēk/ĝ-*: Lat. *plecto*, Gk. πλέκω, πλέγμα.

(2) **-aid**, Ml. **-eit**, added to *i̯*-stems: *ystyrŷeit* C.M. 61 'to consider', *synŷeit* W.M. 33, R.M. 22 'to take thought', *tybŷeit* S.G. 75 'to imagine', *meðylŷeit* M.A. i 251 'to think', *ervynnŷeit* IL.A. 125 'to implore', *ysglyfŷeit* C.M. 5 'to snatch'; Mn. W. *meddyliaid* D.G. 22, *ystyriaid*, *syniaid*, *tybiaid*; *-o* is also used with these stems; and *erfyn* is now suffixless. **-eit** is added to one *u̯*-stem: *ysgytŵeit* R.B.B. 58 beside *ysgytwaw* IL.A. 166, Mn. W. *ysgwyd*, vb. *ysgydwaf* 'I shake'.

On account of the dial. reduction of *ai* to *e*, § 6 iii, this suffix is confused in Late Mn. W. with *-ed*; thus, *ystyried*, *synied*, *tybied*; these three are in common use. G.J. wrote *ystyriaid* correctly, Hyff. Gynnwys 28.

The form *ysgwyd* is v.n. and 3rd sg. pres. ind.; it is for *ysgydŵ* by metath. of *u̯*, cf. *echwyð* 'evening, west' < Lat. *occiduus*;—*ysgydw* 'brandishes' occurs M.A. i 285;—stem *ysgydw-* < **squtu-* for **squti-* < **squ̯ti-*: Lat. *quatio* for **(s)quatio*, O.Sax. *skuddjan*; W. *sgytio* 'to shake violently', *ysgŵd* 'a push'.

(3) **-ed**, Ml. **-et**, in *kerðet* W.M. 486 'to walk', Mn. W. *cerdded*, vb. *cerddaf*; *clywed* § 194 v (1); *guelet* W.M. 17, Mn. W. *gweled*, *gweld* 'to see', vb. *gwelaf*; *yfet* W.M. 182 'to drink', Mn. W. *yfed*, vb. *yfaf*; *myned* 'to go', vb. *af* § 193 ii. The *-ed* became part of the stem in *dan-wared* 'to mimic', √*u̯erēi-* § 63 vii (3); *ymddiried*, *ymðiret* 'to trust': *dir* 'true'.

cerðed < **kerd-*, Corn. *cerdhes* 'to go, walk', Bret. *kerzet* id., Ir. *ceird* 'walk', √*sqerād-* 'turn about'; Gk. κόρδαξ, Lat. *cardo*.—*gwelaf* 'I see', Bret. *gwelout*, Corn. *gweles* 'to see' < **ĝhu̯el-* § 93 iv: Lith. *žvelgiù* 'I look towards', *žvilgéti* 'to see', Gk. θέλγω 'I fascinate' ("fascination is ever by the eye" Bacon), √*ĝhu̯el-*, extd. **ĝhu̯el-g-*. There is also a *gwelaf* from √*u̯el-* 'wish': *tra welho Duw* W.M. 72 'while God will', Mn. W. *os gwelwch yn dda* 'if you please'.

(4) **-ud**, Ml. **-ut**, earlier **-wyt**, in *dywedut* § 194 i (4); *kyscwyt*

B.T. 27, usually *cysgu* 'to sleep'; *cadvid* (≡*cadw͡yd*) B.B. 62, *cadw͡yd* W. 10*a*, usually *cadw* 'to keep'; *ymchwelut* W.M. 10, 14, S.G. 23 'to turn', *ymchoelut* C.M. 5. There is some confusion, even in Ml. W., of this suff. and *-yt*; thus the last word is written *ymchoelyt* in R.M. 7. In Mn. W. *dywedut* is spelt *dywedyd*; but G.J. wrote *dywedud* Hyff. Gynnwys, p. iv.

(5) **-yd**, Ml. **-yt**, in *kymryt*, *diffryt* § 195 ii; *etvryt* C.M. 24 'to restore', *edryt* R.B.B. 6 (by § 110 iii (3)), Mn. W. *edfryd* D.P.O. 132, mostly replaced by *adfer* in the late period, vb. *adferaf*; *ymoglyt* W.M. 104 'to beware', re-formed as *ymogelyd* in Mn. W.; *gochlyt* IL.A. 26, beside *gochel* ib., R.B.B. 106 'to avoid', Mn. W. *gochel*, vb. *gochelaf*; *diengyt* IL.A. 72 (Gwyn. dial. *déwid*) beside *diang* ib., Mn. W. *dianc* 'to escape'.

(6) **-d**, Ml. **-t**, in Ml. W. *dilit* W.M. 41, R.M. 28 'to stick to, follow' (also written *dilyt* W.M. 41, § 77 iii, and later assumed to have *-y-*, but this is an error, the older rhymes having *-i-*, as *llid* M.A. i 408), verb *dilynaf* 'I follow', whence in Mn. W. the v.n. *dilyn*, also *dilin* D.G. 343; Ml. W. *erlit* W.M. 16, Mn. W. *erlid* 'to chase, persecute', vb. *erlynaf*; in Mn. W. a new vb. *erlidiaf* is formed from the v.n., and a new v.n. *erlyn* from the vb.; *ymlit* W.M. 14 'to chase' from which a denom. was already formed in Ml. W., e.g. R.M. 64; *bod* 'to be' § 189 iv (6).

(7) **-s**, for *ð* in the stem, in *go(r)ðiwes*, vb. *go(r)ðiweðaf* § 194 vi, Mn. W. v.n. *goddiwes*, late *goddiweddyd*; *aros*, verb *arhoaf* for **arhoðaf* § 187.

A megys nat **ymoðiweð** *un creadur a Duw, ac ef yn* **ymoðiwes** *a phob peth . . .* IL.A. 10 'And as no creature apprehends God, and He apprehending everything . . .'

(8) Verbal nouns were formed in Ar. by means of suffixes **-tu-* (: Lat. supine *-tu-*), and **-ti-*; Kelt. had also f. **-tā*, § 189 iv (6). The preceding vowel is generally, but not always, R-grade.—*adeilad* 'to build' = *adeilad* f. 'a building' < **ati-eglatā* < **-ə-tā*.— **-eit** may be from a dat.**-atī* < **-ə-tiai*.— **-et** < **-i-tā*; as *yfed* 'to drink' < **pibitā*, √*pōi-*; also from **-e-to-*, **-e-tā*, cf. § 143 iii (12).—The *y* of *-yt* comes from the *i* of **ri*, **li* representing Ar. **r̥*, **l̥*; thus corresponding to *cymeraf* 'I take' < **kom-bher-* with F-grade **bher-*, the v.n. had R-grade **bhr̥-*, as **kom-bhr̥-tu-* > W. *cymryd*; so *goglyt* < **u̯o-kl̥-tu-*, √*kel-* 'hide'. The *-y-* tended to spread from these.—The v.n. *dilit* is a similar formation, < **dē-lī-tu-*, where **-lī-* is R²-grade of √*leiā*^{x}-' to stick'; the vb. *dilynaf* < **dē-linā-mi*, with *n*-infix § 201 i (4). The verb **lynaf* (: Ir. *lenim*) disappeared in W., and its compounds, as *erlyn*

(for **erllyn*), show the influence of the synonymous *glynaf*.— **-s** (for *-ð*) represents *-d-t-*, § 187 iii.— **-ud** < *-ŵyd* is a different formation from the others; the most probable explanation of the *ŵy* seems to be that it comes from new *āi* § 75 i (3); thus *dywedut* < *dywedŵyt* < **do-u̯et-āitō* < **do-u̯et-āti̯ō* : Lat. abstr. suff. *-ātio*, see vii (3).

iv. (1) **-ain**, Ml. **-ein**, for *-e-* in the stem, in *olŕein*, *darllein* § 201 ii (3), *dwyrein* 'to rise', the latter surviving only as a noun meaning 'east'. Examples of the verbs: *olŕewys* W.M. 469, *darllewyt* do. 49, *dwyreawð* M.A. i 300. The v.n. *arwein* has vb. *arweðaf* in Ml. W., later *arweiniaf*; so *kywein* : *cyweðei* W.M. 119.

Gwell kadw noc **olŕein** R.B. 968 'better keep than seek.'

(2) **-ŵyn**, for *-yg-*, *-wg* in the stem : *dwyn*, verb *dygaf* § 194 iii; *ymddwyn*, vb. *ymddygaf* ib.; *amwyn* verb *amygaf* § 194 iv; *adolwyn*, beside *adolwg*, also *atolwg* in Mn. W., verb *adolygaf* 'I pray'.

ŕac **adolwyn** *ỳ un vynet* R.M. 197 'lest any should be asked to go', **Adolwg** *a wnaf* G.Y.C. M.A. i 517 'I pray'.

(3) The suffix is **-no-*; cf. O.E. *-an* < **-o-no-*.—**-egno-* > *-ein* § 104 ii (1). Medial *-eg-* before a vowel > *-ig-* > *y* or *e*.—**-uk-no-* > *-ŵyn* § 104 iii (1).—*ar-*, *cy-wain* seem to come from √*u̯eĝh-* § 65 ii (3), but the verbs imply √*u̯edh-* § 149 i; as *dn* did not become *gn* (e.g. *blyn-eð*, not **blin-* § 104 iv (1)), we cannot assume √*u̯edh-* for the v.n.'s.

v. **-eg**, Ml. **-ec**, in *rhedeg* 'to run', vb. *rhedaf*; *ehedeg* 'to fly', vb. *ehedaf*.

-eg < **-ikā* abst. noun (orig. adj.) suffix, § 143 iii (14).

vi. (1) **-an**, added to *i̯*-stems, borrowed from O. or Ml. E.; as *hongi̯an* 'to hang' (O.E. *hangian*), *ystwyri̯an* 'to stir' (O.E. *styrian*); hence added to others as *trottỳan* R.P. 1272, *mwmli̯an* 'to mumble'. Added to W. stems *-i̯an* forms a sort of pejorative v.n., as *gorweddi̯an* 'to lie about lazily', *ymlwybran* 'to plod one's way', *sefylli̯an* 'to loaf'. It is not much used in the lit. lang.— Without *i̯* it appears as an abstr. suff.: *cusan*, Ml. W. *cussan* 'kiss' < O.E. *cyssan* 'to kiss'.

Eng. strong verbs generally become *i̯*-stems in W. with v.n. *-o* as *gildi̯o* 'to yield' < O.E. *gildan*; cf. § 201 iii (6).

(2) **-al** seems to be a variant of *-an* arising from dissimilation in nasal stems; thus *tinci̯al* beside *tinci̯an* 'to tinkle', *mewi̯al* beside *mewi̯an* 'to mew'; *cyfnewidi̯al* D.G. 145 for *cyfnewidi̯o*; *naddi̯al* for *naddu*, *techi̯al* for *techu*; *sisi̯al* whence vb. *sisi̯alaf* 'I whisper'; *myngi̯al* 'to mumble', no vb.

vii. Each of the following v.n.'s has a form peculiar to itself:

(1) *lluddi̯as* G.Gl. f. 14, Ml. W. *lluddẏas* LL.A. 19 'to hinder', vb. *lluddi̯af*, 3rd sg. pres. ind. *lludd* D.G. 105, aor. sg. 3. *lluðẏwys* W.M. 103, *lluddi̯odd* D.G. 105.

The suffix is prob. the same as the abstr. noun suff. *-as* § 143 iii (6).

(2) *aredig*, Ml. W. *eredic* B.B. 44 'to plough', vb. *arddaf* § 100 iii (2). There is a v.n. *erti* (≡ *erði*) in B.B. 55, and a recent artificial *arddu*; but the v.n. in common use is *aredig*.

Pwy bynnac a dorro tervyn oy **eredyc**, *y brenhyn a ðyly yr ychen ay* **harðo** A.L. i 196 'Whoever shall destroy a boundary by ploughing it, the king shall be entitled to the oxen that plough it.'

The ending is similar in formation to that of the v.adj. *-ediɣ* § 206 vii.

(3) *chwerthin* 'to laugh', vb. *chwarddaf*, 3rd sg. pres. ind. *chweirð* or *chwardd* § 173 iv (2).

chwerthin R.M. 185, 237, *wherthin* W.M. 171. *chwerthin* is also an abstr. noun meaning 'laughter.'

Gweniaith brydferth a **chwerthin**
Erioed a fu ar dy fin.—D.G. 108.

'Pretty flattery and laughter have always been on thy lip.'

chwarðaf < **s-u̯ar-d-āmi*, *d*-stem, √ *u̯erē(i̯)-* : Lat. *rīdeo* § 63 vii (5); —*chwerthin*, Bret. *c'hoarzin*, < **s-u̯ar-tīn-ī* < **s-u̯e̯r'-tīn-ai*, dat. of **s-u̯e̯r'-tii̯ō*, abs. noun in **-tii̯ō* : Lat. *-tio*; the oblique cases have **-tīn-* (< **-tii̯e̯n-*) in Kelt. as in Osc.-Umbr., not *-tiōn-* as in Lat., Brugmann² II i 319. The dat. of this stem occurs as infinitive in Ir. also : *do saigthin* 'to seek'. *chwerthin* seems the only survival in W. The use of *-tiō* as an abs. noun suffix is a feature of Italo-Kelt.

(4) *gweini* 'to serve', vb. *gweinyddaf*.

The *-i* of *gweini* may represent the *ī* which stands in ablaut with *-éie-*; **u̯o-ĝnī-mu-* > *gweini* : O.W. *gnim*, Ml. W. *gnif*, Ir. *gnīm*, *u*-flexion. On the verb see § 201 i (6).

(5) *sefyll* 'to stand', vb. *safaf*.

safaf is a denom. from a noun **stha-mo-s*, √ *sthā-* 'stand', like *tyfaf* 'I grow' from **tumo-s*, § 201 i (8);—*sefyll* < **sthəm-i-li-s*, with the iterative and causative *-i-* (: *-éie*), and the suffix **-li-*, as in *gafael* i (4); *l* between *i*'s gives W. *ll* § 111 i (2).

(6) *gwneuthur* 'to make, do', vb. *gwnaf* § 193 x (4).

(7) There are one or two other anomalous forms such as

chwiltath D.G. 319 (beside *chwilota*); *annos* 'to incite' (beside *annog*); *gwastrod-edd* Gr.O. 178, 300 from *gwastrawd* 'groom', suff. § 143 iii (13).

§ **204.** i. Many verbal nouns have no verbs, but are used exactly like other v.n.'s in construction. Most of them have been named: *cardota*, *blota*, etc. § 201 iii (4) (*a*), *cyfeddach*, etc. § 203 i (3), *germain*, etc. § 203 ii (3); *godro* 'to milk'; *ym-lā́dd* 'to tire one's self' < *m̥bi-ləd-, √ *lēd-* : Gk. ληδεῖν 'to be tired', Lat. *lassus* § 156 i (2); but *ým-laδ* 'to fight', √ *qolād-* § 101 ii (3), is conjugated throughout; § 41 i.

ii. The most important v.n.'s without verbs are **byw** 'to live' and **marw̯** 'to die'. They are also abstract nouns, and adjectives.

(1) They are v.n.'s after *wedi*, or *yn* with the radical, in periphrastic conjugation or forming participle equivalents:

Os marw bun, oes mwy o'r byd?
Mae'r haf **wedy marw̯** *hefyd.*—T.A., C. ii 79.

'If the maiden is dead does the world any longer exist? Summer is dead too.'

I fardd ydwyf, ar ddidol,
Yn brudd **yn byw** *ar i ôl.*—T.A., A 24980/166.

'His bard am I, in seclusion, living sadly after him.'

Also when qualified by an adverbial expression consisting of *yn* and an adj., as *byw'n gymwys* W.LL. F. 32 'to live justly'.

Gwell bedd a gorwedd gwirion
Na **byw'n hir** *yn y boen hon.*—D.G. 108.

'Better the grave and innocent rest than to live long in this pain.'

(2) They are abstract nouns when qualified directly by adjectives, as *marw mawr* 'great mortality', *byw da* 'good living', or when they follow *yn* with the nasal mutation:

Am ych dwyn **ym myw** *'ch dynion*
Yr oerai'r sir, eryr Siôn.—T.A., G. 229.

'Because you were taken in the lifetime of your men the shire became cold, eagle[-son] of Siôn.'

Also generally with prefixed pronouns: *o dihenghy a'th* **vyw** *gennyt* W.M. 476 'if thou escapest with thy life': Mn. W. *yn fy* **myw** 'in my life', meaning 'for the life of me'.

(3) They are adjectives when they qualify nouns expressed or implied :

Y **gŵr marw**, *e gâr morwyn*
Ddaear dy fedd er dy fwyn.—T.A., G. 229.

'Dead man, a maiden loves the dust of thy grave for thy sake.'

Ar ôl y **marw** *yr wŷli,*
Ar ôl y **fyw**'*r wŷlaf fi.*—D.E., P 112/840.

'Thou weepest for him who is dead; I weep for her who is alive'; lit. 'the dead' mas. sg., 'the living' fem. sg.

When following *yn* with the soft mutation :

Ni bu'n **fyw**, *cyd bo'n i fedd,*
Ni bu'n **farw** *neb un fawredd.*—H.K.

'There has not been alive, though he is [now] in his grave, there has not been dead any one so great.'

Also when they are complements, without *yn*, of the verb 'to be', as *bydd fyw* lit. 'be alive' i.e. live! *hwnnw a fydd* **marw** Ezec. xviii 4.

Fy Nuw, pei cawn fy newis,
Ni **byddai fyw** *o'm bodd fis.*—D.G. 174.

'My God, if I had my choice, he would not be alive a month with my consent.'

Silvan Evans s.v. *byw* treats the word as a v.n. here; but no v.n can stand in this position. We cannot say *bydd rhodio* for 'walk!' but we say *bydd da* or *bydd dda* 'be good!'

(4) As adjs. they have pl. forms *bywion* E.P. PS. xxvii 13, lvi 13, late and rarely used, and *meirw, meirwon*. In periphrastic conj. the pl. *meirw* is used for the v.n. when the subj. is pl., as *y maent wedi meirw*, by a confusion of the v.n. and adj.; cf. *gwedy myðw* M.A. i 228 for *gwedy meðwi* pl.—Compared : *marwed* L.G.C. 218 'as dead', *yn gynwywŷet* S.G. 77 'as alive'; *marwach*, S.Ph. CY. ix 34.

(5) *byw* < **gᵘi-u̯os* § 63 vii (3), which may be an adj. like Lat. *vīvus*, or a noun like Gk. *βίος*.—*marw* < **mₑru̯os* (*ₑr*, not *r̥*, before *u̯*, § 63 iii) similarly formed from √*mer-*; in Lat. *mortuus* < **mr̥tu̯os* the *t* is intrusive according to Brugmann² II i 448.

§ 205. The v.n. is always mas. in construction. But many of the forms were originally fem., and some remain fem. when used as abstract nouns. Thus *bod* < **bhu-tā* is f. in *hafod* § 189 iv (6); abstract nouns in *-aeth* are f. § 139 ii; *gafael* noun is f., *gafael*

gadarn W.M. 11, Mn. W. *yr afael* 'the hold'; and *cerδed* in *y gerδet honno* R.M. 183; so *adeilad* f. 'building', *cyfeddach* f. as *y gyfeddach*. Doubtless *rhedeg*, *ehedeg*, etc. were originally f.; O.W. *trited retec* CP. 'third (f.) course'.

But since v.n.'s were made mas., abstract nouns of the same form have tended to follow them. Thus *gwasanaeth* 'service' is mas., because the same form continued in use as a v.n., § 203 i (1). Similarly *hiraeth* mas. 'longing', see ib.

Verbal Adjectives.

§ 206. i. Verbal adjectives are formed from the stem of the verb either without a suffix or with the suffixes *-edig*, *-adwy* and in Ml. W. *-awt*, *-ediw*. The last two suffixes are rare, even in Ml. W.; only a few verbs have suffixless v.a.'s; but all regular transitive verbs may have v.a.'s in *-edig* and *-adwy*. The former has usually the sense of a past pass. participle, the latter of a fut. pass. part. or gerundive.

ii. Suffixless: *plan* E.P. PS. cxxxvii 2 'planted', verb *plannaf* 'I plant'; *prŷn* 'bought' vb. *prynaf*; *cwsg* 'sleeping' in *bardd cwsg*, vb. *cysgaf*; *llosg* in *marwor llosg* 'burning embers', vb. *llosgaf*; *tawδ* 'melting' R.M. 169, Ps. lviii 8, 'molten' Lev. xix 4.

iii. Suff. **-edig**, Ml. W. **-edic**: *darparedic* W.M. 23 'prepared', *bendicetic* L.L. 121 'blessed', *emelldicetic* ib. 'accursed', *lladdedig* 'killed', *gweledig* 'seen', *caredic* W.M. 37 'loved', Mn. W. *caredig* 'kind', *crwydredig* 'wandering'.

iv. Suff. **-awt**: *guit gvyrhaud* (≡ *gwyδ gŵyrhawd*) B.B. 89 'trees [are] bent'; *Al(wyn) lloer llewychawt* B.T. 9 'sweet [is the] moon shining'.

v. Suff. **-adwy**: *dywedadwy* § 169 iv (1) 'to be said'; *credadwy* C.M. 21 'to be believed, credible'; *moladwy* B.T. 71 'to be praised, praiseworthy'; *ofnadwy* 'terrible', vb. *ofnaf* 'I fear'; *cyraeddadwy* 'attainable', vb. *cyrhaeδaf* 'I reach'; *safadwy* 'stable', vb. *safaf* 'I stand'. **-ediw** is a variant of *-adwy*: *molediw* § 169 v (4).

vi. Suff. **-ad** in *crwydrad* 'wandering'. **-aid** in *honnaid*, as *hit honneit* § 222 x (2), vb. *honnaf* 'I publish.'

vii. The suffixless v.a. is prob. originally the pres. part. act. in **-a-nts*, **-e-nts*: Lat. *-ans*, *-ens*; thus *llosg* 'burning' < Brit.**losk-ans*.

The suff. *-awt* is the past part. pass. in *-to-* of *ā-stems*; thus **-ā́-to-s* > *-awt*. Cf. *barvawt* B.T. 21 'bearded' < Lat. *barbātus*;— *-edig* is an extension in **-ī-ko-* of this; thus, **-ā-tī́ko-s* > *-edig*.— *-aid* § 153 (2).

-adwy is the fut. pass. part. in **-teu̯i̯ó-*; the *-a-* before it may be from unacc. *ā* or from *ə*; thus *ofnadwy* < **obna-tou̯i̯ós* § 76 v (4): Skr. *kar-tavyà-ḥ* 'faciendus';— *-ediw* is a variant of this due to metath. § 78 iv (1). The rhyme (*glyw*) R.P. 1041 shows that the *-iw* is for *-yw* after the dental § 77 v.—The element **-teu̯-* seems to have been used also with suff. *-no-* to form verbal adjs., which mostly became nouns in W.: *credadun* 'believing' D.G. 54, 'credible' M.A. i 563*b*, usually 'believer' < Brit. **kreta-tou-no-*;—*amheuthun* 'unaccustomed fare, treat', adj. 'unwonted', for **am-(w)heithun* § 77 viii < **m̥bi-su̯ek-tou-no-*: *chweith* 'taste' § 108 iv (2), pref. 'different' § 156 i (4) (d), hence 'change of diet';—*yspardun* S.G. 2 'spur': *yspar* § 96 iv (1).—Participles in *-to-* formed from cons. stems survive as nouns: *talaith* 'frontlet, crown', Ml. W. *talheith* B.B. 106 < **talo-sektā* 'forehead-attachment', √*seg**-: Skr. *sájati* 'attaches', Lith. *segù* 'I fasten, attach', *saktìs* 'buckle'.

Compound Verbs.

§ **207.** i. The prefixes compounded with verbs are mostly the same as those compounded with nouns and adjectives; see § 156.

ii. A verb may also be compounded with a noun or adj.; as *efe a* **lwyr-lanhâ** *ei lawr dyrnu* Matt. iii 12; see § 45 iii. The verb forms the second element, and has its initial softened, like the second element of a noun-compound. The initial of the first element becomes that of the compound verb, and is softened after the rel. *a*, remains rad. after the rel. *y*, etc., like the initial of a verb.

PREPOSITIONS

§ **208.** i. Personal pronouns forming objects of prepositions in Brit. and Goidelic came to be agglutinated to the prepositions, and ultimately developed into mere inflexions. The "conjugation" so formed was very similar in W. to that of the verb, and was influenced in its later development by verbal forms.

ii. (1) Inflected prepositions have two forms, m. and f. of the 3rd sg., and one for each of the other persons sg. and pl. Many have in addition an adverbial form; and all preserve their unin-

flected forms, which are used when the object is other than a personal pronoun.

(2) The simple form of every conjugable prep. causes the soft mutation of the initial of a following noun; except *er*, *rhag* and *rhwng* which cause the radical; *yn* which causes the nasal, rad. or soft, according to its function; and *uwch*, *is* which cause the rad. except in *uwchláw*, *isláw*, *uwchbén*.

iii. (1) The 2nd sg. ending is Ml. W. *-t* ≡ *-d*, and often appears as *-d* in Early Mn. W., e.g. *arnad* D.G. 2, *gennyd/byd* do. 3, *atad* do. 42, *hebod* do. 513; but like the *-d* of the 2nd sg. impf. ind. it became *-t* in Late Mn. W., see § 174 i.

(2) The 3rd pl. ending is in Early Ml. W. rarely *-u*, *-uð*, later and usually *-unt* formed after the 3rd pl. of verbs. In Late Mn. MSS. and books this is misspelt *-ynt*, with rare exceptions, e.g. G.J. Hyff. Gynnwys (1749). The final *-t* is frequently dropped in poetry, as in verbs; and in the spoken lang. is always dropped; see § 106 iii (2).

iv. There are three conjugations of prepositions, distinguished by the vowel of the 1st and 2nd pers. endings; thus for the 1st sg., i. *-af*, ii. *-of*, iii. *-yf*.

§ **209.** First Conjugation.—i. To this belong *ar* 'upon'; *at* 'to'; *o dan* 'under'; *o* 'from', with the stem *ohan-* (*ohon-*), which does not occur uninflected; and *am* 'about' with the stem *amdan-*.

ii. (1) **ar** 'upon' may be taken as an example of the conjugation:

Ml. W.		Mn. W.	
sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
1. *arnaf*	1. *arn-am*, *-ann*	1. *árnaf*	1. *árnom*
2. *arnat*	2. *arnawch*	2. *árnad*, *-t*	2. *árnoch*
3. m. *arnaw*	3. (*arnaðu*) *arnaðuð* *arnaðunt* *arnu* *arnunt*	3. m. *árno*	3. *árn-unt* *-ynt*
f. *arnei* *erni*		f. *árnai* *árni*	
		adv. *árnodd*	

The 3rd sg. f. *-ai* occurs in Early Mn. verse, though rarely: *arnai* D.G. 85, *attai* do. 195, *danai* do. 210, *ohonai* I.G. 390. The 3rd pl. in *-addunt* survived in poetry in *onaddunt*, see vi;

in other cases it is rare in Mn. W.: *arnaddynt* Neh. ix 1. The adv. form occurs in *oddi danawdd* D.G. 306, *oddi arnodd* and *oddi tanodd* Job xviii 16; *danodd* 'underneath' is common in Late Mn. W. and the dialects. No other prep. of the 1st conj. has an adv. form.—Ml. 1st pl. in *-ann* : *amdanan(n)*, *attann* R.P. 1176, *arnan(n)* do. 1177, *atann* W. 121*b*, *o honan ni* C.M. 13.

(2) Forms of **ar** : *arnaf* W.M. 2, *arnat* ib., *arnaw* ib., *arnei* do. 9, *erni* B.B. 43, *arnam* W.M. 29, *arnawch* ib., *arnaδut* (*-t* ≡ *-δ*) M.A. i 258, *arnaδunt* W.M. 470, S.G. 89, *arnu* M.A. i 403, *arnun* do. 223, *arnunt* W.M. 11, 39.

iii. **at** 'to' (i.e. motion 'to') is similar (but without 3rd sg. f. *-i* in Ml. W.) :

attaf W.M. 10, *attat* R.P. 1357, *attaw* W.M. 2, *attei* do. 6, *attam* do. 441, *attunt* do. 39, *attaδunt* P 21/29; 2nd pl. *-och* in *attoch* S.G. 52.

iv. Mn. W. **o dan**, *dan*, *tan* 'under', Early Mn. *dān* § 51 vi, cf. D.G. 373; Ml. W. *a dan, y dan*, *dan*, O. W. *guotan, gutan* OX.

adan, *ydan*, *dan* W.M. 91, R.M. 66, *dan* W.M. 1, 463; *adanaw* do. 94, *ydanaw* R.M. 68, *ydanam* do. 165, *adanunt* W.M. 67.

v. **am** 'around, about, concerning'; stem *amdan-*, *ymdan-*, Mn. *amdán-*. After *gwiscaw* the stem is generally used in Ml. W. instead of the simple form; thus, instead of *gwiscaw ymdanaw ac* **am** *ý varch* W.M. 165, the usual phrase is *gwiscaw ymdanaw ac* **ymdan** *ý varch* do. 162 'to accoutre himself and his horse'; so W.M. 147, R.M. 217, 229, 231; *amdan* W.M. 99. This form is still in use in the spoken lang., pronounced *amdăn*.

amdanaf W.M. 21, *amdanat* ib., *amdanaw* do. 2, *amdanei* do. 5, 13, 15, *ymdeni* R.M. 120, *im-deni* B.B. 43–4, *ymdanaδuδ* M.A. i 197, *amdanaδunt* IL.A. 40, *amdanunt* S.G. 43, *ymdanunt* do. 84; O.W. *amtanndi* B.S.CH. 2.

The compound *yam* has two meanings, 1. 'besides, in addition to' W.M. 469.—2. = Mn. W. *oddiam* 'from about, off' : *yamdanaw* W.M. 5, 24.

vi. **o** 'from, of,' Ml. W. **o** (*oc* in *oc eu*, see vii (5)); stem *ohon-*, *ohan-*, Mn. W. *ohón-*. The forms of the 1st and 2nd pers. fluctuate between this and the 2nd conjugation, and the 2nd sg. has the ending *-awt* not added to any other prep. In Mn. lit. W. *-of*, *-ot* are used exclusively (but dial. *-a(f)*, *-at*). The 3rd sg. and pl. have 1st conj. forms only; 3rd pl. *onaδunt*.

o honaf W.M. 35, R.M. 23, S.G. 22, *ohonof* W.M. 104; *ohonat* R.M. 7, 8, S.G. 85, *o honot* W.M. 12, 169, *ahonot* do. 10, *o honaud* B.B. 86, *ohonawt* B.T. 53, W.M. 159, C.M. 53; *o honaw* W.M. 1, 12; *o honei* R.M. 2, S.G. 1, 89, *o hanei* S.G. 12, *o heni* W.M. 3; *o honawch* W.M. 7, *ohonawch* do. 13; *onaδunt* R.M. 145, 151, *ohonunt* W.M. 22, R.M. 151, R.B.B. 48, *ohonun* R.P. 1280, Mn. W. *ohonun* L.G.C. 318, *onaddunt* do. 462, *onaddun* Gr.O. 94.

In the 16th cent. *ohon-* was often contracted to *on-* or *hon-*, as *cyn adnabod dim* **honi** G.R. [xiv] 'before knowing anything of it'; cf. E.P., PS. cv 16; *onynt* M.K. [59], *ono-fo* do. [60]; later *Os ymddifad* **onot** *ti* Wms. 438 (printed *ohonot*, but the metre allows only 2 syll.) 'if destitute of thee'. Analogy has restored the full form, and the contraction survives only in *monof, monot, mono* etc. for *ddim ohonof*, etc.; thus *ni welais mono* for *ni welais ddim ohono* 'I have not seen anything of him', i. e. I have not seen him; § 170 v (2).

vii. (1) W. **ar** is for **war*, O.W. *guar* CP., Bret. *war*, Corn. *war* <**u̯or* for Kelt. **u̯er* < Ar. **uper* § 65 v (3). The personal forms are made from an adverb **u̯or-nā*; for the suffix, cf. Lat. *superne* § 220 i (3), and for the ending, *suprā*. The pronoun stood in a case not affecting *a* in the sg. or pl., hence prob. acc.; thus sg. 1. *arnaf* < **u̯órname* < **u̯órnā me*; pl. 1. *arnam* or *arnann* < **arnanm* < **u̯órnansme* < **u̯ornā n̥sme* (: Av. *ahma*, Gk. Lesb. ἄμμε 'us'); sg. 2. *arnat* < **u̯ornā te*; pl. 2. *arnawch* formed on the analogy of the verb; sg. 3. m. *arnaw* is prob. a re-formation after the 3rd sg. *-δaw* § 210 x (1); sg. 3. fem. *erni* < **u̯órnasīm* < **u̯órnā sīm*; *arnei* < **u̯ornasīm* § 75 i (2); **sīm* is the acc. of **sī* 'she'. The most probable explanation of the *-δ-* in the 3rd pl., which also occurs in the 3rd sg. of other conjugations, is that it is the prep. **do*; this took the dative, orig. instr.; the instr. pl. of the pron. **es* was **eibhis* (: Skr. instr. pl. *ebhiḥ*) as in Ir. *doib* 'to them' < **do eibhis*; this would give **duv* in W.; *v* after *u* disappeared early, but if altered to δ (δ . . . *v* > δ . . δ) would remain longer; hence W. *arnaδu*(δ) < **u̯órnadoibis* < **u̯órnā do eibhis* or some such form; *arnaδunt* has the *-nt* of the verb added; *arnu, arnunt* are probably later formations.—The modern equivalent *i* of the prep. **do* performs the same function as that assumed above for **do*; it is added to an adverb to make it a prep.; thus *tu yma i* 'this side of' § 216 ii (4), *heibio i* 'past' § 210 iii.

(2) **at** is the stem of the personal forms substituted for **ad*, which may be from **ato* < **ad-do*, a compound of **ad* and **do* both denoting 'to'. The personal forms seem to be derived from an adverb **ato-tă̆*; thus *ataf* < **ad-daf* < **áto-ta-me*; etc. as in (1).

(3) **o dán** (*adan*, O.W. *guotan*) is formed from **u̯o-* 'under' § 156 i (16) (*o-/a-* < **u̯o-/u̯a-* § 65 v (1)) and **-tanā* < **-t̥nā* as in Lat. *pro-tinus* < **pro-t̥nos* : Lat. *tenus*, √*ten-* 'stretch'; **u̯o-tanā-me* > *o danaf*, etc., as *arnaf* above; adv. *o danoδ* < **u̯o-tană̆-de* (suff. **-dhi* or **-dhe* § 162 vi (2)). On the accent of *odán* see § 47 i; *odán* > *dán*; see also § 51 vi.

(4) **am** < **m̥bhi* § 156 i (4); *amdán-* formed like *odán-* above.

(5) **o** 'from, of', Corn. *a*, Bret. *a* < Brit. **ā* < Ar. **apo* : Gk. *ἀπό*, Lat. *ab*, *abs*, Skr. *ápa*. The Bret. and Corn. *a* imply Brit. unacc. **ā*; the form *a* survived in Ml. W. in phrases of the form *truan a beth* lit. 'a wretched of a thing', in which the ordinary *o* is substituted for it in Mn. W.; see § 71 i (2). Ml. W. *oc*, occurring only before *eu*, is due to the analogy of *ac* § 160 iv (2), § 213 iii (1); in Bret. Van. the analogy is carried a little further, Loth Voc. 28.—Bret. *ac'h* 'from' (*ac'h Alre ounn ginidik* 'je suis natif d'Auray', Troude), W. *ach* 'off, by' as in *ach ŷ law* W.M. 472 'beside him' < **aks* < **aps* : Lat. *abs*, Gk. *ἄψ*.—W. *ohan-* for *ahan-*, Corn. *ahan-*, Bret. *ahan-*, *ac'han-*, from **ap-sanā* 'away from'; **sanā* < **s̥nā* : Lat. *sine*, Skr. *sanitúr* § 156 ii (3). The 2nd sg. *ohonawt* implies an accent on the *-ā* : **ap-sanā́-te*. The 3rd pl. *onaδu* (Bret. *aneze*, Corn. *anedhe*) seems to imply a simpler form, not a contraction of **ohonaδ-* (of which there is no trace in W., Corn. or Bret.), possibly **po-nā* : cf. O.H.G. *fona* < **pu-nā*. The *a-* was generalized in Bret., Corn., and the *o-* in W., where it intruded into the second syll., and even the third, causing a confusion of conjugations.

§ **210**. Second Conjugation.—i. To this belong *rhag* 'before'; *heb* '(past) by, without'; *yn* 'in'; *trwy* 'through'; *tros* 'over'; *er*, Ml. W. *yr* 'for'; *rhwng* 'between'; *uwch* 'above'; *is* 'below'.

ii. **rhag** 'before', Ml. W. *ṙac*, is conjugated as follows:

Ml. W.		Mn. W.	
sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
1. *ṙagof*	1. *ṙagom*	1. *rhágof*	1. *rhágom*
2. *ṙagot*	2 *ṙagoch*	2. *rhágod, -t*	2. *rhágoch*
3. m. *ṙacδaw*	3. *ṙacδu*	3. m. *rhágddo*	3. *rhágddunt*
f. *ṙacδi*	*ṙacδunt*	f. *rhágddi*	*-ddynt*
adv. *ṙacko, ṙaccw*		adv. *rháco, ácw* 'yonder'	

ṙagof W.M. 4, *ṙagot* ib., *ṙacδaw* do. 9, *ṙacδi* S.G. 63, *ṙecδi* W.M. 423, *ṙogδaw* do. 444, *ṙocδi* A.L. i 452, 516, 522, *ṙagom* B.B. 29, *ṙagoch* R.M. 129, *ṙacδu* W.M. 53, R.M. 37, C.M. 37, LL.A. 111, *ṙacδunt* W.M. 86; *ṙacko* W.M. 251, *ṙacco* R.M. 8, *ṙaccw* A.L. i 112 (MS.C. 13th cent.), Mn. W. *rakw* P 54/269 R., *rhaco* L.G.C. 32, usually *acw* do. 83; forms with *-o-*: Gwentian *rhog* (accented) H.G. 3, 70, *ṙogδo* I.F. P 83/66; S.W. dial. *óco*.—O.W. sg. 3. m. *racdam* JUV. gl. sibi.

iii. **heb** '(past) by; without': sg. 1 *hebof*, 3. m. *hebδaw*, Mn. *hebddo*, f. *hebδi*; pl. 1. *hebom*, 3. *hebδunt*; adv. *heibyaw*, *heibaw*, Mn. *heibio* 'past'.

A cherδet **heb** *gorr* S.G. 257 'and walked past a dwarf'. *hebof, hebot* R.P. 1440, see § 198 ii, *hebδaw ef* W.M. 17 'past him', *hepδaw ef* do. 417 'without him', *hebδi* R.G. 1117; *heibẏaw* R.M. 10, *heibaw* W.M. 15; Mn. W. *hebod* D.G. 513, *hebom* 1 Cor iv 8 (1620), *heboch* Rhuf. xv 28 (1620, changed in late editions to *heibioch*!). 'Past' as a prep. is in the late period generally expressed by *heibio i* Job ix 11.

iv. **yn** 'in' *ym, yng* § 107, *'n, 'm, 'ng* § 44 vii (1): sg. 1 *ynof*, 3. m. *yndaw*, f. *yndi*, Mn. W. *yndo, yndi*, re-formed later as *ynddo, ynddi*.

ynof LL.A. 80, *ynot* W.M. 29, R.M. 19, *ynoch* S.G. 94; Mn. W. *ynof* G.R. [127], D. 70, *ynot* (3 times) Dat. xviii 22. The form *indi* B.B. 45, as opposed to *hebti* (≡ *hebδi*) do. 44, suggests *d* (*yndi*) rather than *δ*. So in Early Mn. W., as *undyn/yn*daw H.D. P 99/474. *randir/yndi* L.G.C. F. 34; but L.G.C. 231 has *ynddo/Wenddydd* (? read *Wendydd*; the dial. forms are S.W. *yndo*, N.W. *ynno fo*).

Llundain, ni chair lle **yndi**;
Llu Owain hên a'i lleinw hi.—G.T., LL 134/167 B.
'London—there is no room in it; the host of old Owain fills it.'

v. **trŵy** 'through': sg. 3 *trwyδaw, trwyδi*, pl. 3 *trwyδunt*. The stem of the 1st and 2nd pers. is *trw-*, or *trwyδ-* taken from the 3rd. Adv. *trwoδ* (*trwaδ*). In Mn. lit. W. the forms are *trŵof, trŵot, trŵyddo, trŵyddi, trŵom*, etc.; adv. *trŵodd* (dial. *trŵaδ*).

drwyδofi S.G. 9, 12, *drwyδot* LL.A. 49, *drwot* do. 99, *drwyδaw, drwyδi* W.M. 111, *trwyδaw* R.P. 1418, *drwyδunt* LL.A. 171, *drwoδ* W.M. 51–2, R.M. 36, S.G. 68, *drwaδ* R.M. 36. Mn. W. *trwof-i* 2 Tim. iv 17, *trwot* Philem. 7, *trwodd* Mic. v 8.

vi. **tros** 'over': sg. 1. *trossof*, Mn. W. *trosof*, 3. *trostaw, trosti*, Mn. W. *trosto, trosti*; adv. Mn. W. *drosodd*.

drossof W.M. 88, *drossot* do. 25, *drostaw* ib., *drosti* A.L. i 536, *drossom* LL.A. 155, *trostut* (*-t* ≡ *δ*) M.A. i 258, *drostunt* LL.A. 49. Mn. W. *drosof-i* Matt. xvii 27, *trosom* Eph. v 2, *trosodd* Matt. ix 1; etc.

vii. **er** 'for', Ml. W. *yr*: Mn. W. *érof, érot, érδo*, etc.; Ml. sg. 1. *yrof, erof*, 3. *yrδaw, yrδi*; etc. No adv.

ýrof R.P. 1264, *yrof, yrot* W.M. 9 'for me', 'for thee', *yrδaw* do. 37 'for him', *ýrom* R.P. 1294 (*/áreith*), *yrδunt* R.M. 49. Mn. W. *erof-i* Ps. cix 21, *erom* Rhuf. xvi 6, *erddo* Col. i 16, etc.

viii. (1) **rhwng** 'between', Ml. W. *rwng, yrwng*: Ml. W. sg. 1. *yrof, rof*, 2. *yrot, rot, yrynghot*, 3. m. *yrδaw*, (*y*)*ryngthaw*, (*y*)*ryngtaw*,

f. *yṙydi*, (*y*)*ṙyngthi*, (*y*)*ṙyngti*; pl. 1. *yṙom*, 2. *yṙoch*, 3. *yṙyδunt*, (*y*)*ṙyngthunt*, (*y*)*ṙyngtunt*; Mn. W. sg. 1. *rhŏf*, *rhyngof*, 2. *rhŏt*, *rhyngot*, 3. *rhyngtho*, *-i*; pl. 1. *rhŏm*, *rhyngom*, 2. *rhŏch*, *rhyngoch*, 3. *rhyngthunt*. In Late Mn. W. *rhof*, *rhot*, etc. are no longer used; and *-dd-* is substituted for *-th-* in the 3rd pers., an artificial change, for in the spoken lang. the dental is still *-th-* or *-t-* as in Ml. W.

(2) *yṙof i a duw* W.M. 2, 9, 10, etc. 'between me and God', *eṙof a duw* do. 88, *ṙof i a duw* do. 18, *yṙynghot* W.M. 109, *y ṙom ni* do. 10 'between us', *y ṙoch* C.M. 41 'between you', *yṙyδunt* W.M. 64, C.M. 30, 41, *ṙyngthaw* W.M. 22, *ṙyngtaw* do. 19, *yṙyğthi* do. 176, *y ṙyngthunt*, do. 6, 35, *yṙungthunt* do. 6. The forms *yroti* H.L.A. 119, *yrwng* do. 75, 120, *yryğtunt* 75 with the form *r* as in *yroδes* (≡ *y rhoδes*) do. 120, *yrei* (≡ *y rhei*) do. 75, show that the *r* is *rh*, as if initial (medial *r* after *y* is written *z*).

(3) Strachan, Intr. 39, refers *yrof* to a simple *ro*, which is imaginary. Mn. W. *rho* in *rho Duw* D.G. 227 is a contraction of *rho a* < *rhof a*. Zeuss confused *yrof* 'for me' with *yrof* 'between me', ZE. 670; but the accentuation is different: Mn. W. *érof* 'for me', Ml. W. *ýrof*, *ýrom* vii (accentuation attested by cynghanedd), but Mn. W. *rhŏf* 'between me' Ml. W. *ṙof* see above, Mn. W. *y rhŏm* D.G. 201, *rhŏm* 'between us', as—

Amodau, rhwymau oedd **rhŏm,**
Eithr ángau a aeth **rhýngom.**—T.A., C. ii 79.

'Between us were covenants [and] bonds, but death went between us.'

(4) The compound *cyfrwng* is similarly used: *kywruğ brodorion* B.B. 55 'between brothers'; *kyfryngoch* M.A. i 222, *kyfryngthut* (*-t* ≡ *-δ*) do. 233.—*cyfrwng* is also a noun meaning 'interval' R.B.B. 11.—In Recent written W. a neologism *cydrhwng* (*cyd-rhŵng*) is sometimes used.

(5) Without initial *yr-* we find 1st and 2nd sg. forms used as adverbs: *yngo* D.G. 52, *yngod* do. 88, 280, G. 142 'hard by', Ml. W. *yğhot* W.M. 118, *yngot* S.G. 304; cf. *iso*, *isod*.

ix. **uwch** 'above', **īs** 'below', Ml. W. *uch*, *is*: Ml. W. sg. 3. m. *uchtaw*, *istaw* W.M. 455 'above him', 'beneath him', pl. 1. *uchom* B.B. 29 'above us'. The 1st and 2nd sg. are used as adverbs: *uchof* A.L. i 50, P 14/38 R. 'above', *uchot* H.L.A. 115 'above', Mn. W. *ucho* G. 234, *uchod* 'above', *iso*, *isod* 'below'.

In Late Mn. W. *uchod* 'above', *isod* 'below' are used, but no other inflected forms. For *uchof*, *isof* periphrastic forms are used, such as *uwch fy mhen*, *is fy nhraed*, or *is fy llaw*.

x. (1) The *-o-* of the 1st and 2nd pers. endings of this conjugation prob. represents the ending *-o* of the prep. in Brit. Although the thematic vowel *-o* was not a case ending in Ar. it was a common ending of adverbs and preps., e. g. **apo*, **upo*, **pro*, and may have spread in Kelt. Hence perhaps **proko me* > Brit. **rokome* > W. (**rhogof*), *rhagof*. For the 3rd pl. *-δunt* see § 209 vii (1); 3rd sg. *-δi* < **'-do-sī* § 75 ii (2), where **sī* is the instr. sg. of **sī* 'she'. The 3rd sg. m. *-δaw* is difficult; Ml. W. *-δaw*, and Bret. *-zañ*, O.W. *-dam* (≡ *-δañ*) seem to be two different reductions of **-δauñ*, in which *au* (*aw*) must be from **-ou-* not from *-ā-* (since *ām* > Bret. *euñ*); both **-δawf* and Corn. *-tho* may be from **-do-emi* § 75 ii (2); **e-mi*, instr. in **-mi* of **es* 'he'.

(2) **rhag** < **prokos* : Lat. *reci-procus*, *procul* < **procolos*, dim. of **prokos*; unacc. *ok* > *ak* in Brit. § 65 ii (1); dialectal *rhog*, *rhogδo*, etc. < **prók-*. The form before a noun seems to have ended in *-s* causing the rad. initial : Brit. **rokos* unacc.; personal forms as above (1). The adv. *r̥accw*, *r̥acco* 'yonder' has a suffix **-hw* or **-ho*, prob. with loss of *-nn* (as *yma* 'here' etc. § 110 v (2)), for **-hwnn* or **honn* < **som-de* or **som-da* 'there' suff. **-dhe* or **-dha* § 162 vi (2), cf. *hwnt* § 220 ii (5); thus Brit. **roko sonde* 'in front there' > *r̥accw*. Initial *r-* was prob. first lost after consonants : *y gŵr racw* > *y gŵr acw*, *y brŷn racw* > *y bryn acw*, **dracw* > *dacw*, etc.

(3) **heb** '(past) by, without', Ir. *sech* id., Bret., Corn. *heb* 'without' : Av. *hača* 'away from', O.Pers. *hačā* id. : Lat. *secus*, Skr. *sácā* 'at, in the presence of'. These are believed to be all from √ *seqᵘ-* 'follow'; e. g. Brugmann² II ii 894 ff. The development of the meaning in Kelt. and Iran. is not quite clear. In W. *heb* with the vb. *wyf* means 'not having attained' : *yr wyf heb fy nghinio* 'I have not had my dinner', perhaps < '*I am in pursuit of'. This may explain the sense of 'lacking'. 'Past' and 'away from' may be from 'proceeding'. The adv. *heibiaw* (Bret. *ebiou*) seems to be a cpv. of the adj. **seqᵘos*; it might represent a loc. **seqᵘi̯osi* § 75 ii (2).

(4) **yn** 'in' < **en*, **eni* and **en-do* : Lat. *in*, O.Lat. *en*, Gk. *ἐν*, *ἐνί*, etc. Although the last ends in *-o*, *ynof*, *ynot*, etc., cannot come directly from it, as they have only one *-n-* in lit. W. Ml. and Mn. They are prob. re-formations from *yn* on the analogy of *rhagof*, etc. The *-d-* in *yndaw*, etc. is due to provection of δ after *n*, § 111 vii (2).

(5) **trwy** 'through', Ir. *tri*, *tre*, Bret. *tre*, *dre*. It causes lenition in W., Bret. and Ir., except in Ir. before the article. For the form in the last case Brugmann² II ii 900 gives **tres*, comparing **pres* in Gk. *πρέσ-βυς*; but as **pri*, **prei* existed beside **pres*, so there were prob. **tri*, **trei*; these would account for the leniting forms. W. *trwy* < **trei*; *trwyδu(nt)* < **trei do eibhis*. The 1st and 2nd pers. forms and the adv. are analogical formations.

(6) **tros** 'over, across' is a weak form of *traws* § 71 i (2), as in *ar draws* 'across'. It comes from a participial form **trāns* = Lat. *trāns* < **trānts*. The 3rd pers. *trostaw*, *trosti*, *trostunt* < **trāns do-*; the other persons and the adv. are analogical formations.

(7) **er,** Ml. W. *yr, er.* The meanings are 'for the sake of; in spite of; in exchange for; since (a particular date)'; *er ys, er's* § 214 vii. The prep. represents more than one derivative of **per,* prob. **per, *peri, *pero-s* : Lat. *per,* Gk. περί, Skr. *pári,* Skr. *paráḥ.* The prep. takes the rad.; this would be the initial after **peros.* The personal forms have the meaning of 'for the sake of', and may come from **pero-.*

(8) **rhwng** 'between' has replaced O.W. *ithr* 'between'; Ml. W. *yṙwng* < **per-ongo-,* § 65 iii (1) : *cyf-wng* 'interval', *cyf-yng* 'confined', *e-ang* 'wide' < **eks-ang-* : Gk. ἄγχι, ἀγχοῦ 'near', Lat. *angustus,* Germ. *eng,* √*aĝh-/oĝh-* 'narrow, strait'; the *o-* is seen in Gaul. *Octo-durus* "arx in angustia sita". **(p)er-ongo-me* by the usual loss of the second syll. would give **yrwof;* the *w* seems to have been dropped, as before *r,* giving *yrof,* which kept its O.W. accentuation § 47 i, like *yrwng*; if so, the *o* in *yróm* was originally short, and *yron(n)* occurs for it in B.B. 101 l. 2; the *w* seems to have been metathesized in O.W. *igridu* B.S.CH. 2 'between them' for **yrwyδu* < **(p)er-ongo-doibis.*—The forms *yṙynghof, yṙyngthaw* etc. are probably new formations from *yrhwng,* perhaps originally *ṙywhof* for **yṙwof.* The curious 2nd sg. *gryḡhod* W. 3*b* seems to be a scribal error for *ṙynghod* (M.A. i 192).

(9) **uwch, is,** see § 148 i (14), (10). The 3rd pers. forms may be old, the adj. being used adverbially before *do*; the other forms are prob. analogical.

§ **211.** Third Conjugation.—i. To this belong *gan* 'with, by' and *wrth* 'over against':

ii. (1) **gan** is conjugated as follows:

Ml. W.		Mn. W.	
sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
1. *gennyf*	1. *gennym*	1. *gennyf*	1. *gennym*
2. *gennyt*	2. *gennwch*	2. *gennyt*	2. *gennych*
3. m. *ganthaw, -taw*	3. *ganthu*(δ), *-unt*	3. m. *gantho, -to*	3. *ganthunt, -tunt*
f. *genthi, -ti*	*gantu*(δ), *-unt*	f. *genthi, -ti*	

Also in Ml. W. *genhyf,* etc. In Late Mn. W. sg. 3. m. *ganddo,* f. *ganddi,* pl. 3. *ganddynt*; the *dd* is artificial.

(2) O.W. *cant* ox. 'with', Early Ml. W. *kan,* as *kan canyat e penteulu* A.L. i 14 'with the permission of the chief of the household'. The rad. is sometimes retained in Early Mn. verse: *cennyd* D.G. 329, *cennym* T.A. G. 252 (misspelt *cenyd, cenym*). Ml. W. *ỏ gan* 'from with', as *ugeynt ykan pop gur* A.L. i 14 '20

from every man', became *gan* already in Ml. W., as *attep ny chavas ef genthi hi* W.M. 10 'he got no reply from her'; Mn. W. *gan* 'from'.

(3) *genhiw* (≡ *genhyf*) B.B. 101 'with me', *genhyf* W.M. 55, *gennyf* do. 18, *genhid* B.B. 10, *gennyt* W.M. 11, *ganthaw* do. 9, *genthi* do. 10, 15, *genti* do. 28, *y gennym* do. 12 'from us', *genhwch* do. 57 'with you', *gennwch* ib., R.M. 40, S.G. 92, *ganthut* (*-t* ≡ *-δ*) M.A. i 258, *gantu* W.M. 57, *ganthunt* B.T. 65, W.M. 16, S.G. 1, *gantunt* Ll.A. 69.

There is also in Early Ml. verse what appears to be a 3rd pl. *genhyn* B.T. 13 (twice), 15, 16 (twice), 17, 77, *nyd ant ỏ kenhin* B.B. 49 'they will not go back'; also a form *y genhyδ* B.T. 75, in an obscure passage.

(4) *gan* with the verb 'to be' expresses 'have': *y mae gennyf* 'there is with me', i.e. I have, *y mae gennyt* 'thou hast', etc.; *nid oes gennyf* 'I have not', etc.

(5) On *gennif, gennit, wrthif, wrthit,* see § 77 iv.

iii. (1) **wrth**: sg 1. *wrthyf* W.M. 10; 2. *wrthyt* ib.; 3. m. *wrthaw* do. 2; f. *wrthi* do. 10; pl. 1. *wrthym* Ll.A. 155; 2. *wrthywch* W.M. 39; 3. *wrthu* Ll.A. 113, *wrthunt* do. 119.

(2) O.W. *gurt paup* ox. 'against everybody', gl. consistes. *gurthdo* Juv., gl. obstitit, seems to be a verb, § 193 v (3).

Ml. W. *ỏ wrth* 'from beside', as *ỏwrthywch ac ỏwrth ych tei* Ll.A. 157 'from you and from your houses', Mn. W. *oddi wrth, oddi wrthyf*, etc.; Ml. W. *y wrth* also means 'compared with', W.M. 11, Mn. W. *wrth* B.CW. 5 'compared with'.

iv. (1) **gan**, O.W. *cant* (Corn. *gans*, Bret. *gant*, Ir. prefix *cēt-, ceta-*) has the meanings of **kom*, of which it is a derivative. Thus *cann* < *cant* < Brit. **kanta* < Ar. **kn̥-ta* = Gk. κατά < **kn̥-ta*. The pronoun suffixed affected the *a*; it may have been abl. **mī(d̥)* = Lat. *mē(d)*, or possibly a loc. **moi* which as a mere suffix would become **-mī*. So for the 2nd sg. The first and 2nd pl. are prob. analogical. The affection of *a* before a labial became *ỵ*, § 69 ii (4); hence *gennyf, gennym, gennywch*, which caused the sg. 2. to follow; thus the distinction kept in Corn. between *genef* and *worthyf* (similarly in Bret.) is lost in W. Between vowels *-nt-* > *-nnh-* > *-nn-* regularly. In the 3rd pers. **do* is used, as after other prepositions, taking of course the same case; hence **cant-δaẇ* > *ganthaw* or *gantaw*; so for f. and pl. The 3rd pl. *genhyn*, with verbal *-n* (added to the apparent stem *genhy-*?).

(2) **wrth**, O.W. *gurt(h)*, Corn. *worth, orth*, Bret. *ouz, oz*, implies some such form as **u̯ertó* § 66 iii (1); Ir. *frith* 'against' < **u̯ṛt-*:

Lat. *red-*, *re-* < Ital. **u̯red-* < Ar. **u̯ret-*; cf. Lat. *versus* 'against', part. of *verto* : √*u̯er-* 'turn'. *wrthyf* < **u̯ertó-mī*, etc. The 3rd sg. *wrthaw* < **wrth-δaw*, the -δ- merged in the *-th-*; so for the f. and pl.

§ **212**. i. The prep. i 'to', Ml. W. *y*, O.W. *di* is inflected anomalously; the 1st sg. is *ɣm*, or with the affixed pron. *ɣmi* or *ɣmɣ*; for *ɣ-*, *i-* is common in Ml. W., and became the usual form in Mn. W. The inflexion is as follows:

sg.	pl.
1. *ɣm, ɣmi, ɣmɣ, im, imi*	1. *ɣnn, ɣnni, ɣnnɣ, in, inni*
2. *ɣtt, ɣtti ɣttɣ, itt, itti*	2. *ɣwch, ɣchw̯i, ɣchw̯ɣ, iwch, ichw̯i*
3. m. *iδaw*, Mn. *iddo*	3. *uδu, uδuδ, uδunt*, Late Mn. *iddynt*
f. *iδi*, Mn. *iddi*	

Examples: *ym* IL.A. 98, l. 4, *ymi* W.M. 20, 22, *im* do. 46; *ytt* IL.A. 95, *ytti* R.M. 5, *yti* W.M. 4, *itt* do. 3, 8, 9, *it* do. 20, *itti* ib.; *yni* do. 29, *inni* do. 139, *ychwi* R.M. 7, *iwch chwi* W.M. 11, *ywch* do. 50, *utut* (≡ *uδuδ*) B.B. 49–50, *uδu* B.T. 74; *uδunt* § 77 viii; *iδaw*, *iδi* passim. The Late Mn. W. spelling *iddynt* is artificial; see § 77 viii.

ii. Forms with *y* survive in Early Mn. verse, in which the rhymes show that the sound of the *y* is *ɣ*.

Dafydd ap Gwilɣm, **ɣmɣ**
Y bu fraw am na bai frɣ.—G.Gr. (m. D.G.) F.N. 1.

'Dafydd ap Gwilym—to me there was dismay because he was no longer [alive] there.'

Arglwydd gw̯ɣnn, nid oes **ɣnni**
Un tad oll onid tydi.—M.R., P 93/56.

'Holy Lord, there is to us no father at all but Thee.'

Ni all angel penfelɣn
Na llu o saint ddim lles **ɣn.**—G.I.IL., F. 8, M 130/470 R.

'No golden-haired angel or host of saints can [do] us any good.'

iii. The affixed pron. is often accented; in that case it is usually written separately, *i mi*, *i ti*, etc., Ml. W. *y mi* W.M. 8. As *ínni* has undoubtedly a double *n* the form *yni* W.M. 20 must mean *ɣní* (the double consonant being simplified before the accent § 27 ii).

Gwell **i mí** *golli 'mýwyd*
Na chan boen nychu 'n y byd.—T.A., A 14866/201.

'It is better for me to lose my life than in pain to pine in the world.' Rarely in poetry *i mýfi* D.G. 53, *i nyní* H.S. 22, etc.; thus:

Mwya ofn yw **i mýfi**
Ofn y paid ar f'anap i.—I.D., A 14997/28.

'The greatest fear to me is the fear that my trouble will end.'

iv. When *dydd da* 'good day' and *nos da* 'good night' are followed by *yd* 'to thee' and *ywch* 'to you', *da yd* is contracted to *dáyd* written *daed* (§ 29 iv (2)) and *da ywch* to *dáywch*, *dáewch*, now reduced to *dáwch* § 30.

"Nos daewch" *i'r ferch nis dichon*;
"Nos daed ti" *nis dywaid hon.*—D.E., A 14967/18 (G. 118).

'[To say] "good night to you" to the maid avails not; she will not say "good night to thee".'

Breiniawl wyt o'r barónwaed;
Barwn Ystepltwn, **nos daed.**—L.G.C. 141; see 127, 480.

'Noble art thou of the blood of barons; Baron of Stepleton, good night to thee.'

O'r cyff hwn a'r Cyffinwaed
Y cawn was dewr. Can' **nos daed** !—T.A., A 14975/102.

'Of this stock and the blood of Kyffin we have a brave youth. A hundred good nights to thee.'

Dydd daed D.E. P 83/103, *dyddiau daed* G.Gl., M 146/203, D.G. 381.

Nos dâwch is still in common use; but *daed* is not now generally known. Silvan Evans quotes L.G.C. 141 (see above) and D.G. 381 under *daed* eqtv. of *da.*

v. *oe* 'to his, to her, to their' § 160 ii (1); *yw, i'w* 'to his, to her, to their' ib., § 160 iv (2).

vi. **y, i** 'to', O.W. *di* < Brit. **do* is equivalent to the prefix *dy-* § 65 iv (2), § 156 i (13). It is strange that this prep. whose 1st sg. is the only one in Ir. which has certainly a single *-m* (= W. **-f*) is the only one in W. with *-m* (≡ *-mm*). The *-m* is due, like the usual *-mm* in Ir., to the Kelt. doubling of the initial of an unacc. word following an accented monosyll., § 217 iv (1); thus *ym* < **dó-mmī* < **dó moi.* The corresponding form of the 2nd sg. would be **yth*, cf. *yth* 'to thy'; but the form that survived was *yd* (*id* W.M. p. 279), as in *daed*; by late analogical doubling this gave *ytt* (*d-d* > *tt* § 111 ii (1)). It may be conjectured that the 3rd pers. forms were orig. **daw*, **di*, **du*; as these were mere suffixes in the conjugation of other preps. it is probable that **δy* was prefixed here to represent the prep.; *y* would be assimilated to a following *i* or *u*, and perhaps *iδaw* takes its *i* from *iδi*, O.W. *didi* L.L. 120. But the prep. **dī* § 156 i (11) may have been prefixed, with an intensive force, as before **do-* in *di-δawr* § 195 i.

§ **213.** i. The prepositions **a** [spirant], **ag**, Ml. W. *a*, *ac* 'with' and **wedi** [rad.], Early Mn. and Ml. W. *(g)wedy* may be followed by independent pronouns; thus *â mi* 'with me', *â thi* 'with thee'; *â myfi*, *â m'fi*, *â thydi*, *â th'di* § 159 ii (3); *ag ef*, *ag efo* 'with him'; etc.; *gueti ef* L.L. 120 'after him', *gwydi ny* B.B. 44 'after us'.

Ac ni bydd oherwydd hyn
Gwedy ef *gwiw dy ofyn.*—I.G. 312 (m. D.G.).

'And therefore it will be of no avail after him to ask for thee' (i. e. for a *cywydd*).

Y Deheu feirdd **wedy fo**
Sydd wannach eu swydd yno.—Gut.O., M 146/398.

'The bards of the South after him are weaker in their performance there' (m. G.Gl.).

Da oedd cyffion Huw Conwy,
A da yw Huw **wedy hwy.**—L.G.C. 463.

'Good were the ancestors of H.C., and good is H. after them.'

In Late Mn. W. the use of a pron. as above after *wedi* is rare.

ii. (1) *a* is now generally circumflexed to distinguish it from *a* 'and'. When it is accented it is of course long, but when unaccented it is short. The same is true of *a* 'and'.

(2) *wedi* has late *-i* owing to the frequency of its use, cf. § 16 ii (3). In Early Ml. W. where it rhymes it has *-ỽ*; see e. g. L.G.C. 15, 66. In Ml. W. it has *-y* in MSS. in which *i* and *y* are distinguished.

iii. (1) *a*, *ag* < **aggós*; it has two distinct meanings, and may therefore have a double origin: (a) 'together with' < **ad-g-*: Ir. *ac*, *oc*, *occ* < **ad-go-s*: Lat. *ad*, Goth. *at*, E. *at*, Brugmann² II ii 793; this is the prep. used after *cyf-* and *ym-*, as *cyf-arfod â* 'to meet with'; and is the same as *â*, *ag* 'as' after the equative;—(b) 'by means of', as O.W. *ha crip* OX. 'with a comb', Mn. W. *â phyg* Gen. vi 14 'with pitch' < **ab-g-*: *o* § 209 vii (5). For *ag*, *a* [spir.] in this sense *o* [soft] is used in Gwent: *taro ci* **o** *asgwrn* 'to strike a dog with a bone' Seren Gomer, Mai 7 1814; cf. *kymynynt* **o** *δur* R.P. 1042 for *k.* **a** *dur* B.B. 72 'they hewed down with steel'; conversely, after a spv. *ag* is used for *o* before a relative, as *yn oreu* **ac** *y gellynt* C.M. 54, *gyntaf* **ac** *y gallavδ* S.G. 408,

Y glanaf **ag** *a luniwyd,*
A'r goreu oll o'r gwŷr wyd.—T.A., A 14971/53.

'The handsomest of [all] that have been created, and the very best of men art thou.' In Ml. W. this is **o** before the demonst. *'r*, as *goreu . . .* **o** *'r a vu* R.M. 82 'best of those that were'; rarely **a**, as *o bop . . .* **a**'*r a vei* IL.A. 141; Mn. W. *a'r a*. The common origin and

overlapping use of *a* 'by means of' and *o* 'of, from' prob. conduced to the formation of the analogical *oc* § 209 vii (5).—The last element in Brit. **ag-gós* is the same as that of the orig. form of *a* 'and' § 222 i (3).

(2) *gwedy* (: Bret. *goude*) 'after' is also an adv. 'afterwards' § 220 ii (9). As a prep. it is largely used before verbal nouns, and in periphrastic conjugation it forms the equivalent of a perfect. For its origin see l.c.; it has the same final element as *a, ag*.

iv. The above are the only prepcsitions which may govern personal pronouns, except *mal, megys* § 215 iv.

§ **214.** The following prepositions are of more or less restricted use:

i. **ach** is used only in *ach law* 'near at hand'; *ach fy llaw* 'near me', etc. § 209 vii (5).

A trace of a wider use is seen in *ym ach mur Kaer Loyw* R.M. 131 'beside the wall of Gloucester'; *ym* = *am* < **m̥bhi* § 156 i (4).

ii. **ger** [rad.] 'near', Ml. *kir, ker, gyr, ger, geir, geyr, gar*, is used chiefly in *gerlláw, ger llaw* 'at hand', *gerbrŏn, ger bron* 'before' (*ger fy llaw* 'near me', *ger dy law di* IL.A. 125 'near thee', *ger fy mron* 'before me'), but may occur before any noun denoting a place.

The radical initial is *k-*, as *kir llaw* B.B. 10, *ker llaw* R.P. 1246, M.A. i 230, *cer bron* do. 206, *ker tir Tyssilyaw* do. 341, Mn. W. *a cher bron* Dat. iii 5. The origin of the word is uncertain; it seems to form the prefix in *cyr-haeddaf* 'I reach', Mn. v.n. *cyrr-aedd* : *haeδaf* 'I reach'; possibly allied to *cwrr* 'edge', √(*s*)*qer-* 'cut'; both *-ei-* and *-y-* may be affections of *-a-* or *-o-* before *-rr-*, and *-e-* may be a variant of *y* § 16 iv (2); *gar* W.M. p. 281 may have unaffected *a*.

iii. **tra** is used only in *drachéfn* 'backwards, again' (*cefn* 'back'); with infixed pronouns *kilỳa drathgefyn* C.M. 41 'withdraw!' 2nd sg. impv., *draechefyn* R.M. 177 'behind her'. In Late Ml. and Mn. W. by a wrong division of *drachefn* we have *drach dy gevyn* S.G. 275 'behind thee', *drach 'y nghefn* D.G. 274 'behind me', *drach ei chefn* Gen. xix 26.

Tra mor tra Brython B.T. 76 'beyond the sea, beyond [the borders of] the Britons' and *tra ŕun* B.B. 49 'beyond Rhun' preserve the remains of a wider use.

trachéfn for **tarchéfn* < **tarós kebn-* < Ar. **t̥rós* : Ir. *tar* : Skr. *tiráḥ* < **t̥rós*; allied to *trwy* § 210 x (5); see § 156 i (22).

iv. **pw** (*py*) is used only in the phrase *pwy gilydd* 'to its fellow', as *o ben bwy gilydd* 'from end to its fellow' i. e. from end

to end. For examples see § 166 ii (3). A trace of a wider use survives in *awr py awr* R.B.B. 107 '[from] hour to hour'.

pw : Ir. *co* 'to'. Initial gemination after the latter is secondary, according to Thurneysen, Gr. 456, who compares O.Bulg. *kŭ* 'to' (< **qom* : Skr. *kám* after the dative). The Kelt. form would be **qᵘo*; this may be the pron.-stem **qᵘo-*, seen in *e*-grade in **qᵘe* 'and' (Lat. *-que*, Gk. τε, etc.) : Lat. *ūs-que* < **ud-s* 'out' + **qᵘe* 'to'.

v. **eithr** [rad.] 'without, except', § 99 v (4), is used before verbal nouns, as *cithŷr bot yn well kyweirdeb y bwyt* W.M. 227 'except that the preparation of the food was better'; hence it came chiefly to be used as a conjunction. But it occurs also before nouns and pronominalia : *eithŷr moδ* C.M. 2 'beyond measure'; *eithŷr y ŷei a oeδynt* W.M. 227 'except the ones who were'.

Eithr *Morfudd ni'm dihudd dyn.*—D.G. 51.
'Except Morfudd no one will appease me.'

vi. O.W. **ithr** M.C. 'between' seems to occur only once; it was obsolete in Ml. W.

ithr, Corn. *inter*, *yntre*, Bret. *entre*, Ir. *etar*, *eter* : Lat. *inter*, Skr. *antár*.

vii. **ys, es** [rad.], Ml. W. *ys* 'for . . . past' is used before a noun denoting a period of time. *er ys* with a past verb : *yr ys pell o amser* R.M. 130 '[I came] a long time ago', cf. IL.A. 106, 107; *er ys mis* W.IL. G. 293 'for a month past'; contracted *er's*.

Ys *guers yδ wyf yn keissaw a olchei vyg cleδyf* W.M. 487 'for some time I have been seeking one who would burnish my sword.'

Ofnus fyth fu'r fynwes fau
Es *deufis hyd nos Difiau.*—G.Gl. P 103/193.
'My heart was constantly afraid for two months till Thursday night.'

ys 'for the space of', perhaps < **en-s* : Gk. εἰς, § 215 iii (1). If *oed* W.M. 123 l. 2 (omitted in R.M. 197) is *oeδ* 'was' for *yr ys* P 14/185 it shows *ys* taken for 'is', cf. Bret. *zo*, Fr. *il y a*; but *yr ys* is old, and implies *ys* prep.

viii. Ml. W. **annat** [rad.] 'before, in preference to' is used before *neb*, *dim*, and other expressions in which 'any' is expressed or implied. In Ml. W. *yn* began to be used before it; and in Mn. W. it became *yn anad*, the *nn* being simplified owing to the word being unaccented, cf. *canys* § 222 iv (1) : *yn anad nêb*.

Or clywy δiaspat dos wrthi, a diaspat gwreic **annat** *diaspat o'r byt* R.M. 195 'if thou hearest a cry go towards it, and a woman's cry before [any] cry in the world'; W.M. 120 has *anat*, but other *nn*'s are simplified in the same col.; *heb ymgyfarvot ac ef* **yn annat** *neb* S.G. 34 'without meeting him of all men', lit. 'rather than anybody'; cf. S.G. 142; **yn anad** *neb* D.G. 35, 107; *Mor llygredig oedd ei wedd* **yn anad** *neb, a'i bryd* **yn anad** *meibion dynion* Es. lii 14. It is also used adverbially: *ac* **yn annat** *llawen oeδ Arthur* S.G. 10 'and A. was especially glad'.

annat < **anta-tos* an adv. formed from **anta* 'before': Goth. *anda-*, Gk. *ἄντα*, a doublet of **anti*: Gk. *ἀντί*, Lat. *ante*.

ix. **myn** [rad.] 'by' (in oaths); in N. W. sounded *mŷnn*; Ml. W. *mynn, myn*.

myn *llaw vyġhyveillt* W.M. 458 'by the hand of my friend'; so R.M. 105, *mynn ll.* etc. do. 170; **myn** *vy fyδ* C.M. 57 'by my faith'; **myn** *Duw* R.M. 115, **myn** *Dyw* W.M. 473 'by God'; **myn** *fenaid* D.E. c 49/15 R. 'by my soul'; **myn** *einioes Pharaoh* Gen. xlii 15.

Nid oes ym, **myn** *Duw,*[a] *o swydd* [a] Printed *dyn.*
Ond olrhain anwadalrhwydd.—D.G. 33.

'I have, by God, no task but studying fickleness.' Cf. W.M.L. 41.

mynn: Gael. *mionn* 'oath', Ir. *mind* 'oath': √*mendh-* extension of √*men-* 'thought'; cf. W. *adduned* 'vow' < **ad-moni-* § 100 v. Macbain connects Ir. *mind* 'oath' with Ir. *mind* 'holy relic' and this, with less probability, with Ir. *mind* 'diadem', O.W. *minn* gl. sertum (: Lat. *monile*, see Walde s.v.).

x. **ym** [rad.] 'by' (in oaths).

Gwell ym **ym** *Padric!* R.P. 1277 'It is better for me, by Patrick!' **Ym** *Sant Grigor!* L.G.C. 183 'by Saint Gregory!'; **ym** *Beuno!* G.Gl. M 146/188; **ym** *Iesu!* T.A., G. 229.

The origin of the word is obscure (? *ym* 'to my').

§ **215.** Nominal Prepositions.—i. Some of the above prepositions are of substantival or adjectival origin. Others are —from adjectives:

(1) **cyn** (*cyn*) [rad.] 'before', in time: *kin lleith* B.B. 22 'before death', *kin myned* do. 30 'before going', *kin braud* do. 41 'before the judgement'. In Ml. W. it is followed by *no* 'than' before pronouns pers. and demonst., and thus remains an adv.: *kyn noc ef* W.M. 178 'before him', *kynn no hynny* do. 11 'before that'. In Mn. W. it is no longer used before pers. pronouns, and has become a prep. before demonstratives: *cyn hynny* 'before that'. It is in common use before nouns.

cyn is the adv. *cynt* 'sooner', an obl. case of the cpv. adj. *cynt* § 148 i (3).

(2) **nes** [rad.] 'until', used before verbal nouns; as, *ny chysgaf hun lonyδ nes gwybot* W.M. 167 'I shall not sleep comfortably until I know'; *nês ei orfedd* T.A. G. 237 'until his lying (low)', i. e. 'until he lay (low)'; rarely before abstract nouns : *nes henaint* L.G.C. 445 'till old age'.

Galw am ddyfod diodydd,
Gwyliaw tân **nes** *gweled dydd.*—L.G.C. 430.

'Calling for drinks to be brought, watching the fire till day is seen.'

The construction survives in Late Mn. W. : *nes i mi ddyfod* Es. xxxvi 17 'until my coming', cf. B.CW. 83, 115; but a new construction, *nes* before a noun-clause beginning with *y*, arose, e. g. *nes y dêl y dydd* C.C. 211 (end of 17th cent.) 'until the day comes'. In the dialects the *y* is omitted and *nes* becomes a conjunction; but *nes* with v.n. is still in common use.

nes (≡ *nēs*, though now sounded *nês* § 51 vi) = *nēs* 'nearer', § 148 i (1); 'nearer than' > 'this side of' > 'until'; cf. *nys caffaf-i efo* **yn nes** *dioδef llawer* S.G. 291 'I shall not get him before suffering much'.

ii. Nominal preps. from nouns are used not only simply, as *cylch* 'about', but with a preceding prep., as *o gylch* 'about'; the latter forms may be called composite nominal prepositions. When a pers. pron. is required to be the object, it takes the form of an infixed pron. in the composite prep., as *o'th gylch* 'about thee'; *o'th achos* D.G. 101 'on thy account, because of thee'. The simple nom. preps. are the following, all taking the [rad.] except *hyd* :

(1) **achos** 'because of'; compos. *o achos* id. : noun *achos* 'cause'.

o achaws W.M. 12 'on account of'; *o'th achaws di* R.M. 233; *pa achaws* R.B.B. 112 'why?' *achos gwenfun* I.MSS. 239.

(2) **cylch**, *amgylch* 'about'; compos. *ynghylch*, *o gylch*, *o amgylch*, *o amgylch ógylch* 'round about' : *cylch* 'circle'.

Yn bwhwman gan annwyd
Cylch *drws dy dŷ, Lleucu Llwyd.*—LL.G., BR. ii 171.

'Shivering with cold about the door of thy house, Ll. Ll.', i. e. around thy grave; (v.l. *Ynghylch dy dŷ* F.N. 29); **cylch** *dolydd Dwylais*

L.G.C. 202, **gylch** *y Ddôl* G. 91; *yg̃kylch y ty* W.M. 47 'about the house'.

cylch is believed to be derived from Lat. *circulus*; but the latter gives O.W. *circhl* CP. 'cycle' regularly; and *cylch*, Bret. *kelc'h*, may well be Kelt. < *q^{u}u-q^{u}l̯i̯o- (by met.) : Gk. κύκλος, κύκλιος : E. *wheel*, etc.

(3) **eisiau** 'wanting, without'; compos. *o eisiau* 'for want of', *o'th eisiau*, etc.: *eisiau* 'want', prob. orig. an adj. < Lat. *exiguus* (noun *eissywet* < *exiguitas*).

> *Mis haf oedd i ferch Ddafydd,*
> *Ac* **eisiau** *hwn gaea' sydd.*—T.A., G. 245.

'It was a summer month to the daughter of Dafydd, and without him [her dead husband] it is winter.'

(4) **erbyn** 'by' (a certain time or event), 'in readiness for'; compos. *yn erbyn* 'against' (a person or thing); *yn fy erbyn* Matt. xii 30 'against me'; also *i'm herbyn* Matt. xviii 21 'against me'.

Hid im pen un brin **erbin** *eu barnu* B.B. 42 'to the summit of one hill to be judged', lit. 'for the judging of them'.

erbyn is itself originally a composite prep. < Kelt. **ari qu̯ennōi*, made up of the prep. **ari* § 156 i (6), and the dat. of **qu̯ennos* 'head': Corn. *erbyn*, Ir. *ar chiund* (in Ir. there is *ar chend* also, with *chend* acc.). The orig. construction with a pron. was Corn. *er dhe byn* 'against thee', Ir. *ar do chiund* 'in front of thee'. The improper compound *erbyn* was mistaken for a proper in W., whence *yn erbyn* etc.; but it did not become an ordinary noun though treated as such in this construction.

(5) **herw̯yδ** 'according to, in the manner of', and 'by' (as in lead 'by' the hand); *gervyδ* in Late Ml. W. in the last sense, Mn. W. *gerfydd*; compos. *o herwydd* 'on account of', *o'm herwydd* 'on my account', *o'r herwydd* 'on that account', *yn herwydd* 'according to', *yn ol yr herwydd* 'on the average', *pa herwydd* 'why?'

herwyδ *y dyyll* [read *dyall*] . . . *a roδes Duw y'r neb ae troes* IL.A. 160 'according to the understanding that God has given to him who translated it'; **herwit** *guir in gueini* B.B. 44 'in the manner of men in service'; **herwyδ** *ẏ afwyneu* W.M. 142 [lead the horse] 'by his reins'; **gervyδ** *ẏ avwyneu* C.M. 47 'by his reins'; **erwyδ** *ẏ traet* W.M. 55 [grasped the boy] 'by his feet'; **oherwydd** *hyn* § 213 i; o'i **herwyδ** D.G. 498 'on her account'; **yn herwyδ** *gueledigaeth* W.M. 34 'as regards appearance'; (*y*)*r iaith Gymraec* **yn ei herwydd**

M.K. [vii] 'the Welsh language in general'; **Ba herwydd** *na bai hiraeth* T.A. 'why should there not be longing?'—O.W. **heruid** *duiutit* JUV. 'according to divinity'; **hihi erguid** OX. 'in general'(?).

herwyδ: Corn. *herwydh*; Bret. *hervez*; the *h-* though appearing in all (as opposed to W. and Corn. *erbyn*) can only be explained as accentual, cf. *henw̆*, Bret. *hano*, Corn. *hanow*; the rest seems to be < **ari-u̯id-* '*appearance, manner', √*u̯eid-* 'see'; *erwyδ* also occurs without *h-* in O. and Ml. W.; and *gervyδ* is a variant due to another treatment of *e-*, see § 112 ii (2).

(6) **hyd** [soft] 'the length of', § 148 i (8), in two senses, (a) 'as far as', (b) 'along'; compos. *ar hyd* [rad.] 'along', *ar dy hyd* 'along thee', also 'at thy full length' (on the ground).

o lost irinis **hit** *bronn ir alt* L.L. 73 'from Llost yr Ynys as far as the breast of the Allt'; *o hynny* **hyt** *trannoeth* W.M. 6 'from that [time] till the morrow'; **hyt** *yr amser* do. 19 'till the time'; often followed by *yn* § 216 ii (1);—**ar hit** *taf* L.L. 258 'along the Taff'; **ar-i-hit** do. 159, **ar-y-hit** do. 143 'along it', **n-i-hit** do. 43, 78, etc., **yn-y-hit** do. 146 'along it'.

In the dialects *hyd* developed an inflected 3rd sg. *hýdδo, hýdδi* (the *ý*, instead of *y*, shows it to be late); this is sometimes met with in Late Mn. W.: *ar hyd-ddi* Gen. xxviii 12.

O.W. *bihit* CP., *bichet* ib., *beheit* OX., *behit* L.L. 73, *behet* do. 73, 122, *bet* JUV., L.L. freq., e.g. 146 (7 times), 155 (11 times) 'as far as'; *cehit* L.L. 73 'along', *cihitan* do. 122 bis 'along', *cihitun* OX. 'along'; Ml. W. *vet* (misprinted *ver*) R.M. 144 (see W.M. 201) 'as far as'; Gwentian *ved* H.G. 23, 52 'till'.

bi- < Ar. **bhi* (: **obhi*) 'on (to)': Goth. *bi*, Skr. *abhí* (Lat. *ob* may be from **obhi* or **opi*); *-het* may represent acc. **-sitm̥*; the uniquo form *-heit* may be due to *heitham* which follows it; *bet* is generally regarded as a contraction of *behet*, but such a contraction is doubtful so early; cf. also Bret. *bet, bete, beteg*; can it be an adv. direct from *bi-*? *cehit* = eqtv. *cyhyd* § 148 i (8); *cihitan* an adv. like *guotan* etc., from **ko-si-tan-*; *-un* error for *-an*?

(7) **llwrw** 'in the track or direction of, after, with, as regards'; compos. *yn llwrw* id., *ar llwrw* id., adv. 'forward'; S.W. dial. *lwrw i ben* 'head foremost'; also Ml. W. *llwry*.

llwrw *essiwet ket* R.P. 1351 'after dearth of largess', **llwrw** *alaeth . . . digrawn . . . deigyr* do. 1206 'with grief the tear flows'; **yn llwrw** *llwyth elvyt dovyt a'n dyd yn llawr* P.M. M.A. i 306 'following earth's tribe the Lord will place us in the ground'; *dos heb*

argysswrw **ar llwrw** *ỹ'r lle* do. do. 292 'go without fear forward to the place'.

llwrw : Corn. *lerch* 'track', *war lerch* 'after', Bret. *lerc'h* 'track', Gael. *lorg* 'track', Ir. *lorg*; all < Kelt. **lorg-* < **plorg-* dissim. for **pro-rg-*, √*reĝ-* § 193 x (8) : Lat. *pergo*, *perrēxi* < **per-reĝ-*; etc.

(8) **parth, parthed** 'towards, as regards'; compos. *o barth*, *o barthret* G.C. 108 'as regards'; *imparthred* B.B. 26 'in the region of'; *parth* is oftenest followed by *â* § 216 ii (2).

parth *espyt* R.P. 1226 'as regards strangers'.

parth 'part' < Lat. *part-*; *parthed* is by dissim. for *parthred* with *-red* as in *gweithred* § 143 iii (22).

(9) **plith** 'in the midst of'; compos. *ymhlíth* 'among', *yn eu plith* 'among them', *o blith* 'out of the midst of', *o'ch plith* 'from your midst', *i blith* 'into the midst of', *i'w plith* 'into their midst', *plith dráphlith* § 47 iii.

plith from Lat.; perhaps < Brit. **plikt-* for Lat. *plicit-* : W. *plygu* 'to fold' < Lat. *plic-o*.

iii. Many composite nominal prepositions have no corresponding simple form (i. e. the noun alone is not used as a prep.). All are followed by the [rad.]. The most important are—

(1) **mewn**, Ml. W. *ỹ mywn*, *mywn* 'in' (though apparently a simple form, *mywn* is a mere phonetic reduction of *ỹmýwn*); *o fewn* 'within'; with inf. pron. *i'w mewn hi* Num. v 24; *o'ch mewn* Luc xvii 21; also in Mn. W. *i fewn y llys* Marc xv 16; adv. *i mewn*, *oddimewn*.

(*y*)*mywn* 'in the middle of' has come to be used for 'in' before indefinite, *yn* being restricted to definite, objects; thus *ỹmywn ty* W.M. 53 'in a house', *yn y ty* do. 54 'in the house'; in Ml. and Early Mn. W. *mywn*, *mewn* is sometimes used before the latter.

i < **ens* : Gk. *εἰς* < *ἐνς* < **en* 'in' + *-s* as in **e͡ks*. *i mewn*, *ymywn* = Ir. *inmedōn*, *immedōn*; Ir. *medōn* 'middle'. The W. form has lost *δ* § 110 iv (2), and was therefore orig. disyllabic **my|wn* < **myδwn*, which most probably represents **myδ-ū̯yn* § 78 i (2). Both this and Ir. *medōn* would be regular from Kelt. **medi̯oknō* : Lat. *mediocris*, spv. *medioximus*. If this equation is right, *mediocris* can hardly be '*middle-hill' (: *ocris*, Sommer 488, Walde s.v.) but may be an adj. in *-ri-* (cf. *ācri-*, *sacri-*) from **medioque* formed from *medio-* like *prope* (for **proque*) from *pro*, as the spv. *medioximus* beside *proximus* suggests. The Kelt. would be a noun in *-no-* from the same (It.-Kelt.) extd. stem.—Orig. stem **medh(i)i̯o-* : Skr. *mádhya-ḥ*, Gk. *μέσο-ς*.

(2) **er mwyn** 'for the sake of, on account of, in order to'; *er fy mwyn* 'for my sake', etc.

Er dy fwyn *yr ydwyf fi*
Mewn eira yma 'n oeri.—D.G. 107.

'It is on thy account that I am shivering here in snow.'

As a noun *mwyn* meant 'value, enjoyment', but except in the above phrase was generally replaced by *mwynŷant* in Ml. W.; thus in R.B. 963, *Ni wybyðir* **mwyn** (v.l. **mwynŷant** 1076) *fynnawn yny el yn yspiδ* (*δispyδ* 1076) 'the value of a well will not be known until it goes dry'. As an adj. *mwyn* means 'gentle, kind, dear', and is still in use; cf. E. *dear* 'costly' and 'loved'.

mwyn 'value' < **mei-no-*, √*mei-* 'exchange, barter' : Lat. *mūnus*, *mūnia*.

(3) **ymysg** (*ymýsg*) 'in the midst of'; *yn eu mysg* 'in their midst'; *o'n mysg* 'out of our midst'; *i'ch mysg* 'into your midst'; *emysc hynny* W.M. 33 'in the midst of that' i.e. those happenings; *o fysg*, *i fysg*.

mysg : W. *mysgu* § 96 iii (5). The idea is 'mixed up with'; and there seems no need for Henry's attempt, s.v. *emesk*, to connect the word with **medhi̯o-*.

(4) **yn ŵysg** 'in the track of, after', Ml. W. *yn eu hwysc* see below, *yn wysc ỳ benn* W.M. 55 'after his head', i.e. head foremost, Mn. W. *yn wysg fy mhen*, *yn wysg dy drwyn*, *yn wysg i gefn*, etc.

Mae yr aniveileit yδ aethawch **yn eu hwysc ?** W.M. 86 'Where are the animals which you went after?'

ŵysg '*track' implies **ei..sk-*, and seems like a case of metath. of *i̯* § 100 v (! **ped-ski̯o-* : Gk. πεδά 'μέτα', Lat. *pēs* 'foot', etc.).

(5) **yn ethryb** 'because of', *o ethryb* id. J.D.R. [xiv].

Pellynnic vyg khof yg̃ kyntevin
Yn ethrip *caru Kaerwys vebin.*—G., w. 7*b*.

'My mind is far away this Spring, on account of loving the maid of Caerwys.'

ethryb 'causa, occasio' D.D. s.v. seems to contain **-əqᵘ-* affected § 69 ii (4); perhaps as a noun-suff. added to **n̥tr-* (**enter* § 214 vi); 'circumstance' (?).

(6) **yn ôl** 'after', *yn dy ôl* 'after thee'; *ar ôl* 'after', *ar eu hôl* or *ar eu holau* 'after them'; *o'm hôl* 'behind me', *i'th ôl* 'after thee'.

All in common use. *ôl* § 149 i.

(7) **yngŵyδ** 'in the presence of', *yn fy ngŵydd* 'in my presence', *i'th ŵydd* 'into thy presence', *o'i gŵydd* 'from her presence', etc.

gŵyδ § 63 iv.

(8) **o blegid** 'on account of', *o'th blegid* 'on thy account'; *ym plegyd* M.A. i 306 'on account of'.

plegid (*i* for *y* after *g*, § 77 ii) < Lat. *placitum*.

(9) **ar gyfair** (now misspelt *ar gyfer*) 'opposite', *ar fy nghyfair* 'opposite me'; *ynghyfair* 'opposite, against, instead of'; Ml. W. *ar gyveir*, *yngkyveir*, etc.; *y gyveir* W.M. 449 'the direction'.

O.W. *ar cyueyr* L.L. 141, *ar ciueir* do. 196; Ml. W. *ar gyfeir* W.M. 250; *yg̃hyveir* do. 449, *yg̃kyveir* R.M. 293 'opposite', *yn ỳ gyveir* R.M. 141 'in front of him, straight ahead', Mn. W. *ar gyfair* D.G. 189 (rh. with *leddf-air*).

The reason for the misspelling is partly the dialectal pronunc., § 6 iii; and partly perhaps the form *cyfer-* in *cyf-erbyn* etc. All the derivatives, *cyfeiriad* 'direction', *cyfeirio* 'to direct', etc., are from *cyfair*.

cyfair < **kom-ari̯o-*, a compound of **kom-* and **ari̯o-* < **pe*̯*ri̯-o-*, a noun formed from the prep. **pe*̯*ri* : Lat. *prae*, etc. § 156 i (6).

(10) **o flaen** 'in front of', *ymlaen* id., *o'm blaen* 'in front of me', *dos yn dy flaen* 'go in front of thee', i.e. go on, *ymlaen llaw* 'beforehand'.

dyvot **ymlaen** *llu Ynys y Kedyrn* W.M. 54 'to come in front of the host of the Isle of the Mighty'; **yn ỳ vlaen** *ac yn ỳ ol* R.M. 149 'before him and after him'; *kerδet* **oe blaen** do. 49, W.M. 68 'to walk before them'.

blaen, O.W. *blain* : Corn. *blyn* 'tip', Bret. *blein*, *blin* 'bout, extrémité'. The meanings of the noun in W. are 1. 'source' (of a river) frequent in L.L., and common later, 2. 'point' (of a needle, blade, spear, twig, etc.), 3. pl. *blaenau* in place-names 'outlying parts where valleys are hemmed in by mountains'. The orig. meaning seems to be therefore 'discharge, project'; hence prob. √*g***elē-* : Gk. *βάλλω* 'I throw', *βλῆμα*, *βολή*, *βόλος* 'a throw', *βολίς* 'arrow', O.H.G. *quellan* 'to well, to gush', O. Norse *kelda* 'source', Gk. *βελόνη* 'needle', Lith. *gélti* 'to prick', *gelonìs* 'needle', etc. The formation is not quite clear; the Corn. and Bret. forms seem to imply Brit. **blani̯-* (< **g***lə-ni̯-* : cf. Lith. *gelonìs*); and the W. may represent the same with met. of *i̯*, § 100 v; **ai* > **oi* > *ae* after the labial. *blaenaf* § 149 i.

(11) **heb amlaw** R.M. 179 'besides, in addition to', *hebláw* or *heb law* Matt. xv 38, rarely *amlaw* GRE. 327 id.

llaw 'hand' in the sense of 'side'; *heb law* 'out-side', *am law* 'be-side'; *heb i llaw* D.G. 148 'beside her'.

(12) **o ran** 'on account of', e.g. W.IL. 173; *o'm rhan i* 'for my part', etc.; **o waith** 'because of'.

rhan 'share, part', § 63 vii (2). *gwaith* 'deed' § 193 x (4).

(13) **ynghyfyl** S.G. 35 'near', *ar gyfyl* id.; *yn i chyfyl* BR. iv 427 'near her'. **is cil** 'behind'; *is ŷ gil* R.M. 151 'behind him'.

cyf-yl : *ym-yl* 'edge' § 101 iv (2). *cil* § 59 vi.

(14) **ach law** § 214 i; **gerlláw**, *ger llaw* do. ii; **gerbrŏn**, *ger bron* ib.; **drachefn** do. iii, *trachefyn y ðor* W.M.L. 32 'behind the door'; **ar draws** § 210 x (6); **ymrón** C.C. 34 'on the point of, nearly', in Late Mn. W. *bron*.

iv. (1) Ml. W. **mal**, *val*, Mn. W. *mal*, *fal*, *fĕl* 'like', and Ml. W. **megys**, Mn. W. *megys*, *megis* 'like', are followed by a noun, a verbal noun, or a noun-clause introduced by *y*. They generally stand in an oblique case, and are therefore prepositional. But sometimes they qualify nouns, as

Pan êl y gwallt hir-felyn
A'i frig **fal** *y caprig gwyn.*—D.G. 441.

Lit. 'When the long yellow hair goes with its tips like white cambric'.

Y ddyn **fegis** *Gwen o'r Ddôl,*
Rywiog araf ragorol.—D.G. 379.

'The woman like Gwen of the Dale, gentle, patient, peerless.'

(2) *fel* and *megis* may be followed by independent pers. pronouns, as *mal ef* R.P. 1403 'like him', *fel myfi*, etc., or by demonstratives as *fel hyn*. (*e*)*fel hyn* (Corn. *evel henn*) though still surviving by re-formation, became (*e*)*fell hyn*, whence *efélly yfélly*, *felly* 'so', § 110 v (2). In Gwent *fell hýn* became *llýn*, and subsequently *yn llyn* with adverbial *yn*, BAR. i 376, 378.

Ni fwriadwn fawr rodiaw
A gŵr **fell hýn** *gar fy llaw.*—T.A., C. i 338.

'I did not intend much to roam with a man like this near me.'
ac **evelly** A.L. i 6 'and similarly'; *Ay* **yvelly** *y gwnaethant wy?* W.M. 41 'is it so that they did?'

(3) *val*, O.W. *amal* (: Ir. *amal*) is a weak form of *hafal* < $*s_em_el$- § 94 i; Ml. W. *mal* may represent an early elision of the first

syllable, thus **s'mel-*; the *e* in Mn. W. may come from forms like *felly* where the *a* is affected by the *y*; but Bret. has *evel* also. Ir. *amal* governs the acc. case.

megys seems to be a spv. (eqtv.?) of the same word corresponding to comparatives in *-ach* (< **-āk-son*); thus **s'm-āk-istó-* > *megys*; **sam-āk-istó-* > Ml. W. *yvegys* G.C. fac. i. The use of *megys* as a noun, as *yn y megys hwnn* C.M. 39 'in this manner', does not prove it an orig. noun; cf. Mn. W. *yr un fel* 'in the same way'.

§ 216. Compound Prepositions.—This term may be used to denote expressions in which the last element is a preposition, to distinguish them from composite prepositions, in which the last element is a noun. They fall into two classes: i. prep. + prep.; ii. noun, adv. or pron. + prep.

i. (1) Ml. W. **ỏ am** 'from about; besides', § 209 v; **ỏ ar** 'from on'; **ỏ gan** 'from with'; **ỏ wrth** 'from by'; Mn. W. **oddi am** 'from about'; **oddi ar** 'from on'; **gan** 'from' § 211 ii (2), more rarely **oddi gan**, see *oddi gennyf* § 194 v (3); **oddi wrth**, now mostly *oddiwrth*; Ml. W. **oδ is** R.M. 151, 172. Inflected: *oddi amdano* Gu.O. G. 193, *oδy uchtaw* R.M. 141, etc. Ml. W. **δi-eithyr** S.G. 8 'except', *o-δi-eithyr* IL.A. 143 'outside'; Mn. *oddieithr* 'except', dial. corruption *oddigerth*.

oddi is itself a compound of *o* + *δi*; in Ml. W. it is comparatively rare before vowels: *oδyarnati* IL.A. 159, but occurs before adverbial expressions as *oδyyma* S.G. 7, 40, in which, however, it is generally *oδ-* before a vowel, as *oδymma* S.G. 4, *oδyna* W.M. 19; this is also the usual spoken form. The *-i* (mostly *-ỉ* before a vowel) is taken in Late Ml. and Early Mn. W. from forms in which a consonant follows, as *oddi draw*, Ml. W. *oδydraw* C.M. 46. (*oddieithr* is for *o ddieithr*.)

In the Gwentian dial. *oδ* was taken from these connexions, and used for *o* before a vowel, and *iδ* for *i* was made on its analogy. These forms occur in late Gwentian writings; and Pughe made a determined but unsuccessful attempt to substitute in the written language the new Gwentian *oδ y* 'from the', etc., for the ancient *o'r*, etc., in order to avoid the apostrophe!

(2) Mn. W. **er ys**, *er's* § 214 vii; **er cyn**, as in *er cyn cof* 'from before memory' i.e. from time immemorial.

(3) **gor-uwch**, **gor-is** § 45 iv (2); **cyf-rwng** § 210 viii (4).

(4) The forms *odan*, *amdan*, *ohonof*, § 209, are compound prepositions, and are often written *o dan*, etc.; § 209 vii.

(5) The combinations *a chan* 'having', *heb gan* 'without having' are not compound prepositions, because each prep. has its own

object; thus in *heb ganddynt fugail* Matt. ix 36 the obj. of *heb* is *bugail*, and the obj. of *gan* is the suffix, so that the phrase may also take the form *heb fugail ganddynt*, lit. 'without a shepherd with-them'. Similarly *cyn i, wedi i, er i*, etc., before verbal nouns; the first prep. governs the v.n., as in *cyn i mi ddyfod*, which may also be expressed by *cyn dyfod ohonof* lit. 'before the coming of me', i.e. before I come.

ii. (1) **hyd yn, hyd ar, hyd at** 'as far as, up to, till, to'.

hyt ym *penn y vlwyδyn* W.M. 4 'till the end of the year'; **hid attad** B.B. 3 'to thee'; *diaspad* . . . **hid ar** *duu y dodir* do. 106 'the cry—to God is it raised.'

hyd yn oed 'as far as, even'.

In Ml. W. it has two meanings: (a) 'up to but not including' i.e. all except: *a cafael cubel* **hyt enoet** *un keỽnỽauc* A.L. i 100 'and all is had except one penny'; (b) 'up to and including': **hyt ynn oet** *eu pechawt* LL.A. 34 'even their sin'. The latter is the meaning in Mn. W.: **hyd yn oed** Marc ii 2 'even'. The phrase is in common coll. use.

The origin of *oed* or *ynoed* here is quite uncertain; as no pref. or inf. pron. is used with it, it would seem to be an adv. 'even' (? *noet* < **nai-t-*, variant of *neut* 'indeed' § 219 i (1)).

(2) **tu a(g)**, *tua(g)* 'towards', *tuag at* id., **parth a(g)** id., *parth ag at* id.; Ml. W. *ỏ gyt a(c)*, *gyt a(c)*, Mn. W. **gyd a(g)**, *gyda(g)*, *ynghyd a(g)* 'together with', *gyferbyn a(g)* 'opposite', *gyfarwyneb a(g)* id., *ynglŷn a(g)* 'in connexion with', etc.

tu ha L.L. 272 'towards'; **tu a***th wlat* LL.A. 125 'towards thy country'; **y tu ac** *attaw* C.M. 47 'towards him'; **tu ac at** LL.A. 158; **parth a***'r berth* W.M. 69 'towards the bush'; **parth ac attunt** do. 38 'towards them'; *aros* . . . *hyt* **parth a** *diweδ y dyδ* do. 70 'to wait till towards the end of the day'; **ỏgyt ac** *ef* W.M. 7 'together with him'; **ỏ gyt ac** *wynt* do. 5 'with them'; **gyverbyn a** *hi* R.M. 293 'opposite her', **gyvarwyneb ac** *wynt* W.M. 185 'opposite them'; **tu-ag-at am** M.K. [xi] 'with regard to'.

tu 'on the side', like *parth*, is definite without the article—an old construction which survived in a few idioms; the tendency to use *y* before *tu*, as *y tu ac* above, is shown by the early *tu ha* to be a Ml. W. neologism, which did not become general.

(3) Ml. and Early Mn. W. **vi a, ti a, ef a, efo a, hi a**, before vowels *vi ag*, etc. 'with, together with', literally 'I with', 'thou with', etc. The pronoun had lost its pronominal force, and its antecedent was frequently a pronoun of the same person coming immediately before it. Thus:

A minheu **vi a**'*r morynjon a wiscaf ymdanaf inheu* W.M. 99 'and I with the maids will dress myself'. *kysgeist di* **ti a** *Lawnslot* S.G. 302 'thou didst sleep with Lancelot.' *bwyt a llynn . . . ŷ'th neithawr di* **ti a**'*m merch i* R.M. 120 'food and drink for thy nuptials with my daughter'. *Sef a wnaeth ynteu* **ef a**e *lu y nos honno* R.B.B. 76 'this is what he did with his host that night'.

A rhif gwlith o fendithion
A fo i Huw **ef a** *hon.*—L.G.C. 463; cf. 4, 308.

'And blessings numerous as the dew be to Huw with her.'

Yr oedd Esyllt urddaswawr
Draw **hi a**'*i mab Rhodri Mawr.*—L.G.C., M 146/140.

'Esyllt the noble was there with her son Rhodri Mawr.'

Y nef i hwn **efo a** *hi.*—T.A., A 14975/107.

'Heaven [be] to him with her.'

efo a(*g*) was contracted to *efo*(*g*), as the metre requires in the last example; see *efo honn, efo hi* S.V. C.C. 361. In Gwynedd *efo*(*g*) came to be used for 'with' irrespective of the person of the antecedent; this is noted by Simwnt Vychan as a grammatical fault, P.LL. xcvi. His example is *Mi* **efo** *Siôn* 'I with Siôn', literally 'I, he-with Siôn', which should obviously be *Mi* **vi a** *Siôn* 'I, I-with Siôn', and may have been so written by the author of the line, as it yields equally good cynghanedd. [Ab Ithel, knowing *efo* only as a dial. word meaning 'with', entirely misses the point in his translation, and italicizes *Mi* and *Siôn*, as if '*I* with *John*' could be ungrammatical in any language!]

(4) **tu . . . i** forms a numerous class of prepositional expressions, as *tu yma i* 'this side of', *tu draw i* 'beyond', *tu hwnt i* id., *tu cefn i* 'behind', *tu uchaf i* 'above', etc.

tu 'side', Corn., Bret. *tu*, Ir. *tōib*, Gael. *taobh* < Kelt. **toibo*-; origin uncertain; Macbain[2] 359 gives √*steibh/p*- 'stiff, erect', which seems far-fetched from the point of view of meaning.

ADVERBS

§ 217. Negative Particles.—i. The forms of negative particles are as follows:

(1) Before verbs: in a direct sentence, Ml. W. **ny, nyt**, Mn. W. **ni, nid**; in an indirect sentence, Ml. W. **na, nat**, Mn. W. **na, nad**; in a relative sentence usually the first form, sometimes the second, see § 162 v (1); in commands, **na, nac**

(≡ *nag*) ; in answering a question, **na, nac** (≡ *nag*). The forms *nid, nad, nac* are used before vowels only ; the forms *ni, na* before consonants, and a mutated *g*, as *ny wnn . . . ny allaf* W.M. 21 'I do not know . . . I cannot', *na at* > *nād* § 201 ii (2) 'let not' (*nid allaf* is not in accordance with traditional usage). —With infixed pronouns : *ni'm, na'm, ni's, nyw* etc.

The initial mutation after *ny na* in Ml. W. is as follows : *p-, t-, c-* spir. ; *b-* rad. ; *m-, ll-* rad. or soft ; *d-, g-* soft ; *ṙ-* not shown (*r-* may be *ṙ-* or *r-*). But *na* (*nac*) takes the soft of *b-, m-, ll-*. In Mn. W. *ll-* is always softened ; *b-, m-* are generally softened, though the rad. remained also in the Early Mn. period, and persists in *ni bu* etc. beside *ni fu* ; *p-, t-, c-* spir. In Early Ml. W. *ny* relative softens the tenues.

Examples :—Ml. W. : **p-**, *ny forthint* B.B. 34 'they cherished not' ; **t-**, *ny thykya* W.M. 14 'avails not' ; **c-**, *ny chan* B.B. 31 'he sings not' ; **b-**, *ny byδ* W.M. 4 'he will not be', *ac na bo* B.B. 54 'and that there may not be' ; **m-**, *ny mynneis* W.M. 18 'I would not', *ny mynn* IL.A. 148, *na meδ* do. 147, but *ny vynhei* W.M. 58 'would not' ; **ll-**, *ny lluit ṙeuuet* (*-t* ≡ *-δ*) B.B. 8 'wealth avails not', *ny llesseint* do. 63 'were not slain', but *ni laδaf i di* W.M. 8 'I will not kill thee ; **g-**, *ny wnn, ny allaf* above ; **d-**, *ny tiuuc* (≡ *ny δiw(y)g*) B.B. 8 'makes no amends'. Relative : *corph ni glivit* (*-t* ≡ *-δ*) B.B. 20 'body that hearest not' ; *ny bara* R.P. 1175.—Mn. W. : *ni mynnaf* I.F. P 97/179 'I will not', *ni feddodd* W.IL. C.IL. 105 'he possessed not' ; *ni bu* T.A. G. 251, *ni fu* T.A. § 37 iii (1).

(2) Before a noun, adj., pron., adv. or prep. : Ml. W. **nyt**, Mn. W. **nid** [rad.] 'it is not', used before vowels and consonants ; indirect **nat, nad** [rad.].

Nyt *gwaratwyδ gwelláu* B.B. 962 'it is no disgrace to reform' ; **Nid** *cur llavur urth din* [read *dim*] *da* B.B. 7 'it is not pain to labour at anything good'.

ii. (1) The negative adverb **na** 'no' may answer any question introduced by *a* or *ai* ; it may be used alone, but is generally followed by a neg. part., as *na, nid hynny* 'no, not that'.

(2) A question introduced by *a* is answered in the negative by **na, nac** (≡ *nag*) with the verb ; as *A ddaw ef?* **Na** *ddaw* 'Will he come? No' ; but if the verb is in the aor. (or perf.) the answer is **nā́ ddo,** sometimes written *naddo,* but wrongly, for the *a* is long, not medium as in a penult ; thus *A aeth ef? Nā́ ddo* 'Did he go? No'. *Na δo* W.M. 425.

(3) A question introduced by *ai* is answered in the negative

by Ml. W. nac ef, Mn. W. nâg e (often written *nage*) 'not so', as *Ai tydi a'i gwnaeth? Nâg e* 'Is it thou that didst it? No.' More rarely thus: *Ae guell* . . . ? Na *well* W.M. 85.

iii. A negative part. is frequently supplemented by *δim* 'at all'; see § 170 v (3).

iv. (1) Ml. W. *ny* < Kelt. **ne* < Ar. **ne*.—Ar. **ne* was ordinarily accented, and the verb unacc. § 179 i. In Kelt. the initial of the unacc. word seems to have been doubled after the accented vowel; in Ir. gemination occurs after *nī* 'not' and the preverbs *ro*, *no*. Thus Brit. **né kkarāme* gives Ml. W. *ny charaf*. Hence the spir. of tenues after *ni*. So **bb-* > *b-*, **mm-* > *m-*, **ll-* > *ll-*. The soft δ- may be due to late simplification of double *d* § 93 iii (1); lenition of *g-* may have spread from *gw-* < **ŭ-*, which even if doubled would prob. give *ŭ-* after a vowel. From these and the relatival form, lenition spread to *b-*, *m-*, *ll-*, *rh-*.—The neg. rel. lenited because it was orig. unacc., and the verb accented, so that the regular softening took place after the vowel, § 162 vi (3).

(2) Ml. W. *nyt* was orig. 'there . . . not' < **n(e) ita* § 189 iii (3); and was used before consonants as well as before vowels, as O. W. *cen nit boi* (prob. *b-* ≡ *v-*) cp. 'though there be not'. The difference in meaning between *ny* 'not' and *nyt* 'there . . . not' was lost, and both are used in the two senses, *ny* before consonants and *nyt* before vowels.

(3) Ml. W. *nyt* 'it is not' before a noun, etc., may come from **ne tod* 'it [is] not', where **tod* 'it' is the neut. sg. nom. of **so*, **sā*, **tod* > Gk. ὁ, ἡ, τό, § 159 iv (1). It is improbable that *nyt* contains the verb 'to be' as Strachan assumes, Intr. 98.

(4) Though the vb. was unacc. after **né* in direct sentences in Ar., it was accented in dependent clauses; this may have led to a reduced unacc. **n$_e$* giving Kelt. **na*, W. *na*. If so, the mutation after *na* and the form *nat* followed the analogy of *ny*, *nyt*; but this is probable in any case.

(5) W. *na*, *nac* before the impv. may be referred to Kelt. unacc. *na* + a particle beginning with *k-*, possibly cognate with Lith. *-ki*, a particle suffixed to imperatives.

(6) W. *na*, *nac* in answering questions. In *na ddo* (: Ir. *na-thō*) we have simple *na*; in *nac ef* 'it [is] not so' the *-c* may represent some form of the **ke-* pronoun.

§ 218. Interrogative Particles.—i. The interrogative particles are: (1) before verbs, a [soft]; before nouns, etc., Ml. W. ae, Mn. ai [rad.] 'is it?' (2) before verbs, O.W. *anit*, Ml. W. pony(t), pany(t), Mn. poni(d), pani(d), *pond*, *pand*, oni(d), *ond* 'nonne?'; before nouns etc., Ml. ponyt [rad.], Mn. ponid, *pond*, *pand*, onid, *ond* 'is it not?' The initial mutation after *pony* etc.

is the same as after *ny*; so the use of *-t* before verbs. (3) Mn. W. **ai ê** 'is it so?', **onid ê,** *onitê* 'is it not so?' dial. N.W. *ai ê? yn't ê?* S.W. *ai êf e? i ef e? on't êf e?*

Examples: (1) Ml. W. **A** *wδost ti* B.T. 27 'Dost thou know?' **ae** *ti a eirch vy merch* W.M. 479 'is it thou that seekest my daughter?'— (2) O. W. **anit** *arber bit* JUV. gl. num vescitur? Ml. W. **Pony** *welwch chwi* R.P. 1418 'do you not see?' **Pany** *chredwch chwi* ib. 'do you not believe?' **Ponyt** *ydym ni yn kredu* IL.A. 83 'do we not believe?' **Ponyt** *llygoden a welaf i y'th law di* W.M. 78 'is it not a mouse that I see in thy hand?'

Pand *hir na welir ond nos?*
Pe byr, hir yw pob aros.—I.F., M 148/59.

'Is it not long that only night is seen? Though short, all waiting is long.'

Ond *hir yr wyd yn tario?*—W.IL., G. 293.

'Is it not long that thou art tarrying?' **Onid** *oes dinistr i'r anwir?* Job xxxi 3. **Ond** *rhaid i trâd fyw?* B.C. 119 'must not trade live?'

Preverbal *a* may be followed by an infixed pron. in Ml. W.: **a'm** *dywedyδ* IL.A. 134 'wilt thou tell me?' **ae** *gwδost di* S.G. 4 'dost thou know it?'

In Late Mn. W. the *p-* forms are obsolete; the forms used are *oni, onid,* more rarely *ond.* Wm.S. has *ani, anid,* which may have been dial. forms in the 16th cent.

ii. These particles originated in indirect questions: *Ac amovyn a Pheredur* **a** *welsei y kyfryw varchawc* W.M. 138 'and inquiring of Peredur whether he had seen such a knight'; *ny wnn* **a** *glyweist ywrthaw* do. 166 'I know not whether thou hast heard about it'; *a gofyn a oruc Owein* **ae** *dyn bydawl* R.M. 187 'and Owein asked whether it was a living man'. The point of transition is represented by *Dywet...* **a** *weleisti* W.M. 118, which may be rendered 'say whether thou hast seen' or 'say, hast thou seen?'

ae ... ae 'whether ... or': *A wδosti peth wyt ...* **ae** *corff* **ae** *eneit* B.T. 27 'dost thou know what thou art, whether body or soul?' *y roδi dewis uδunt* **ae** *gwrhau iδaw* **ae** *ymwan ac ef,* see § 222 ii (2).

iii. *a* [soft] 'whether' may represent unacc. Brit. **ā* 'if' instr. sg. f. of the pron. **o-*: cf. Gk. *ἦ* 'if' which however is from **ē,* variant of **ō* instr. sg. m.; for the instr. f. as adv. cf. Lat. *eā, quā.* See § 222 v (1).

ae [rad.] is a contraction of *a* and a vocable **y,* which orig. ended in a cons., and may be from **id* 'it', so that *ae* may be lit. 'whether it [is]'; cf. *nyt* § 217 iv (3).

po-ny, pa-ny < Brit. **qᵘā ne* 'whether not'; **qᵘā* instr. sg. f. as **ā* above; if unacc. in Brit. it would give *pa-*; if unacc. later, *po-*; see § 71 i (2).

ai ê < *ai ếf* 'is it so?' *yn't ê* for **an'd hếf* 'is it not so?': (*h*)*ef* < **semo-s, -d* 'that, it, so' § 159 iv (1). The S. W. second *e* repeats the pron. of *ae*. Mn. W. *ai* comes from *ai ế*, which is easier than *ae* (*ay*) *ế*.

§ 219. Affirmative Particles.—i. (1) Ml. W. **neu, neut** before verbs, the former before consonants and with the same mutations as *ny*, the latter before vowels; with infixed pron. *neu'm, neu's* etc.; with the perfective particle *neur*. Before nouns, adjs. etc. **neut**. [rad.] 'it is'; with neg. part. *neut na*(*t*).

neu *cheint* B.T. 19 'I have sung'; **neut** *atwen nat yr vy lles* R.P. 1039 'I know that it is not for my good'; **neu'm** *duc i Elffin* B.B. 67 'E. brought me'; **neu's** *r̂oδes* W.M. 20 'he has given it'; **neur** *vum* B.B. 7 'I have been' (also in full **neu ry** do. 74, W.M. 80); **neut** *kyntevin*, **neut** *r̂uδ r̂ych*, **neut** *crych egin* R.P. 1036 'it is spring, the furrow is red, the sprouts are curly'; **neut na'm** *dawr* do. 1227 'I care not'; **neut nat** *r̂yδ* ib. In Early Mn. W. *neu* is a rare survival:

E fu amser—**neu** *ddery*w—
Och fi! ban oeddwn iach fyw.—D.G. 425.

'There was a time—it is past—ah me! when I was alive and well.'

(2) *neu* for **nwy*, § 78 iii, < Brit. **nei* loc. sg. m. of the pron. **no-*: Gk. *vaí*, Lat. *nae* 'indeed' (*ei*/*ai* § 63 v (2)), Gk. *vή*, Lat. *nē* 'indeed', instr. sg. m. of the same. The mutations after *neu* and the two uses of *neut* are to be explained like those of the parallel *ny, nyt* § 217 iv.

ii. (1) Ml. W. **y**, *e*, **yδ**, *eδ*; **yd**, *ed*, *yt*; **yd-**, **yt**(**t**)-; Mn. W. **y**, **yδ**, **yr**, **yd-**, *yt-*. In Mn. W. these are used almost exclusively before the pres. and impf. of the verb 'to be'. *yd-* was agglutinated to these tenses early, and *ytt-* spread from *yttynt* and *yttoeδ* § 189 iii (1), § 180 ii (3). The compounds *ýd-wyf* etc. were used like the simple forms, and might take other preverbs before them, as *neut yttiw dros amser* W.M. 182 'it is past the time', *nit yttoyδwn i* do. 8 'I was not', *a yttiw Lawnslot yma* S.G. 1 'is Lancelot here?' Even *yr yd-* is common; *yr ýdwyf* § 191 ii (2). In answers and denials the *yd-* forms only are used in the pres., except in the 2nd sg., as *ydwyf* 'I am!' *ydych* 'you are!' but *wyt* 'thou art!'

Ml. W. **Yd** *wele*(*i*)*s-e Guendoleu* B.B. 53 'I have seen Gwendoleu'. **Y** *r̂oδet y march y'r mab, ac* **y** *deuth hi* . . . W.M. 33 'The horse was given to the boy, and she came . . .' *Ac* **y** *dyvu Glewlwyt y'r neuaδ* do. 457 'And G. came to the hall'. *Pan δoeth yti y peir?* **E** *doeth im* . . . do 45 (cf. 46) 'Whence came the caldron to thee? It came to

me . . .' *Na wir*, **yδ** *ym wyrda* R.M. 105, W.M. 458 'No, indeed, we are goodmen'. **Yt** *oet* (≡ **yδ** *oeδ*) *in y diffrid . . . Ysprid Glan* B.B. 45 'The Holy Ghost was protecting her.'—Mn. W.: *Ac* **y** *dyweit Iwl Kesar* Y.L.H. [8] 'And Julius Caesar says'; **yr** *wyf*, **yr** *wyt*, **yr** *oedd*, **yr** *ydym*, **yr** *ydoedd*, etc.

(2) These particles are adverbial forms similar to the forms of the oblique relative § 162 vi (2); but the base of these was probably the pron. stem **i-* or **e-*. If the suffixes survived in Kelt., there is no reason to suppose that they were added to only one base.

iii. (1) Early Ml. W. *ef*. This is found not only (*a*) before the 3rd sg., but also (*b*) before the impersonal, and (*c*) before the 1st sg. The initial following is usually rad., sometimes soft (*ef laδhei* B.A. 37, *ef enir* below); *d-* is ambiguous.

(*a*) *Ac* **ew** *dybit* (≡ *ag* **ef** *dybyδ*) B.B. 61 'and it will come'. **Ef** *diodes gormes*, **ef** *dodes fin* B.A. 10 'He repelled invasion, he set a boundary'. **Ef** *dyfu dreic llu* P.M. R.P. 1419 'The dragon of the host came'.—(*b*) **Ef** *molir pawb wrth y weith* R.P. 1056 'Everybody is praised according to his work'. **Ef** *gwenit* B.A. 22 'There was an attack'.—(*c*) **Ew** *kuynhiw iny wuiw* (≡ **Ef** *cwynif yny fwyf*) B.B. 100 'I shall complain while I am'. **Ef** *gwneif beirδ byt yn llawen* B.T. 63 'I will make the bards of the world merry'.

It might be preceded by the negative *nyt* or another preverb: (*a*) **Nyt ef** *eisteδei en tal lleithic* B.A. 10 'He would not sit at the end of a bench'.—(*b*) **Nid ew** *rotir new i'r neb nuy keis* B.B. 86 'Heaven will not be given to him who does not seek it'. **Nyt ef** *enir pawb yn δoeth* R.P. 1056 'Everybody is not born wise'.—(*c*) **Nyt ef** *caraf amryssonyat* B.T. 8 'I love not strife'; **kyt ef** *mynasswn* do. 65. It is probably an accident that it is not found before other persons.

(2) The pronouns *mi*, *ti*, *hi* etc. might come before the verb, agreeing in person with the subject. They might be preceded by *nyt* or another particle.

O. W. **Ti** *dicone(i)s*[a] *a di(ar) a mor* JUV. SK. 'Thou madest both land and sea'. Early Ml. W. *A* **mi** *δysgoganaf-e* B.B. 48, 49 'And I predict'. *Pan esgynnei baub*, **ti** *δisgynnut* B.A. 31 'When everybody ascended, thou descendedst'.—**Nyt mi** *wyf kerδ vut* B.T. 31–2 'I am not mute of song'. **Neu vi** *erthycheis* do. 62 'I groaned'. **Pei mi** *ganwn* B.A. 26 'If I sang'.

(3) In Ml. W. the rel. *a* was inserted after *ef* and *mi* etc. in the above constructions; examples occur as early as the last

[a] *diconeis* for what would be later *digoneist*; *-e-* for *-ei-* occurs several times in the fragment.

pages of the B.B., but are not found in the B.A. It may have arisen partly as a support to an infixed pron., as **Mi a***e dywedaf yt* LL.A. 4 'I will tell it thee'; **hi a***y gwelei ef* W.M. 251 'she saw him'; **Ni a***y prowyn* do. 66 'We will try it', cf. iv below; and partly *mi a wn* may be a confusion of *mi wn* 'I know' with *mi a ŵyr* R.P. 1227 = Bret. *mé a oar* '[It is] I that know'. The *a* is often written where the metre shows that the author did not use it, as in *hi a vu* several times in R.P. 1365 for *hi vu*.

(4) In Mn. W. *ef a*, *mi a* etc. remain in use, as **Mi a** *euraf* § 38 ix, **Ef a** *borthes yr Iesu* D.N. F.N. 94 'Jesus fed [the multitude]'. In the Bible *ef a* becomes *efe a*, except where it is clearly a particle, when it is written *fe* or *fe a*, as *fe allei* Gen. xvi 2, *fe a allei* 1 Bren. xviii 27, or *fo* as *fo'm lleddir* Diar. xxii 13.

But the natural Mn. forms seem to be *ef*, *e*, *fo*, *f'*, *fe*; *mi*, *ti* etc.; as **Ef** *aeth* D.G. 374, 527, **E** *fu amser* i (1), **E** *gaeodd Mai* § 129 ii (1), **Fo** *ddaw* D.G. 175, **fo'm** *cafodd* do. 177; **Mi** *wn* do. 501, **Mi** *welwn* T.A. G. 238.

Tra fo gwlith mewn tref a gwlad
Fo *sôn dynion am danad.*—W.LL. 18.

'While there is dew in town and country men will talk of thee.'

F' *aeth anwir ar faeth ennyd*;
F' *aeth y gwir ar feth i gyd.*—I.F. F. 42.

'Untruth has prospered for a season; truth has wholly failed.'

Fe *wna hon a fynno hi*.—D.G. 516.

'She will do as she pleases.' Note *fe* with fem. subject. The form was prob. *fo*, as *fe* is late; it occurs in the 16th cent.: **ve** *golhid yr hen lyfreu* Y.L.H. [8] 'the old books would be lost'.

In the spoken lang., in S. W. *i* (for *fi*, *mi*?) and *fe* are heard; but in some parts the pron. of the same person as the subj. is used, as *chi welwch* 'you see', *nw ân*' 'they will go'. In N. W. *mi* alone is used for all persons, having ousted *fo*, which survives only in parts of Powys. In Sweet's specimens of N. W. dialect TPS. 1882–4, 477 many assertions begin with the verb, with rad. initial, which is utterly impossible in pure dialect. Every such verb is introduced by an affirmative particle, except in answers and denials consisting of single words, as *Clywaf* 'Yes, I hear'.

(5) Ml. W. *ef* as in (1) above is the same as the *ef* in *nac ef* 'not so; no', *ai ê* 'is it so?' and *i-ef* 'it is so'. The construction *mi ganaf* may be originally 'as for me, I will sing', which explains the

oblique *mi* instead of the nom. *i*. Undoubtedly later the pronoun was identified with the subject, though *ef* largely retained its character of a particle.

iv. (1) The rel. *a* is used in Early Ml. W. to support an infixed pron. before a verb; thus

A'*th kivarchaw* B.B. 98 ≡ **A**'*th gyfvarchaf* R.P. 578 'I greet thee'. **A**'*th vendiguis-te Awraham* B.B. 35 'Abraham blessed thee.' *Ac* **a**'*wch bi wynnẏeith* B.T. 12 'And there will be vengeance upon you'. **A**'*s attebwys Dofyδ* do. 24 'The Lord answered him'. **A**'*s kynnull gwenyn* do. 40 'Bees gather it'.

It is used not only in affirmative sentences, but also before the subjunctive to express a wish; as

A'*m bo forth* B.B. 34 'May there be a way for me'. **A**'*n eirolve ne* (≡ *eirolwy ny*) *Mihangel* do. 32 'May Michael intercede for us'.

(2) This form prob. arose where the subject was expressed, as in *A's attebwys Dofydd*, the *a* anticipating *Dofydd*; and is perhaps a survival for a particular purpose of the habit of putting the rel. clause first, which prevails in Skr. (Whitney 512 *a*), and may have been primitive.

v. (1) Ml. W. *ry*, the perfective particle, with the past makes it perf. in sense, as *pawb* **ry** *gavas ẏ gyvarws* W.M. 470 'everybody has had his gift'; with the pres. subj., makes it perf. subj., as *kanys* **ry** *gaffo o arall* do. 453 'though he may not have had him from another'; with the impf. subj., makes it plup., as *kyn nys* **ry** *welhei eiroet* do. 454 'though he had never seen her'; with the plup., causes no modification of meaning, *y ẏn* (≡ *yr hyn*) **ry** *aδawsei* do. 453 'that which he had promised'. See Strachan, Intr. 57–60. It is sometimes reduced to *r* after *neu* i (1); *ny*, as *nyr δarffo* W.M. 230; *a*, as *ar δoethoeδ* do. 123. In Early Mn. verse *ry* is a rare survival: *Annoethwas a'i* **rhy**-*wnaethoedd* D.G. 509 'A booby had made it'.

It is prefixed to a verbal noun giving it a perfect sense; and is mostly found redundantly after *gwedy*, as *ẏδ oeδ kawat o eira gwedy* **ry**-*odi* ... *a gwalch wyllt gwedy* **ry**-*laδ hwyat* W.M. 140 'a shower of snow had fallen, and a wild hawk had killed a duck'; this is reduced to *(g)wedyr* S.G. 53, which survives in Early Mn. W. verse, as **gwedy r'** *odi* D.G. 27 quoted from the above; **wedy r'** *euraw* L.G.C. 363 'having been ennobled'.

It is seen from the first example above that the rel. *a* was not used with *ry*, which may contain the rel. without alteration of form. But

in the Late Ml. period *a* began to be inserted before it, as *ac a ry-wnaethoeδ* W.M. 30 (§ 151 ii (2)). The mutation after it was orig. the same as after *ny*; thus in direct statements *ŕy* **ch***edwis detyf* B.B. 14 'he kept the law'; relatival, *pawb ry* **g***avas* above. The lenition of the relatival form was generalized.

(2) Ml. W. *ry* = Ir. *ro* < **pro-* : Lat. *pro*, etc., § 156 i (21). The relatival use may be due to the analogy of *ny*, though it is not impossible that rel. *ry* may have been formed like *ny* itself, by contraction, thus *ŕy* < **r*(*i̯*)*o* < **pr*(*o*) *i̯o*.

vi. (1) Positive answers: to questions introduced by *a*, the answer is the verb repeated, or its equivalent, as *gwnaf* 'I will do [so]', except when it is aor. or perf., in which case the answer is *do* 'yes'. To questions introduced by *ai* the answer is Ml. W. *ief, ieu*, Mn. W. *ie*; indirect, Ml. W. *mae ef* R.M. 29 'that it is', Mn. W. *mai ê*.

In Ml. W. the verb may be repeated in the aor. also: *A ovynneist ti a oeδ gerδ ganthunt?* *Govynneis* W.M. 487 'Didst thou ask whether they had a craft? I did.'

Whether *ef* W.M. 42 corresponding to *mae ef* R.M. 29 is a scribal error, or a shorter form of reply, is not clear.

(2) *do*: Ir. *tō* 'yes'. Thurneysen, Gr. 492, derives the latter from Ar. **tod* 'that'; but W. *d-* is inconsistent with this. Rhys, LWPh.² 242, assumes that it is the preverb **do*, the verb being omitted so that *do* became a generalized past verb meaning 'he (I, we, etc.) did'; **do-* survives in Welsh only as the prefix *dy-* : Ir. *to-*, *do-* Vendryes Gr. 239; there are survivals in Ir. of *do* used as a perfective particle : *mligid* 'milks', perf. sg. 1. *do-ommalg*, *tongid* 'swears', perf. *du-cui-tig*, Thurneysen Gr. 322. The alternation *t-* : *d-* occurs in this, cf. § 196 i (3); and the answer expected is a verb.

ie-ef < **ī semo-s* 'that [is] so'. **ī* : Gk. οὗτοσ-*ί*, Umbr. *-ī* : Goth. *ja*, O.H.G. *ia*, E. *yea*. *mai ê* 'that it is so'; *mai* § 222 x (2), *ē* as in *ai ē*, see § 218 iii.

§ 220. Adverbs of Time, Place, Manner and Measure. —i. (1) In Ar., adverbs or words which were later used as adverbs had the following forms: (*a*) Bare stems, as **ne* § 217 iv (1), **pro* > Gk. πρό § 210 x (1).—(*b*) Cases of noun, adj. and pron. stems, including the nom. sg., as Lat. *versus* § 211 iv (2). —(*c*) Stems with special adverbial suffixes; see (3) below.

(2) (*a*) A demonstrative or similar adj. forming with a noun in an oblique case the equivalent of an adverb was often compounded with it as Lat. *ho-diē*.—(*b*) A preposition with its

object generally forms an adverb equivalent, and many such expressions became improper compounds, as Gk. *ἐκ-ποδών*.

(3) The special adverbial suffixes were (*a*) forms with a dental, see § 162 vi (2);—(*b*) forms with *ĝh-* as Gk. *δί-χα*; see § 222 i (3);—(*c*) forms with *r*, as Lat. *cūr*, W. *pyr* 'why?'—(*d*) forms with a nasal, as Lat. *superne*, see § 209 vii;—(*e*) the suffix *-s*, as in Gk. *δίς*, Lat. *bis*.—See Brugmann² II ii 728–738.

ii. The following W. adverbs represent old adverbial forms:

(1) Early Ml. W. **nu** 'now', as **Nu** *ny'm car-i Guendit* B.B. 50 'Now Gwenddydd loves me not'. The sound was doubtless *nw* (: Ir. *nu*), and the Late Ml. *nu* e.g. W.M. 413, instead of **nw*, is a mechanical transcript of the earlier spelling, the word having become obsolete.

nu < Ar. **nu* bare stem, beside **nū*: Gk. *νύ*, O.H.G., O.E. *nŭ*, Skr. *nú*, *nū́*.

(2) Early Ml. W. **moch** 'soon, early, quickly' e.g. B.B. 2.

moch, Ir. *mos* 'soon' < **moks* = Lat. *mox*, prob. nom. of a cons. stem like *vix* (: *vinco*) Brugmann² II ii 679 : Skr. *makṣú* 'quickly, soon'.

(3) **doe** 'yesterday'.

doe = Lat. *heri* both from **ghði̯esei* : Gk. *χθές* § 75 vii (2), § 98 i (3).

(4) **yrháwg**, **rhawg** 'in future, for a long time to come', Ml. W. *yṙawc* R.P. 1034.

yrháwg < **perā́-ko-(s)* formed from **perā* like **prokos* (> Lat. *-procus*, W. *rhag*) from **pro* : Gk. *πέρā*, **πρᾱκο-* in Ion. *πρήσσω* (Brugmann² II i 481).

(5) **hwnt** 'hence, yonder', as *Ef* **hwnt**, *ef yma* B.T. 37 'It (the wind) [is] there, it [is] here'. *Saf* **hwnt** Gen. xix 9 'stand back'. *Dos* **hwnt** M.E. i 125 'go away'.

hwnt, Bret. *hoñt* < **som-tos* consisting of the demonst. stem **som-* 'this', § 164 vi, and the suffix **-tos* 'from' as in Lat. *in-tus* § 162 vi (2).

(6) **yno** 'there, thither, then', **yna** 'then, there (near you)', Early Ml. W. *ynoeth* B.B. 66 'thither', *inaeth* do. 58 'then', *oð-ynoeð* B.T. 19 'then, thereafter', *oð-ynaeth* R.P. 581 id.

yn 'there, thither' before the rel. *y*, *yð*, *yd* 'where', as **yn-***y tereu tonneu tir* B.B. 63 'there where waves beat the shore'; **en**

e-bo dadeleu A.L. i 62 'where there is a suit'; *A'r vorwyn a ðoeth* **yn** *yð oeð Peredur* W.M. 148 'and the maid came to where P. was'. Also, similarly used, **myn, men**, as **myn-***yd vo truin yd uit trev* (≡ *vyð trew*) B.B. 83 'where there is a nose there will be a sneeze'; cf. 26; *a ðodes vy rēn* **mēn** *y maent ryð* R.P. 1367 'which my Lord has put where they are free'; cf. 1244.

The older forms of *yno*, *yna* are *ynoeth*, *ynaeth*; the B.T. *ynoeð* represents the intermediate stage between *ynoeth* and *yno* § 78 i (1). *ynaeth* > *yna* has followed the analogy of *ynoeth*; Powys dial. *ene* shows the change of *ae* to *e* § 31. *ynoeth* and *ynaeth* imply Brit. **enokt-*, **enakt-*, the latter doubtless for **enākt-* § 74 iv. These are prob. derivatives of the pron. stem. **eno-*; but the formation is not quite clear. We may assume forms **eno-ko-s*, **enā-ko-s* formed like **pro-ko-s*, **perā-ko-s*, and adverbs with a *t*-suffix formed from these, on the analogy of **ek-tos* (: Ir. *acht*, Gk. ἐκτός); thus **eno-k-te* 'thither' > *ynoeth*. For the base cf. Skr. *aná* 'then; ever', Gk. ἔνη 'the third [day]' ('that [day]'), Umbr. *inum-k*, *inum-ek*, *enom* 'tum'.—Ml. W. *yn* 'there; thither' may represent the loc. and acc. **eni* and **enom* of the pron.—Ml. W. *myn*, *men* seems to be the same with initial (*y*)*m-* < **esmi*, see (11). The rhyme *rēn/mēn* shows that the *-n* is single, and that the vowel was long; hence the word cannot be an oblique case of *mann* 'place', though so treated later, and written *man*.

(7) **eto** 'again, yet', Ml. W. *etwo*, *etwa*, earlier *edwaeth* C. R.P. 1173, *etwaeth* B.T. 29, M. W. 3*a*, *eddwaeth* (*dd* ≡ *d-d*, not ð[a]) B.B. 88. Also *etton* R.P. 1264, 1309, *etonn* do. 1321, *etwan* Ll.A. 37, W.M. 61.

The *t* is for *d* by provection before *u̯* § 111 v (2), so that the older form was *edwaeth*, **edwoeth* (*wa* : *wo* interchange), which implies Brit. **et..u̯okt-*. This seems to be a formation like *yno*, see (6), from a base **eti-u̯o*; **eti* : Gk. ἔτι, Skr. *áti* (which may represent **ati* or **eti*) 'over, beyond'; *u̯o* < **upo* : Skr. *úpa*, as adv. 'moreover, further', see (9). The form *eton*, *etwan* < **edwon* < Brit. **eti-u̯o-nā*, an adverb formed with an *n*-suffix, see i (3). For loss of *u̯* before *o* see § 36 iii.—The existence of **eti* as well as **ati* in Kelt. is shown by Gaul. *eti-c* 'and'. It does not seem possible to explain the *e-* of *eto* except as original **e-*.

(8) **hefyd** 'also, besides', Ml. W. *heryt*. In Late Mn. W. it is used in positive statements only; but in Ml. and Early Mn. W. its use is not so restricted; see e. g. W.M. 8.

[a] Cf. *ryddnant* 68 for *rŷd|nant*; the *d* doubled because the syll. is closed; see § 54 i (3).

Ni threithir y gwir i gyd
Yn llyfr nac unlle **hefyd**.—G. Gl., P 114/458.

'The whole truth is not stated in a book or anywhere else.'

hefyd < Brit. **sami-ti*; suff. of manner **-ti* § 162 vi (2) added to **s̥m-i-*, with *i*-flexion following **s̥m̥li-* (: Lat. *simili-s*) : Ir. *samlith*, same meaning, < **samali-ti* < the fuller **s̥m̥li-* : cf. Lat. *simītū* apparently formed with suff. *-tūd* from loc. **semei*, Walde² s.v.

(9) **wedi** 'afterwards' e.g. Matt. xxvi 73, Act. iii 24, B.CW. 21 l. 10, *gwedi* l. 22; Early Mn. W. and Ml. W. (*g*)*wedy*, O. W. *guotig* OX., *guetig* B.S.CH. 2 'afterwards'; *na chynt na gwedy* R.M. 168 'neither before nor after', *cynt na chwedy* L.G.C. 66.

The final *-i* is late § 213 ii (2). In the recent period *wedi* adv. has given place to *wedyn*, a dial. contraction of *wedy hyn* 'after this'.

gwedy, O. W. *guotig*, Bret. *goude* < Brit. **u̯ótig*(*os*) which may be for **u̯o-te-gos* (*eg* > *ig* § 65 ii (3)); **u̯o* < **upo* which as an adverb of time meant 'after', cf. Skr. *úpa* adv. 'moreover, further', and Lat. *s-ub-* in *sub-sequor*, *succēdo*; **-te* suffix of time § 162 vi (2); to **u̯o-te* seems to have been added the suff. **-ĝhos* as in *ac* 'and' § 222 i (3). Its consonantal ending is proved by the rad. initial which follows it as a prep.

(10) **draw** 'yonder'; *yma a thraw* 'here and there'.

draw is probably for **trawf* § 110 iii (1) < **trām-*, perhaps loc. **trāmei* of stem **trāmo-* : cf. **prāmo-* in Lat. *prandium*. "From √*ter-* there are old nominal *m*-formations, which have become adverbial and prepositional" Brugmann² II ii 901. See § 156 i (22).

(11) **ýma** 'here', poet. *ýman*; Ml. W. *yma* W.M. 22, *ymma* do. 32, 39, *yman* LL.A. 30; *hyt yman* W.M. 186 'hither'; *draw ac* **ýman** R.P. 1369.

A chais un o'i chusanau [a] Misprinted *yma*.
Yman[a] *i'w ddwyn ym, neu ddau*.—D.G. 186, cf. 264.

'And ask for one of her kisses to bring here to me—or two.'

Chwilio **yman** (misprinted *ym man*) . . . *Chwilio hwnt* Gr.O. 32 'Searching here, searching there'.

W. *yma*, *yman*, Corn. *yma*, *omma* (*o* ≡ *y* Williams Lex. s.v.), *-ma* *-man*, Bret. *ama*, *amañ*, *-ma*, *-mañ*, Van. *ama*, *amann*, *amenn*. On the loss of final *-nn* see § 110 v (2). The word is perhaps to be divided **ym-ann* < **esmi* loc. sg. of the pron. **e-* § 189 iii (2) + **anda* prob. < **an-dha*; **an-* variant of **en-* of the **eno-* pron. (cf. Goth. *anþar* 'alius' Brugmann² II ii 336) with suff. *-dha* § 162 vi (2) as in Skr. *i-há* 'here', Gk. *ἔν-θα*; **anda* survives in Bret. *ann* 'here', Ir. *and* 'there, in it'.

(12) **állan** 'out, in the open', Ml. W. *allann* R.P. 1044, IL.A. 106, 167, usually written *allan* but rhyming with *-ann* in Early Ml. verse, thus *cann / lloergan(n) / allan(n) / lan(n)* B.T. 27.

The adj. *allanol* 'external', so written and pronounced, is not older than the 17th cent., and so was formed long after the distinction between *'-an* and *'-ann* had been lost, § 56 iii. There was no derivative of *allan*, and therefore nothing to show whether it had *-n* or *-nn*.

allann < Brit. **alland(a)*, which represents **p$_e$l-i̯ām-dha* or a similar formation from √*pelā-* 'stretch out' : Lat. *palam* 'openly' : O. Bulg. *polje* 'field', O.E. *feld*, E. *field*; cf. *i maes* '*in field' vi (2), which has ousted *allan* in S. W. dialects. Cf. also Mn. Ir. *o ṡoin ale* 'from that time forward' O'Don. Gr. 263 : *o hynny allan* W.M. 12 (so in Mn. W.) 'thenceforth'.

(13) Ml. W. **ŕwy** 'too much', as *ŕwy yt werthey Arthur* W.M. 470 'overmuch dost thou asperse Arthur'; see viii (1).

(14) *y, yδ, yd* adverbial rel. § 162; *pyr* 'why?' *pan* 'whence?' *cw, cwδ, cwd* 'where?' § 163; *arnodd* etc. § 209; *heibio, acw, trwoδ, drosodd, yngo, yngod, ucho, uchod, iso, isod* § 210.

iii. The following adverbs are oblique cases of nouns and adjectives:

(1) **fry** 'up', obl. case, prob. loc., of *bre* 'hill' § 103 ii (1).

(2) **orig** 'for a little while' dim. of *awr*; **ennyd** 'for a little while' (also *am orig, am ennyd*); **ennyd awr** D.G. 102 id.; **oll** 'wholly' § 168 ii (2); **lawer** 'much' § 169 ii (1); **beth** 'to some extent' § 169 iv (1); **ddim** 'at all' § 170 v (3); **syrn** 'a great deal' obl. case of *swrn* 'cluster, crowd' § 129 ii (1) ex. 3 (< **s-tur-no-* : Lat. *tur-ma*, √*tu̯er-*); *gýlch ógylch*, etc. § 47 iii; **agos** 'nearly'; **nemawr, fawr** in neg. clauses 'much'; **achlân** 'wholly'.

achlân is used like *oll*, generally following the word or phrase which it limits, as *a'r byt achlân* 'and the whole world' M.A. i 376, *Prydein achlā́n* R.P. 1402, *y lluoeδ achlan* R.M. 136. 'all the hosts'. It is prob. an adj. which as an adv. retains its old accentuation like *yrháwg eriṓed* § 47 i, ii. The most likely Brit. form is **aṅkladnos* which may be for **n̥-qləd-no-* 'un-broken', √*qolād-* 'strike, break' : Lat. *incolumis* 'un-harmed, whole'; cf. E. *whole* in two senses; cf. also W. *di-dwn* 'unbroken, whole', *di-goll* 'whole', *coll* < **qol'd-*, √*qolād-*

(3) After an adj.: **iawn** 'very', as *da iawn* 'very good' **odiaeth** 'very', Gen. xii 14 (: *odid*); **aruthr** 'amazingly, very' as *merch landeg aruthr* B.CW. 9; **ofnadwy** 'terribly', etc.

(4) Before an adj. with rad. initial: **llawer** before cpv., § 169 ii (1); **mwy, mwyaf** § 151 i; similarly **llai, lleiaf**; and in Mn. W. **digon**, as *digon da* 'good enough'; numeral with cpv. (with mutation peculiar to the numeral) § 154 iii (2).

(5) **gynt** 'formerly'; **cynt** 'previously'; **gynneu** 'a short time (few hours) ago'; **mwy, mwyach** 'henceforth'; **byth** 'ever'; **weithiau** 'sometimes'; *unwaith*, etc. § 154 iii (1); **chwaith**, *ychwáith* 'either', which replaces *hefyd* in neg. clauses in the late period, as *na Herod chwaith* Luc xxiii 15 'nor H. either'.

byth is the Ir. *bith* 'ever' borrowed, the etymological equivalent of W. *byd* 'world'. W. *byth* is generally sounded with short *y*, more rarely *bȳth* which follows the W. analogy of monosyllables in *-th*. As the word is always accented the short *y* can only be accounted for by the assumption of borrowing. The form *a phyth* R.P. 1028, L.G.C. 264 is due to the false analogy of *a chynt* in which the orig. rad. is *c-*.

chweith in Late Ml. W. occurs chiefly before a noun, and means 'any', as *na chlywei arnaw chweith dolur* S.G. 55 'that he did not feel any pain', *chweith antur* do. 34, *chweith pechawt* do. 46; more rarely *y chweith* 'at all' do. 62. In Mn. W. it is found with an adj., as *rhag na chaphom aros chwaith hir* G.R. [95] 'lest we may not stay very long', *Canys nid yw chwaith teg* do. [124] 'for it is not very seemly', *chwaith hir* B.CW. 40. These expressions seem to show that *chwaith* is orig. a noun; perhaps *gwaith* 'occasion' § 100 i (2), as in *unwaith* above (with pref. **eks-*?): Bret. *c'hoaz*, Corn. *whâth, whêth*, 'yet, again' (**-u̯okt-* : **-u̯ekt-*).

(6) **mwy (no)** 'more (than)'; **wellwell, waethwaeth** § 152 ii; **haeach** in neg. clauses, meaning with the neg. 'not much, hardly at all'; **oreu** 'best', **gyntaf** 'first', etc.

Nyt arhoes ef **haeach** S.G. 38 'he did not stay long'. The word is often used as a noun, as *heb vneuthur* **hayach** *o ỏrwc* S.G. 39 'without doing much wrong'; cf. H.L.A. 122. **hayachen** R.M. 142, G. 234 has the sense of 'almost'.—*haeach* seems to be a cpv. of an adj. **hae* < **sag-i̯o-* or **sog-i̯o-*, √ *seĝh-* : Gk. ὄχα 'much' adv., √ *seĝh-*, Boisacq s.v. ἔχω.—*haeachen* is perhaps the full stem, and so the true obl. form, § 147 iv (3).

(7) Noun or adj. in an obl. case followed by the obl. rel. *y, yỏ, yr*, neg. *na, nad*, (loc.) *ni, nid*:—(*a*) in a dependent clause: **modd y** 'in the manner in which, so that', **modd na** 'so that . . . not'; **pryd y** 'at the time when, when', **pryd na** 'when . . . not'; **lle y, lle yỏ, lle yr**, generally **lle, lle'r** 'in the place where, where', Ml. W. **lle ny**, Mn. **lle ni** 'where . . . not'.—

(*b*) Predicatively at the head of a sentence, § 162 vii (2): **odid y** '[it is] a rarity that, [it is] improbable that', **odid na** '[it is] improbable that . . . not', i. e. it is probable that; **hawdd y** '[it is] with ease that'; **da y** '[it is] well that'; **prin y** '[it is] scarcely [the case] that', **braidd y** '[it is] hardly [the case] that', as *breiδ y diengis* R.B.B. 319 'he hardly escaped', **braidd na** '[it is] hardly that . . . not' i. e. '[it is (was)] almost [the case] that', as *braidd na bûm bridd yn y bedd* D.G. 296 'I was almost dust in the grave'.

braidd may represent the instr. **bradū* of an adj. cognate with Gk. *βραδύς* 'tardy', Lat. *gurdus*. Except in the above construction it generally has a governing prep. in Ml. W., vii (1), but later it is used as an adv. in any position. It is not used as an adj.

An adj. preceding a vb. directly (without *y*), as *mad δevthoste* B.B. 87 'well hast thou come', forms a loose compound with it, § 207 ii, and takes pre-verbal *ny* (not *nyt*), as *ny mad aeth* B.B. 70, *ny phell gwyδ* B.A. 26 'falls not far'.

iv. The following adverbs are formed of nouns in obl. cases with a demonstrative or similar adj., see i (2) (*a*).

(1) **hé-ddiw**, Late Mn. W. *héddyw* § 37 iii; **heno** § 78 i (1); **e-léni** 'this year' for **he-fleni*, Bret. *hevlene*.

heδiw for **heδyw* § 77 v < **se-diues* = Skr. *sa-dívaḥ* 'at once' beside *sa-dyáḥ* 'on the same day' prob. loc. sg. of an *s*- stem, and so not formed directly from **diiēus* 'day', but an old formation going back to Pr. Ar. The others are prob. formed in Brit. on its analogy: *he-no* < **se-nokti* loc. of **nokts*; *e-leni* for **he-lyni* (owing to preference for *e..i* sequence, cf. § 65 iii (2)) < ? **blidnī* loc. of **bleidonī* which gives *blwyddyn* 'year'.

(2) **beunydd** 'every day', **beunoeth** 'every night'.

The noun in these was acc. But Brit. **pápon díien* (< **qʷāqʷom díiēm*) should give W. **pawb nyδ*; it seems to have been made into an improper compound early, and the *aw* treated like ordinary penultimate *aw* (which normally comes from **ou*) and affected to *eu* § 76 iv (3), giving **peubnyδ* > *peunyδ*; then by analogy *peunoeth* (and S. W. dial. *o beutu* for lit. *o boptu*); Bret. *bemdeiz*, Treg. *baoñde*.

(3) **yn awr** 'now' § 114 iv; **yr áwron, weithion**, etc., § 164 iii; **ymánnos** 'the other night' R.P. 1264, D.G. 82, 158, 200.

ymannos is probably to be placed here although the exact form of its Brit. original is doubtful. It stands for **ymannoeth* which may represent loc. **esmi anda nokti* lit. 'this here night', see ii (11).

(4) **pa le, ple** 'where?' **pa ddelw, pa fodd** 'how?' **pa bryd** 'when?' etc. § 163 ii.

(5) **rywbryd** 'some time', **rywfodd** 'somehow'.

v. Adverbs formed of a noun or adj. preceded by a conjunction or neg. part.:

(1) *ond* + noun or pron.: **ond odid** B.CW. 31 'perhaps' (lit. 'except a rarity') § 169 v (4); **ond antur** D.G. 266, G.Gr. D.G. 238 'almost', with neg. 'hardly' (lit. 'but by chance'); **ond hynny** 'any more' IL.M. 94, 96, T. ii 176.

(2) *nid* + cpv. adj.: **nid hwyrach** 1 Cor. xvi 6 'perhaps'; **nid gwaeth** 'even' e.g. D.N. c. i 161, D.G. 410; **nid amgen** 'namely' (lit. 'not otherwise') Ml. W. *nyt amgen*.

It is curious that *nid hwyrach* is generally reduced to *hwyrach* in the recent period, though it survives as *tw(y)rach* in Gwyn. dial.

vi. Adverbs formed of nouns governed by prepositions:

(1) The prep. and noun compounded: **éch-nos** 'the night before last'; **éch-doe** 'the day before yesterday'; **trán-noeth** 'the following day'; **trén-nydd** 'the day after to-morrow'; **trá-dwy** 'the third day from to-day'; Ml. W. **a-vory**, W.M. 4, IL.A. 110, Mn. W. **y-fóry** 'to-morrow'; **yr-llýnedd, er-llýnedd** 'last year'; **ó-bry** 'down'; **éisoes, éisioes** 'already', Ml. W. **eissoes** 'nevertheless'; **gór-moδ**, Late Mn. W. *gór-mod* 'excessively'; **adref** IL.A. 109 'homewards', so in Mn. W.

ech-doe is an improper compound formed when **ech* < **eks* was a living prep.; *ech-nos* is formed on its analogy, or is changed for an older **ech-noeth*. On *trannoeth, trennyδ* see § 156 i (22);—*tra-dwy* for **tar-dwy* < **tarós duu̯ō* 'beyond two [days]'; in such a phrase it is possible that the accent of **duu̯ō* might be on the *-ō*, the original position (: Skr. *duvá*); and **duu̯ō* > **duu̯ī* would give *-dwy* not **-deu* § 76 v (4);—*a-vory* for **aδ-vory* < **ad māriy-i* (prob. loc.; **ad* takes loc. in Germ. also) 'to-morrow';—*yr-llyneδ* < **per blidnīi̯ān* acc. of **bleidonī* 'year';—*eisoes* < ? **es-i-oes* 'ever' (: *oes* 'age') formed like *eiroet* (4); cf. Fr. *toujours* 'nevertheless';—*adref*, an old compound, § 99 v (4).

(2) The prep. and noun uncompounded, or forming improper compounds accented on the ultima: **i fyny** 'up', Ml. W. *ỏ vyny(δ)* § 110 iv (3); **i lawr** 'down'; **i waered** 'down'; **i mewn** 'inside' § 215 iii (1); **i maes** 'out', Ml. W. *ỏ maes* C.M. 58, R.M. 172, IL.A. 122, 166; *o vyvn* IL.A. 166 'inside'; *o vaes* ib. 'outside';

yn ôl 'back', **ar ôl** 'behind' § 215 iii (6); **ar hynt** 'immediately' S.G. 274; **oddi fyny** 'from above', **oddi lawr** 'from below', **oddi mewn** 'inside'; **ymláen** 'in front' § 215 iii (10); **ynghŷ́d** 'together', Ml. W. **yğkyt** W.M. 103, R.M. 75 (for which *ỳ gyt* is oftenest found, see ib.), **i gyd** 'wholly', Ml. W. *ỳ gyt* § 156 i (8); **ar lled** 'abroad', late *ar led*; **ar frys** 'hastily', **rhag llaw** 'henceforth', Ml. W. *ſac llaw* R.P. 1418, **dra-chéfn** 'backwards, over again' § 214 iii; **ymaith** 'away', Ml. W. *ymdeith* for earlier *e ymdeith* W.M. 2; **i ffwrdd** id.

i waered; *gwaered* < **upo-ped-ret-* 'under-foot-run';—*i maes* = Bret. *emeaz*, Corn. *emes* < **ens magess-* 'into field';—*ar hynt*: *hynt* 'way' § 63 iii (1); *i ffwrdd*: *ffordd* § 140 ii.

(3) With the article: **o'r blaen** 'formerly'; **o'r neilltu** 'on one side', **o'r herwydd** 'on that account'.

(4) With an infixed pron.: **o'i fron**, f. **o'i bron** L.G.C. 122 'throughout', lit. 'from its breast'; in Late Mn. W. with the art., **o'r bron** 'wholly' (used in S.W., and mistaken by some recent N.W. writers for *ymron*, *bron* 'nearly' § 215 iii (14) which is now used as an adv.); **er-m-ŏ́ed** 'during my time', Ml. W. *eirmoet* R.P. 1259; **er-i-ŏ́ed** 'ever' § 34 iii, Ml. W. *eirỳoet*, *eiroet*; the form *eriŏ́ed* with the 3rd sg. pron., 'during his time', was generalized, and of the forms with other persons only *ermoed* survived; it is used in poetry down to the Early Mn. period, e.g. D.G. 22, L.G.C. 194. Ml. *eir-* is regular for *eri-* § 70 ii; in *eirmoet* it is due to the analogy of *eiroet*.

vii. Adverbs formed of adjectives governed by prepositions:

(1) **ar fyrr** B.CW. 18 'in short'; **ar hir** D.G. 352 'for a long while'; **ar iawn** D.G. 5 'straight'; **ar waeth** R.G.D. 149 'in a worse state'; **trwy deg** 'fairly', *trwg deg neu hagr* 'by fair [means] or foul'; **trwy iawn** 'by right'; **wrth wir** 'truly'; **o fraidd** 'scarcely', Ml. W. *o vreiδ* LL.A. 108, *a-breiδ* W.M. 131.

(2) ☞ Any adj. following *yn*, as **yn dda** 'well', **yn well** 'better', **yn ddrwg** 'badly', **yn fawr** 'greatly', **yn gam** 'wrongly'. The adj. has the soft initial except when it is **ll** or **rh** § 111 i (1); but in many expressions forming improper compounds it has the nasal; as **ynghýnt** 'sooner', **ymhéll** 'far', **ynghám** 'wrongly', **ynghúdd** 'secretly' etc. § 107 v (6).

W. *yn*, Corn. *yn*, Ml. Bret. *en*, *ent*, Ir. *in*, *ind* < **en-do*; W. *yn fawr* = Ir. *in mār*. In Ir. the adj. was generally in the dat.; and Zeuss ZE. 608–9 explained *ind* as the dat. of the definite article. This explanation has been widely received, and is repeated e.g. by Thurneysen Gr. 228. Against it may be urged:—1. Other prepositions are similarly used in W., see above.—2. The prep. **en-do* like **do* governed the dat.—3. In Ir. *co* (Mn. Ir. *go*, W. *pw* § 214 iv), which is synonymous with **endo*, was often substituted for it, and has superseded it in Mn. Ir.—4. W. *ymhell*, etc., show that simple **en* could be used as well as **en-do*; *yn bẽll* 'far' and *ymhéll* 'far' are a doublet, both forms being in use; *ymhéll* is the same construction as *ymláen* where the *yn* is a prep.—5. In W. leniting *yn* is also used to introduce the indefinite complement of verbs of being, becoming, making, etc., which makes it difficult for a speaker of the language to believe that leniting *yn* is the definite article.—6. The analogy not only of W. and Ir. but of other languages is all in favour of the prep., e.g. E. *a-long*, *a-broad*, etc.

(3) Special cases of comparatives after *yn*: **yn hytrach** 'rather', **yn chwaethach** W.M. 10 'not to speak of', *yğhwaethach* R.M. 85, *yğkwaethach* do. 150, *ağhwaethach* do. 156, *yğ kyvoethach* W.M. p. 91*b*, *anoethach* do. 182; also later *chwaethach* B.CW. 14.

hytrach is cpv. of *hydr* 'strong, prevailing': O.Bret. *hitr*, Ir. *sethar*, of unknown origin.—*chwaethach* (misspelt *chweithach* by Silvan Evans) is generally supposed to be from *chwaith* iii (5), e.g. D.D. s.v.; if so it has F°-grade **-u̯ok-t-*; *-nchw-* > *-χhw-* § 26 vi (3); *ğk* ≡ *χh* § 21 i; *an-* < **n̥-do-*: **en-do-*; *yğ kyv-* seems to have pref. *kyv-*; *anoethach*, with no pref., but with *w* lost before *o* § 36 iii.

(4) Superlatives with the art.: **o'r goreu** 'very well!' **o'r rhwyddaf** Gr.O. 31 'most readily'; **i'r eithaf** 'extremely'; **ar y cyntaf** 'at first'; dial. *ar y lleiaf* 'rather too little', *ar y mwyaf* 'rather too much'.

viii. (1) The prefixes *rhy-*, *go-* and *tra-* by being accented separately before adjectives have come to be regarded as adverbs **rhy**, **go**, and **tra**; thus *rhy dda* 'too good', *go dda* 'rather good', *tra da* 'very good' § 45 iv (2). See also § 156 i (16), (21), (22).

In the late period *rhy* is used as a noun 'excess' for Ml. W. *rwy*, as in *Nyt gwell rwy no digawn* R.B. 963 'too much is not better than enough'; this is prob. the adv., ii (13), used as a noun; *rhwy* adv. < **prei* (: **prai*, Lat. *prae*) § 210 x (5).

(2) **lled** and **pur** forming loose compounds with adjectives, § 155 iv, are to the present linguistic consciousness adverbs; so **prin** in *prin ddau* Gr.O. 58 'scarcely two', etc.

§ **221.** Many adverbs are improper compounds formed of sentences fused into words. The following may be noted in W.:

i. (1) **ysýwaeth** 'the more the pity', Ml. W. *ysywaeth* IL.A. 157, S.G. 252, for *ysy waeth* 'which is worse'.

(2) **gwaethiroeδ duw** C.M. 30 for *gwaeth yr oeδ duw* (?) 'woe worth the day'; Gwentian *gwaithiro dduw* H.G. 106.

(3) **yswaethéroeδ** L.G.C. 38, seemingly a confusion of (1) and (2).

ii. (1) **agátfydd** Gr.O. 262, J.D.R. 134 'perhaps', Ml. W. *agatvyδ* S.G. 224, *ac atvyδ* W.M. 2, R.M. 2, for *ag a atvyδ* 'with what will be' i.e. per-adventure; cf. *a advo* B.B. 8 'what may happen'.

(2) **agattoeδ** H.M. ii 85 'it might be', *ac attoeδ* R.M. 212, for *ag a *ad-hoeδ*; for **hoeδ* see § 180 ii (3).

(3) **ysgátfydd** 'perhaps' 1 Cor. xv 37 for *ys ag a atfydd*.

iii. **ysgwír**, *'sgwír* L.G.C. 444 'truly', for *ys gwir* 'it is true'; **malpei** J.D.R. [xiv] 'as it were; so to speak' for *mal pei* 'as it were'; **sef** 'this is, that is, namely', for *ys ef*.

iv. (1) **llyma** 'voici', **llyna** 'voilà', for *syll yma* 'see here', *syll yna* 'see there', cf. Bret. *setu* 'voici, voilà' prob. for *sellet hu* 'see ye'; cf. *syll dy racco* R.M. 133.

(2) Mn. W. **dyma** 'voici', more fully **weldyma** B.ĉW. 24, Late Ml. W. *weldyma* S.G. 221, for *wel dy yma* R.M. 58, *wely dy yma* W.M. 80 'seest thou here?' So Mn. W. **dyna** 'voilà' for *wel dy yna?* and Mn. W. **dacw** 'see yonder' for *wel dy raccw?* see § 173 iii (3). Similarly **ducho** 'see up above', *welducho* for *wel(y) dy ucho*; **diso** 'see below', *weldiso* D.G. 113, dial corr. *dusw*; **dyfry** 'see up', **dobry** 'see down', **dyngo** 'see close by' (*yngo* § 210 viii (5)).

CONJUNCTIONS

§ **222.** The Welsh conjunctions are the following:

i. Annexive: **a, ac** 'and'. (1) The *-c* of *ac* is a survival of Ml. spelling § 18 ii; the word is sounded *ag*, and is treated as *ag* in cynghanedd, as seen by the correspondences marked below; cf § 111 v (4). In many Mn. MSS. it is written *ag*.

Ac yno ym medw **G**wynedd
Imi ar bâr y mae'r bedd.—D.G. 60.

'And there among the birch-trees of Gwynedd the grave is being prepared for me.' *Ag* in the text here, but *Ac* in the previous couplet.

Ni thorrais un llythyren
O bin **ac** *inc heb enw* **G**wen.—D.N. M 136/147.

'I have not written one letter with pen and ink but Gwen's name.'

Am Fôn yr ymofynnaf;
Mwnai **ac** *aur Môn a* **g**af.—L.G.C. M 146/140.

'Môn will I seek; I shall have the money and gold of Môn.'

(2) *ac* (≡ *ag*) is used before vowels; *a* [spir.] before consonants, including *h*, and in Ml. and Early Mn. W. *i*; as *bara* **a** *chaws*; *dŵr* **a** *halen.*

Ni chwynaf od wyf afiach,
Os yfô sy fyw **a** *iach.*—R.G.G. H.B.M. 23.

'I shall not complain if I am ill, if he is alive and well.' The MS. has *ag*, which is usual in the late period before *i*; but such combinations as *ac haul* sometimes seen in recent cynghanedd have no lit. or dial. justification, except perhaps in Gwentian where *h* is dropped.—The same rules apply to *a*, *ag* 'with'; *na*, *nac* 'nor'; *no*, *noc* 'than'.

(3) *ag* : Ir. *acus*, *accus*, *ocus*; the Ir. *-c-* or *-cc-* represents *-gg-* as proved by Mn. Ir. *-g-*; W. *ag* then represents **aggós*; the final *-s* and oxytone proved by the spirant initial which follows it; the Ir. *acus* older *occuis* for **agguis* < **aggos-ti*. Brit. **aggós* < **at-ĝhós* formed of **at* (: **et*) § 63 v (2) and a *ĝh*-suffix as in Gk. δί-χα, δι-χοῦ, δι-χό-θεν, etc.

The base **at* (: **et*) is connected with **ati* (: **eti*) 'beyond', whence 'and, but'; thus Lat. *et*, Umbr. *et* 'and', Goth. *iþ* 'and, but' < **et* : Lat. *at* 'but', Goth. *aþ-þan* 'but', Gk. ἀτ-άρ 'but' < **at*. The suffix *-ĝhos* is also seen in *ag* 'with' § 213 iii (1); and in *agos* 'near', the base of which is probably **ad-* 'to, near': Lat. *ad*, E. *at*; thus **agos* < Brit. **aggostos* < **ad-ĝhos-to-s.*

ii. Disjunctive: (1) **neu** [soft] 'or'.

neu < **nóu̯ī* < **né-u̯ē*: Ir. *nō*, *no*, *nu* < **ne-u̯e.* The second element is Ar. *u̯ĕ* 'or': Lat. *-ve*, Skr. *vā* 'or'. Thurneysen takes the first to be the neg. **ne-* so that the orig. meaning was 'or not': Skr. *ná-vā* 'or not'. But the development of the meaning is in that case not obvious. The **ne-* may be the stem of the **eno-*, **no-* pronoun, as Gk. *-νε* in Thess. *τό-νε* 'τόδε', Skr. *na* 'as', Lat. *ego-ne* etc., of which the loc. is the affirmative part. *neu* § 219 i (2); thus the original meaning would be 'or indeed, or rather'.

(2) Ml. W. **ae** ... **ae** 'whether ... or; either ... or'; Mn. W. *ai* ... *ai*; strengthened, *naill ai* ... *ai yntau.*

ae [rad.] comes before a verbal noun, noun, adj., adv., or their equivalents, but not before a verb, cf. § 218 i. A personal pron. after the second has the conjunctive form, *minneu* etc.

ỳ roδi dewis uδunt **ae** *gwrhau iδaw* **ae** *ymwan ac ef* W.M. 160 'to give them [their] choice whether to do homage to him or to fight with him'; *dewis ti* **ae** *o'th voδ* **ae** *o'th anvoδ* do. 124 'choose thou whether willingly or unwillingly'; **ae** *tydi* . . . **ae** *titheu* do. 162, 171, cf. § 159 iii.

ae § 218 iii, *yntau* § 159 iii (2), iv (3).

(3) **na, nac** 'nor'; *na(c)* . . . *na(c)* 'neither . . . nor'; *na* [spir.] before a consonant, including *h* and *i*; *nac* before a vowel; *nac* ≡ *nag*; exactly as for *ac*, see i above.

Er i gig ni rôi'r gegin
Nac er i groen **garrai** *grin.*—G.Gl. M 1/no. 43.

'The kitchen would not give for his flesh or for his skin a sear thong.' The MS. has actually *nag*, as is often the case; see i (1).

nag < **naggós* < **n(e) at-ĝhós* 'and not'.

iii. Adversative: (1) Mn. W. **onid, ond** [rad.] § 44 vi 'but', Ml. W. *onyt*; this is the form before a noun, etc., of *ony* 'if not', v (1) below.

(2) **eithr** [rad.] 'but', e.g. Act. iv 4, 15, 17, 19, 21 = prep. *eithr* § 214 v.

(3) **namyn** [rad.] 'but', *namn* § 44 vi, Ml. W. *namyn, namen, namwyn*, § 78 ii (1); O.W. *honit nammui* 'but only'.

namyn *os mivi a gâr yr amherawdyr, deuet hyt yman ỳ'm hol* W.M. 186, cf. 185 'but if it is I that the emperor loves, let him come hither for me.'

Hael oedd, ac ni hawl iddi
Na'i main na'i haur, **namyn** *hi.*—D.G. 293.

'He is chivalrous, and asks of her neither her jewels nor her gold, but only herself.'

namwyn, O. W. *nammui*, Ir. *namāa* 'not more'. It is sometimes found without *n*-, by false division, as *amyn* B.CH. 16, *amen* A.L. i 288 l. 3. The example from D.G. shows how the meaning developed: 'not more [than]' > 'only' > 'but'.

(4) Ml. W. **hagen** 'however', coming after the opening word or words of the sentence, and prob. an enclitic.

canis rywelsei ef; wynteu **hagen** *ni wybuyssynt i eisseu ef* W.M. 9 'for he had not seen them; they, however, had not missed him'; *nyt*

oeδ nes **hagen** *iδi no chynt* do. 17 'he was no nearer, however, to her than before'.

hagen, O. W. *hacen* M.C. gl. at 'but', Bret. *hogen* 'but' (not enclitic). It has been suggested that the first part is identical with *ac* 'and' (Loth. Voc. 150, Henry 165); as **at* the base of *ac* also means 'but' i (3) this is not improbable, but it is not easy to account for the form. O. W. has *ha, hac* as well as *a, ac*, but the *h-* is not the aspirate, and is lost in Ml. W., § 112 i. If, however, we suppose a cpv. in **-isōn* of **aggós*, its loc. **aggiseni* would give **ag-hen*, which by early metath. of *h* (§ 94 ii) might give *hagen*. For a similar cpv. cf. *haeachen* § 220 iii (6); *amgen* § 148 ii (2).

iv. Causal: (1) **canys** [rad.] 'since', *cans* § 44 vi; Ml. W. **can**, *kanys, cans* W.M. 487 'since'; *kan(n)y, han(n)yt*, 'since ... not'; *kan(n)ys, canis* iii (4) 'since ... not ... him (her, them)'.

erglyv wi (≡ *erglyw fi*) **can** *dothuif* B.B. 75 'hear me since I have come'; **kann** *colles* IL.A. 147 'since he has lost'; *A* **chan** *derw yt δywedut y geir* W.M. 21 'and since thou hast said the word'.—**canys** *prif lys oeδ* do. 64 'for it was the chief court'; *eisteδ di yn y lle hwnn* **kanys** *tydi bieu* S.G. 6 'sit thou in this place for it is thou to whom it belongs'.—**Cany** *welas ef* W.M. 16 'since he did not see'; **canyt** *oes vrenhin ar holl Annwvyn namyn ti* do. 8 'for there is no king over all A. but thee'.—*canis*, see iii (4); **Kanys** *gwyδut* R.M. 282 'since thou didst not know it'. Later **Kanys ny** S.G. 17.

can is the same word as the prep. *gan* § 211 ii, iv (1) though possibly with a cons. ending, as it seems to take the rad.—*canys* 'since' = *cann ys* 'since it is' and is often written *kannys* e.g. IL.A. 9, 10, 13, etc.; the *-nn-* is simplified because the word is generally unaccented; cf. *anad* for *annat* § 214 viii. It rarely comes directly before a verb: *cans oeδ* W.M. 487 = *kan oes* R.M. 126.—The neg. *kany* is for *can ny*; it was prob. accented on the last syll., hence the simplification of the *-nn-*. The accent would suffice to distinguish *kanýs* 'since .. not .. him' from the positive *kanys* 'since'.

(2) **achos** 'because', Ml. W. *achaws*.

Galw Gwrhyr Gwalltawt Ieithoeδ, **achaws** *yr holl ieithoeδ a wyδyat* R.M. 114 'Gwrhyr Gwalstawt Ieithoedd was called, because he knew all languages'.—The conj. is omitted in W.M. 471.

achos § 65 ii (1), § 215 ii (1). *o achos* is used before v.n.'s and noun-clauses, and so remains prepositional: Deut. i 36, iv 37, vii 12, Num. xxx 5.

(3) **o ran** 'for', § 215 iii (12).

Pob byw wrth i ryw yr aeth,
O ran *taer yw'r naturiaeth.*—W.IL., C.IL. 73.

'Every living thing goes after its kind, for nature is insistent.'

(4) Other composite nominal prepositions are used as conjunctions in the Late Mn. period: **o blegid** Act. i 5, ii 34; **o herwydd** 1 Cor. xv 53; **o waith**, in S.W. dial. *waith*.

v. Conditional: (1) **o**, **od** 'if', Ml. W. *o*, *ot*, *or*; **os** 'if it is'; **ossit** 'if there is'; **o'm** 'if... me'; **o'th** 'if... thee'; **os** 'if... him (her, them)'; **oni**, **onid** 'if... not, unless', Ml. W. *ony*, *onyt*; *oni 'm* 'if... not... me', *onis* 'if... not... him (her, them)', Ml. W. *onym*, *onys*, etc. As above indicated the *-s* of *os* is either *ys* 'is', or else the 3rd sg. or pl. infixed pron.; but in Late Mn. W. *os* came to be used instead of *o*, *od* for 'if' simply; examples are common in the 16th cent.: *os rhoed llaw* W.Ll. 60.— *o* is followed by the spirant, also in Early Mn. W. by the rad., of *p-*, *t-*, *c-*, and by the rad. of other mutables; *od* is used before vowels.

Before verbs: **o** *chlywy δiaspat* . . . **o** *gwely tlws* W.M. 119–120 'if thou hearest a cry . . . if thou seest a jewel'; **o** *chai* D.G. 30 'if thou shalt get'; **o** *caf* do. 20 'if I get'; **od** *ey* W.M. 446 'if thou goest'; **ot** *agory* do. 457 'if thou openest';—with infixed pronouns: **o** *'m lleδi* D.G. 59 'if thou killest me'; **o** *'th gaf* do. 524 'if I may have thee'; **os** *canyhatta* W.M. 412 'if she allows him [to go]';—with *r(y)*: **or** *bu* do. 172 'if there has been'; **or** *kaffaf vyŷhyvarws* do. 459 'if I get my boon'; **or** *mynny* Ll.A. 165 'if thou wilt'. Before nouns, etc., followed by the relative pron., **os** 'if (it) is': *Ac* **os** *wynteu* **ae** *meδ hi* W.M. 190 'and if it is they who hold it'; **os** *oδ* (read *o'th*) *voδ* **y** *gwney ditheu* do. 429 'if it is of thy free will that thou dost'; or followed by a simple subject: **os** *pechawt hynny* Ll.A. 38 'if that is sin'. Ml. W. *ossit* before an indef. subject: **ossit** *a δigrifhao* . . . C.M. 27 'if there is [any one] who enjoys . . .'— The neg. forms *ony* etc. follow the rules for *ny*; before verbs: **ony** *byδ* W.M. 95 'if there be not'; with infixed pron.: **onys** *kaffaf* do. 459 'if I do not get it'. Before nouns etc. **onyt** 'if it [is] not': **onyt** *edivar* Ll.A. 47 'if not repentant'. This form became **onyt**, later *onid*, *ond* 'but'; *ny δeuthum i yma* **onyt** *yr gwellau vy muchεδ* S.G. 184 'I have not come here but to amend my life'; *ny mynnaf-i neb* **onyt** *Duw* do. 178 'I desire no one but God'.—Instead of **os** 'if it is' we find before a past tense **or bu** 'if it was' in W.M. 458 (modernized to *os* in R.M. 104): **or bu** *ar dy gam y dyvuost* 'if it was at a walk that thou camest'. For *oni* a new *os na* is used in Recent W.

o 'if' < Brit. **á* 'if' § 218 iii; on the form see § 71 i (2). *ot* may represent **ā-ti* or **ā-tă*, see § 162 vi (2), which survives only before vowels. But an old *ot* before a cons., in which the *-t* is an infixed pron., survives in the stereotyped phrase *oi gwnn* W.M. 12 'if I know it'; this may well be **á tod* 'if it'. *os* 'if it is' < **ā 'sti*; *ossit* 'if there is' < **a 'stīta* < **ā 'sti ita*. The mutation after accented **á* was the

same as after accented **né*, but made more regular owing to the word being of less frequent occurrence; the rad. *c-* etc. seems to be due to further levelling.

(2) **pei** [rad.] 'if' Late Mn. W. *pe*.—The form *pei* is short for *pei y* 'were it that'; see § 189 ii (3); the real conj. *y*, *yt* which follows *pei* is the citative conj.; see x (1). Before a noun there is, of course, no conj. after *pei*, which is then simply 'were it'; as **pei** *mi rywascut velly* W.M. 474 'were it I that thou hadst squeezed so'.

pei ron S.G. 212 'supposing that', cf. 256, 368, *pei rhon* D.G. 118, 271, 304, followed by a v.n. clause. The formation is not clear (? *pei rhoent* 'if they granted').

vi. Temporal: (1) **pan(n)** [soft] 'when', § 162 iv (3), § 163 vi; sometimes *ban*, especially in poetry.

A **phan** *δoeth yno* W.M. 8 'and when he came there'; *a* **phan** *welas* do. 13 'and when he saw'; *pan* **glywhont** do. 22 'when they hear'. *Pa le 'r oeddit ti* **pan** *sylfaenais i y ddaear*? Job xxxviii 4.—**Ban** *elom ni* M.A. 168 'when we go'.

Syrthiais, llewygais i'r llawr,
Bann *welais benn i elawr.*—T.A., G. 234.

'I fell, I fainted to the floor, when I saw the head of his bier.'

pan being relative a prep. may govern the antecedent, expressed as the *r* in *o'r pan agoroch y drws* W.M. 57 'from the time when you open the door', but generally implied, as in *erbyn pan* do. 33 'by [the time] when', *hyt pan* do. 470 'until', *yr pan* do. 161, Mn. W. *er pan* 'since'.

(2) **tra** 'whilst'; also *hyd tra*. It is usually followed by a soft initial; *tra parhao* W.M. 26 is a rare exception in Ml. W. In Late Mn. W. the rad. is common (sometimes by confusion with the prep. *tra*, the spir. e. g. Gr.O. 12).

ny ommeδwyt neb **tra** *barhauδ* (read *barhaa6δ*) W.M. 26 'no one was refused while it [the feast] lasted'; **tra** *geffit* do. 65–6, 68, 72 'while one could have'; **tra** *vynho Duw* do. 71 'while God will', **tra** *welho Duw* do. 72 id.; **tra** *gerδych* W.M. 6 'while thou walkest'; **tra** *fyddai* Matt. xiv 22, **tra** *fyddwyf* Marc xiv 32; **tra** *fyddo haul* Ps. lxxii 17.—**hyt tra** *ym gatter yn vyw* W.M. 479 'whilst I am left alive'; **hyt tra** *vei* R.B.B. 79.

tra allied to the prep. *tra*, but coming from a Brit. form ending in a vowel, possibly **tare* < **t$_e$ri* cf. **are-* < **p$_e$ri*; if so it is for **tar*, see § 214 iii.

(3) **cyn** [rad.] 'before' § 215 i (1). It is used as a conj. proper, coming immediately before a verb, see examples. In the recent period it is treated as the prep. by having *y* put after it.

kin *bu tav y dan mein* B.B. 68 'before he was silent under stones'; **kyn** *bum* B.T. 25 'before I was'; *gwr a rotei gad* **kyn** *dybu ỳ dyt* W. 2*a* 'a man who gave battle before his day came'; **cyn** *elych* S.G. 269.

O Dduw! **cyn** *êl i ddaear,*
A ddaw cof iddi a'i câr?—B.Br., P. 112/264.

'O God! before he goes to earth will she remember [him] who loves her?'

(4) Ml. W. **hyny, yny** 'until'; Early Mn. W. *yni*; Late Mn. W. *oni*, *onid* by confusion with *oni* v (1); and tautologically *hyd oni*.

A hwnnw a δyscawδ Dewi **hyny** *vu athro* IL.A. 107 'And [it was] he who taught Dewi till he became a doctor'; *A'r ynys a gerδassant* **hyny** *δoethant ỳ Eryri* W.M. 185 'And they traversed the island till they came to Eryri'; *Ac* **yny** *agoroch y drws* do. 57 'and until you open the door'; **yny** *vei yn llawn* do. 56 'until it was full'.

Ni ddof oddiwrth nai Ddafydd
Yni *ddêl y nos yn ddydd.*—L.G.C. 210.

'I will not come away from David's nephew till night becomes day.'
—**onid** *oedd yr haul ar gyrraedd ei gaereu* B.CW. 5 'until the sun was reaching his battlements' i.e. setting; **hyd oni** Matt. ii 9.

hyny is for *hyd ny*, and appears in full in CP.: **hit ni-***ri-tarnher ir did hinnuith* 'until that day is completed'.—*hyd ny* lit. 'while not'; the 'length' (*hyd*) of time during which an event is 'not' (*ny*) reached is the time 'until' (*hyny*) it is reached.

(5) **gwedy y, hyd y**, etc., see xi.

vii. Concessive: (1) **cyd** [rad.] 'although', Ml. W. *kyt, ket, kyn, cen*; neg. *kyn ny, kyny, keny*.

kyt *keffych hynny* W.M. 480 'though thou get that'; **ket** *bei cann wr en vn ty* B.A. 12 'though there might be 100 men in one house'; **Kyd** *carhwiv-e morva cassaav-e mor* B.B. 100 'though I love the strand I hate the sea'. **Cyd** *byddai nifer meibion Israel fel tywod y môr* Rhuf. ix 27; **Cyd** *bai hirfaith taith o'r wlad hon yno* Gr.O. 116 'though a journey from this country thither would be long.'—*A* **chyn** *bei drut hynny* R.M. 169 'And though that was a brave [fight]'; *A* **chyn** *bo* W.M. 62.—*a* **chyn-nyt** *ymδialwyf a thi* W.M. 2 'and though I may not avenge myself on thee'; **kyn-ny** *bwyf arglwyδes, mi a wnn beth yw hynny* do. 51 'though I am not a lady, I know what

that is'; *A* **chyny** *bei* do. 62.—O. W. **cen nit** *boi* . . . **Cinnit** *hois* CP. 'though there be not . . . though there is not'.

cyd : Ir. *ce, cīa* 'though'; *cyny* : Ir. *ceni, cini, cenī*. The *-d* is to be compared with that of *od* 'if', see v (1) above; as it is followed by the rad., *cy-d* may be for **ke tod* 'if it' a form which spread from *kyt bo* 'if it be' etc. Before *ny* there was prob. no *-d*, and *cyn ny* is prob. a wrong deduction from *cyny* on the analogy of *kan ny* iv (1); *cyn* before a positive verb spread from this.—Traces of *cy-* without *-d* are found: **ke**-*vei diffeith* B.A. 7 'though it were waste'; *nyt arbedus* **ke**-*vei yr egluysseu* G.C. 130 'he spared not even the churches'; *kyffei* B.B. 87.—Kelt. **ke* may be the stem of the **ke-* pronoun, as in Lat. *cĕ-do*; loc. in Gk. *ἐ-κεῖ, κεῖ-θε*.

(2) **er na**, see xi.

viii. Comparative: (1) **cyn** [soft] 'as' before the equative; see § 147 iv (4).

(2) **â** [spir.], **ag** 'as' after the equative, Ml. W. *a, ac*; see i (2). This is the same word as *á, ag* 'with'; see § 213 iii (1). It is often found before *cyn* 'though', *pei* 'if', *pan* 'when'.

A chyn dristet oeδ bop dyn yno **a chyn** *bei aȳheu ym pop dyn onaδunt* R.M. 188 'And every man there was as sad as if death was in every man of them'.

(3) Ml. and Early Mn. W. **no** [spir.], **noc** 'than' after the cpv.; Late Mn. W. *na, nag*; see i (2). Also Ml. W. **nogyt, noget, noc et** 'than'. *no chyn* 'than if' etc.

no *chynt* iii (4) 'than before'; *ny wyδwn i varch gynt* . . . **no** *hwnnw* W.M. 14 'I knew no fleeter steed than that'; **no** *hi* do. 63 '[he had not seen a more beautiful woman] than her'; **no** *hwnnw* do. 67 'than that'; *hyt na welsei δyn wenith tegach* **noc** *ef* do. 73 'so that no man had seen fairer wheat than it'.—*Tegach yw honno* **no** *neb* D.G. 440 'Fairer is she than any'.—*perach ac arafach* **nogyt** *y ŕei ereill* IL.A. 101 'sweeter and calmer than the others'; *iawnach yw iδaw dy gynnhal* **nogyt** *ymi* W.M. 37 'it is juster for him to support thee than for me', cf. R.P. 1039, ll. 10, 30; *Ny byδ hyn, ny byδ ieu,* **noget** *ỳ δechreu* B.T. 36 'it will not be older, it will not be younger, than at the beginning', cf. 28.

The initial *n-* is the old ending of the cpv., see § 147 iv (3); cf. Bret. *eget*, Corn. *ages* corresponding to W. *nogyt*. The remaining *-o, -oc* (≡ *-og*) has the same formation as *a, ac* 'and', i (3), and the spirant after *o*, as after *a*, implies the accent on the lost ult. Since unacc. *ā*, and unacc. *o* before a guttural, both give *a*, we must refer our *o* to *u-* § 66 v; hence *-oc* < **uggós*, which may be for **ud-ĝhós*: Lith. *už-* 'up' < **ud-ĝh-*, Ir. *u-* with gemination, Skr. *ud-* 'out, up', Goth. *ūt*, E. *out*; for meaning cf. E. *out-shine*. Ir. *occ acc* seems to

be a mixture of **ud-g-* and **ad-g-* mostly with the meaning of the latter.—The affixed particle *-yt, -et* is prob. **eti* 'beyond' i (3).

ix. Illative: **yntau** 'then, therefore' in Late Mn. W. usually written *ynte*; Ml. W. *ynteu*; § 159 iii (2), iv (3). In this sense the word always comes after the opening word or words of the sentence.

Gwnawn glot **ynteu** *o'th draws gampeu* R.P. 1219 'Let us fashion praise, then, of thy feats of arms'.

x. Citative: (1) before verbs, **y** [rad.], **yr** 'that', Ml. W. *y*, (*yd*, *yð*). It is used to make a sentence into a noun equivalent not only after verbs of saying, believing, etc., as *gwn* **y** *daw ef* 'I know that he will come', but generally where a noun-clause is needed, thus *diau* **y** *daw ef* 'that he will come [is] certain'. The neg. form is **na, nad**, Ml. W. *na, nat*.

ac a ðywedassant **y** *gwneynt yn yr un kyffelyb* S.G. 11 'and they said that they would do likewise'; *ac yn dywedut* **y**'*th leðir di* do. 369 'and saying that thou shalt be killed'; *ac a wnn* **y** *car Duw ynteu* LL.A. 112 'and I know that God loves him'; *ef a wyddỳat* **y** *collei ef* do. 58 'he knew that he would lose'.

Sên i'th gylch, os hwn a'th gâi,
Ni thygaswn **i**'*th gowsai*.—T.A.A 14866/229.

'Saying about thee, if this man got thee, I should not have thought that he would have had thee.' On the spelling *i* see § 82 ii (1).

The probable orig. meaning is 'how', so that *yd* may come from **i̯ô-ti*, **i̯o-* relative stem, **-ti* suff. of manner § 162 vi (2): Gk. ὅτι. The Skr. citative particle *í-ti*, coming generally after the quotation, is similarly formed from the demonstr. stem **i-*. The mutation after it follows that of the oblique rel. in its other uses.

(2) Before nouns, etc.: Ml. W. **panyw** 'that it is', rarely before the impf. *pan oeð*; and **ymae, mae** Mn. W. *mae* 'that it is', in the late period written *mai* § 189 ii (1); also dial. (S.W.) *taw*. Neg. Ml. **nat**, Mn. *nad*.

A bit honneit **panyw** *bychydig a dal deðyf Duw ỳ myvn Cristawn onis cwplaa* C.M. 15 'And be it known that it is little that the law of God avails in a Christian unless he performs it'; **pann yw** LL.A. 152, 160.—*Gwir yw* **ymae** *Duw a wnnaeth pob peth* LL.A. 27 'It is true that it is God that made everything'; cf. do. 21 l. 13; *llyna vy attep i iti* . . . **ymae** *ti a ðewisswn* W.M. 18 'that is my answer to thee, that it is thou whom I would choose'; **mae** *ti a ðewisswn* R.M. 12.—*ny*

wyδyem **pan oeδ** *ti a grogem* B.T. 12 'we knew not that it was Thou whom we crucified'.

pan yw lit. 'when it is'; to know 'when' it is may as easily as to know 'how' it is become to know 'that' it is.—*ymae* is doubtless relative = *y mae* 'where (it) is', hence from **i̯ósmi est* § 189 iii (2). The loc. **i̯ósmi* may mean 'how' as well as 'where'.

xi. (1) A preposition governing the implied antecedent of an oblique rel. *y* (or neg. *na*) forms with the latter the equivalent of a conjunction:

gwedy yδ lit. 'after [the time] when', *gwedy yr*, *gwedy y*, *gwedy na*; *gwedy y* is usually contracted to *gwedy*; Mn. W. *wedy 'dd*, *wedy 'r*, *wedy*.

gwedy yr *elont o'r byt hwnn* C.M. 110 'after they go from this world'; **gwedy y** *gorffei ar y alon* R.B.B. 7 'after he had conquered his enemies'; *A* **guedy** *byrỏer llawer yndi* W.M. 21 'and after much has been thrown into it'; **guedy na** *cheffit ganthunt wy* do. 66 'after it was not obtained from them'.—**Wedy'dd** *êl y drydedd oes* L.G.C. 394 'After the third generation is gone'.—With inf. pron. **gwedy as** *collont* IL.A. 167 'after they have lost it'.

hyt yδ, *hyt y* 'as far as, as long as'; **hyt na** 'as far as not' > 'so that not'; Mn. W. *hyd y(r)*, *hyd na*.

hyt y *sych gwynt*, **hyt y** *gwlych glaw* W.M. 459 'as far as wind dries, and rain wets'; cf. D.G. 2; **hyt na** W.M. 4, **hyt nat** do. 71.

gyt ac y 'as soon as'; Mn. W. *gyd ag y*.

Ar hynny **gyt ac y** *kyvodes ef* W.M. 52 'Thereupon as soon as he rose'. *Ac val y gyt ac y* do. 88, R.M. 64 'And as soon as'.

am na 'because . . . not'; **er na** 'though . . . not'; **eithỏr na** 'except that . . . not'; **trwy y** 'so that', lit. 'through [means] whereby'; Mn. W. *am na*, *er na*, and *am y* 'because', *er y* 'though'.

am na *wybuum pan aeth* W.M. 389 'because I knew not when he went'; **eithỏr na** *ellynt δywedut* do. 56 'except that they could not speak'; **trwy y** *colletto* IL.A. 143 'so as to cause loss', **trw yt** W.M. 453.

mal y(δ) 'how, so that', **mal na(t)** 'as if, so that . . . not'; **megys y(δ)** 'as, so that', **megys na(t)** 'as if, so that . . . not'; Mn. W. *fal y(r)*, *fel y(r)*, . . . *na(d)*; *megys y(r)*, *megis y(r)*, . . . *na(d)*.

val y *gallei* W.M. 13 'as he could', **val na** *wypwn* do. 429 'as if I knew not', **mal na** *wybuum* do. 389 'so that I knew not'; **megys y**

dyweit yr ystorya do. 165 'as the story says'; **megys na** R.B.B. 186 'as if . . . not'.

(2) Similarly an adverb, or noun in an adverbial case, with the obl. rel. and forming its antecedent, as **pryd y** 'at the time when', § 220 iii (7) (*a*).

In the recent period, in imitation of these, *y* is sometimes written after conjunctions, as *pan y delo* or *os y daw* instead of *pan ddelo* or *o(s) daw*.

INTERJECTIONS

§ **223.** i. (1) The following interjections proper occur in Ml. W.: **a** passim; **ha** R.M. 235; **oy a** W.M. 57, **oi a** do. 147, **wy a** W. 120*a*; **oian a** B.B. 52 ff., **hoian a** do. 61–2; **och** B.B. 50, 91, W.M. 20; **och a** do. 170; **ub** do. 473; **gwae** R.P. 1150 l. 31, generally followed by the dat.; **haha** W.M. 123; **tprue** (≡ *tprŵy* ?) R.P. 1277–8, Mn. W. *trw* (used in calling cattle).

(2) Many others occur in Mn. W.: **o**; **ust** 'hush'; **ffi** 'fie' (whence *ffiaidd* 'loathsome'), later *ffei*, foll. by *o*, see ex.; **wfft** 'fie'; **hu, huw** D.G. D. 148, used to lull a baby to sleep, later *hwi* (short proper diphth.), *hwi|an*; **dyt** 'pooh', *dydŷt* D.N. J 9/230 (the *y*'s in the MS., and the accent implied in the cynghanedd). D. 148 gives, in addition, *hys, ho, he, hai, ochan, w, wb, wban wbwb, waw, wew, ffw, whw, wi, haihow, haiwhw, hoho, bw, oio, wichwach*. Other forms are *ow, pw, wchw, hai wchw, hwt, heng*; also *twt* 'pshaw!' *ach, ych* 'ugh!' and others.

Ffei o *ieuenctid am ffo*;
Ni ffy henaint, **ffei 'hono.**—S.T. P 313/212.

'Fie upon youth for fleeing; old age will not flee, fie upon it.' [The MS. has *affei* in line 1 and *ohono* in line 2.]

(3) *gwae* § 78 ii (2).—*ōch* § 51 iii exc. (3); **-h*, rounded after *o-* may have given the *-ch*, § 26 vi.—The diphthong *oi* does not appear elsewhere in Ml. W., and may be a survival of O. W. *oi* < **ai*; the doublet *wy* < **āi* : Gk. *αἴ*.—Interjections, like the forms of child-speech, are liable to continuous re-formation; and *ā* may be from original *ā* (: Lat. *ā*, etc.), which ought regularly to give **aw*.

ii. Some interjections are followed by nouns or pronouns expressed or implied, in the dat., as **gwae vi** R.M. 40 'vae mihi' *Guae aǧaur a graun maur verthet* B.B. 31 'woe to the miser who

hoards great riches'; *Gwae a goδwy δuw* R.P. 1150 'woe [to him] who offends God'. So, **och fi** D.G. 425; **Och finnau** F.N. 90; also **Och imi** ib., **Och ym** D.G. 21; **Ochan fi** do. 38; dial. **och a fi**. Also, of course, by the vocative: **Och Dduw** G. 255, etc.

iii. An interjection proper is sometimes preceded by a numeral, as **naw-och** IL.G. R.P. 1306; **wyth wae** *finnau* G. 229; **can' och**; **naw wfft.**

§ **224.** As in other languages, utterances of an interjectional character are made from other parts of speech, and from phrases and sentences, often mutilated.

i. Nouns, with or without adjuncts: (1) **Duw** e.g. W.IL. 232 last line, **Duw an(n)wyl** Gr.O. 39; later by euphemism **dyn** and **dyn annwyl.**

(2) **dydd da** 'good day', **nos da** 'good night', etc. § 212 iv.

(3) **hawδ amor** R.P. 1310 'good luck!'; **gwynfyd** *i*.. Gr.O. 88 'joy to . . !'; **gwyn fyd** *na* . . D.W. 71 'would to heaven that . . !' (*na* on the anal. of *O na* § 171 ii (2)); **diolch** 'thanks!'

hawδ amor / iôr C. M.A. i 205*b* shows that *hawdd-amawr* I.G. 624 is a false archaism. *amor* < **ad-smor-*, √*smer-* 'part' (§ 156 i (13)), hence 'destiny, luck': Gk. *μόρος, μοῖρα* 'lot, destiny', Hom. *κατὰ μμοῖραν* (*μμ-* < **sm-*), *κάσμορος · δύστηνος* Hes. < **κατ-σμορος.*

(4) **rhad arno** 'a blessing upon him!' (usually sarcastic); **yr achlod iddynt** Gr.O. 200 'fie upon them!' *yr achlod iddo* T. ii 194; **druan ohono** 'poor thing!'; etc.

ii. Adjectives used adverbially, and other adverbial expressions: (1) **da** 'good!'; **purion** 'very well!'; **truan** 'alas!'; **da di**, *da dithau*, *da chwi*, *da chwithau* 'if you will be so good'.

(2) **yn iach** 'farewell!' e.g. § 166 i; **yn llawen** W.M. 19 'gladly! with pleasure!'; **yn rhodd** B.CW. 80, P.G.G. 17 'pray!'

(3) **ymaith** 'away!', **adref** D.G. 165 'home!' **hwnt** 'avaunt!' Ml. W. **nachaf** W.M. 73, 225 'behold!', *enachaf* (*e-* ≡ *y-*) M.A. ii 302, *ynachaf* do. 170; later written *nycha* D.G. 135.

ynachaf, perhaps '*yonder!' a spv. of the stem from which *yna* is made, thus from **enā-k-s̥mo-*; see § 220 ii (6).

(4) **er Mair** D.G. 18; **er Duw** ib.; **ar f'enaid** L.G.C. 223 'by my soul'; etc. *myn . . . ! ym . . . !* § 214 ix, x.

iii. Verbs: **aro** 'stop!', late *aros*; **adolwg** 'pray!', *atolwg* Ps. cxviii 25, for which the v.n. *adolwyn* § 203 iv (2) is sometimes found.

Paid, Iôr nefol, **adolwyn,**
O fyd yn danllyd a'm dwyn.—S.C. I.MSS. 291.

'Do not, heavenly Lord, I beseech thee, take me away in flames from the world'.

iv. Sentences: (1) **henffych well** 'hail' § 190 i (1).

(2) Contracted into single words, and sometimes corrupt: **dioer** § 34 iii 'by heaven!' for *Duw a ŵyr* 'God knows'; Late Mn. **wele** 'behold!' for *a wely di* 'dost thou see?' § 16 iv (1), also **wel** § 173 iii (3); **llyma** 'voici' etc. § 221 iv; **dyma** 'voici' for *wely dy yma*, etc., see ib.; **ysgwír** 'truly!' do. iii; **ysywaeth** etc. do. i.

Ysowaeth, *nos o ayaf*
Ym sy hwy no mis o haf.—D.E. P 76/29, C 7/649.

'Alack! a night of winter is longer to me than a month of summer.'

INDEX

I. MODERN AND MEDIEVAL WELSH

Mn. W. forms are printed in roman type; Ml. W. forms in *italics*. Forms which survived and developed regularly in the Mn. period are given in Mn. spelling; thus for Ml. W. *dereit* see under defaid. Italicized forms include those which became obsolete, or are replaced by re-formations in the Mn. period. But some forms, such as *llaδoδ*, are italicized because quoted from Ml. texts, so that italics do not necessarily imply that a form is *not* Mn.

For pl. nouns not included, see the sg.; for the spv. of adjectives see the pos. or cpv.; for verbal forms see the 1st sg. pres. ind. or the v.n. In cases of irregular flexion all stems are represented in the index.

The words are arranged in the order of the present Welsh alphabet, thus: a b c ch d dd e f ff g ng h i l ll m n o p ph r s t th u w y.

Ml. W. *k* under c; *δ* under dd; *v* and *fv* under f; *ĝ* under ng; *ṙ* under rh.

Early Ml. W. *t* (≡ *δ*) under dd; *i* (≡ y) under y; *u* (≡ w) under w; *w* (≡ v), here printed *vv*, under f.

The reference is to pages.

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= Blaen - Stag

amws (horse) Plur. emys. Page 196.

alaw - (water lily) Plur. elyw.

bu (ox) Plur. bu
eg. Cant mu = 100 oxen

"Asgre Lan, diogel ei pherchen".

Write a critical account of the works of one of the foll. Iolo Goch, Llywelyn ap y Moel, Dafydd ap Edmwnd, Guto'r Glyn.

Elidir Sais or Gruffudd ab yr Ynad Coch.

Taliesin's poems in honour of the princes of Rheged.

---

osit, ysit. Kehy.

Inversion in the formation of plural nouns showing in what Brit declensions it arose

---

Discuss development of the irregular comparison of adjs in Welsh

---

pan = whence

Auch < *Aeuik-set
Later 'dinweh'.

Notes a BBoC

[dychafaf - fuy 6 §48.]

*usek set > gunech = subj
ny ofyn i reb a wnech
= he asks not what he may do.

uo-reb-set > gwares.

gwares Duw dy anghen
May God relieve thy want.

which is yssyð < *estiio < *esti io

yssit tun yssyð uwy = "there is a secret (there "is) which is greater."

esti ita 'there is' > Estita > yssit.

ossit 'if there is' < ā 'stita < á'st

Jr. Dental 'f' =
'ch' at End = 'b
Ech : eb-o
fluch fwlyb.
= if b
mutatio